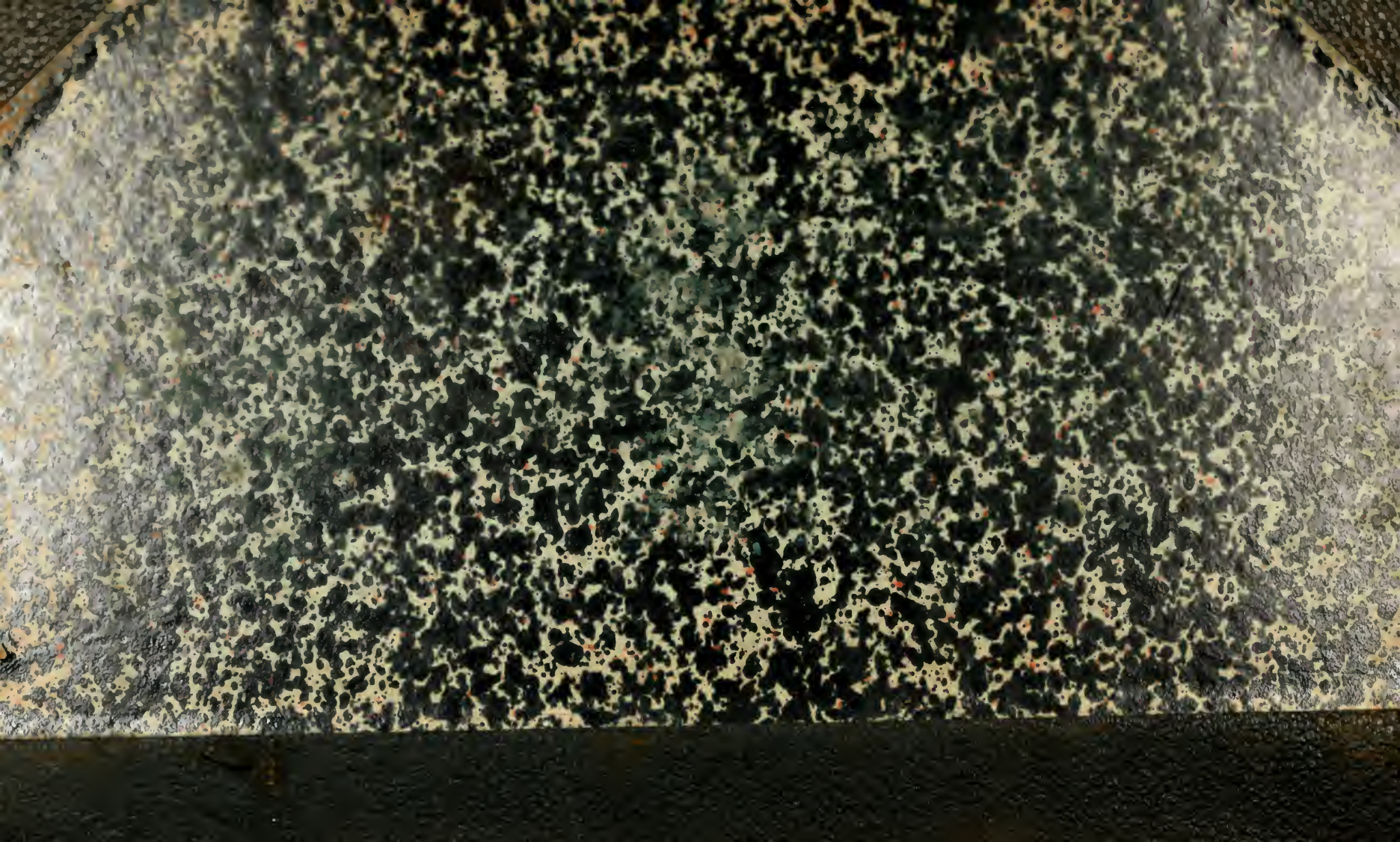


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THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES,

CONCERNING THE

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

OF

AMERICA.

VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.
HENRY B. DAWSON.
1873.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

After a long and tedious delay, arising, primarily, from our long-continued illness, we are enabled to present to the readers of the Magazine the closing sheets of the twenty-second volume; and we do so with unusual pleasure, both because of the termination of this portion of our labors and of the promise which we have of opening the new volume with brighter prospects than we have ever before enjoyed.

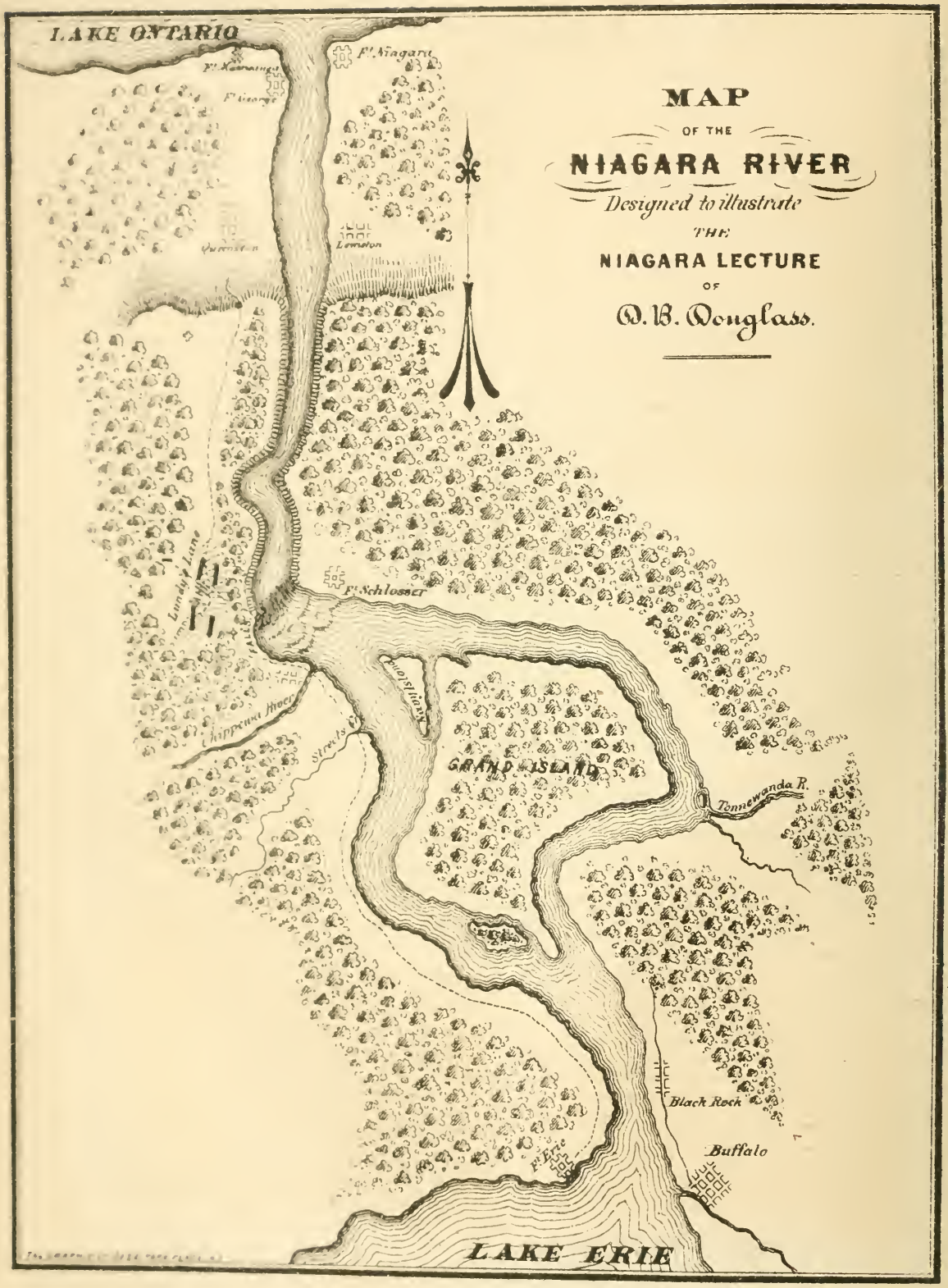
We thank our readers for their indulgence, and earnestly bespeak for the Magazine their continued support; and we promise, as far as our impaired health shall permit, to make the work more acceptable than it has hitherto been.

Morrisania, June 20, 1874. Henry B. Dawson.

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LAKE ONTARIO
Ft Niagara
Lewiston
MAP
OF THE
NIAGARA RIVER
Designed to illustrate
THE
NIAGARA LECTURE
OF
O. B. Douglass.
Ft Schlosser
Lundy's Lane
Chippewa River
Streets
Navy Island
GRAND ISLAND
Tonnewanda R.
Black Rock
Buffalo
Ft Erie
LAKE ERIE

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. Third Series.] JULY, 1873. [No. 1.

I.—*REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.*

From the papers of the late David B. Douglass, LL.D., formerly Captain of Engineers, U. S. A.; communicated by his children, for publication in The Historical Magazine.

[The author of the following Lectures, Major David B. Douglass, was a native of Pompton, New Jersey, where he was born on the twenty-first of March, 1790. He was graduated at Yale-college, in 1813; entered the Army, as Second-lieutenant of Engineers; and was stationed at West Point. In the Summer of 1814, he was ordered to the Niagara frontier, and arrived just in time to take part, as a volunteer, in the Battle of Niagara. In the subsequent defence of Fort Erie, in August and September, he distinguished himself, and was, at once, promoted to a First-lieutenancy, with the brevet rank of Captain.

He was ordered to West Point, on the first of January, 1815, and made Assistant-professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

In 1819, he acted, during the Summer recess, as Astronomical Surveyor of the Boundary Commission, from Niagara to Detroit; and, in the Summer of 1820, he accompanied Governor Cass, in a similar capacity, to the Northwest. In August, of the same year, while on this duty, he was promoted to the professorship of Mathematics, in the Military Academy, at West Point, vacant by the death of his father-in-law, Professor Andrew Ellicott, with the rank of Major in the Army. In 1823, he was transferred, at his own desire, to the Professorship of Civil and Military Engineering.

The science of Engineering was then new, in this country; and few great works had been executed. He devoted himself to it, with unsparing energy, and soon acquired a wide reputation. Many advantageous offers were made him; but he chose to remain at West Point. He was, however, employed by the State of Pennsylvania, during the Summer recesses, from 1826 to 1830, as a Consulting Engineer, and charged with the surveys of several of the more difficult parts, in its system of public works.

In 1831, he resigned his professorship, and became Chief Engineer of the Morris Canal, residing in Brooklyn.

In 1832, he was appointed Professor of Civil Architecture, in the new University of the City of New York, and prepared the designs for its building, opposite Washington-square.

In June, 1833, he commenced his surveys for the great work of supplying the city of New York with water; and, in November, he submitted his first Report, demonstrating the feasibility of such a supply, and showing how to obtain it, from the Croton-river. He reviewed his surveys, in 1834, and prepared plans and estimates for the city authorities; and, the next Spring, it was determined, by a vote of the citizens, that the aqueduct should be built. Water Commissioners were appointed; and Major Douglass was, at once, elected Chief Engineer, and proceeded to lay out, minutely, the line of the Acquednct, and to complete his plans. He had accomplished his preliminary work when he was superseded.

In 1839, he planned and laid out Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn.

In 1840, he was elected President of Kenyon-college, Ohio, and removed to Gambier, in the Spring of 1841. He withdrew from this office, in 1844, and returned to the vicinity of New York.

In 1845-6, he laid out the Cemetery, at Albany; and, in 1847, he was employed in developing the landscape features of Staten Island. In 1848, he laid out the Protestant Cemetery, at Quebec; and, in the same year, he was elected Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, in Hobart-college, at Geneva, New York. He accepted the office, and entered upon its duties, in October; and, on the nineteenth of October, 1849, he died.*

These Lectures were prepared with great care and first delivered, in 1840, before the Mercantile Library Association of New York. In the Winter of 1845, after a rigid revision, they were repeated before the Young Men's Association, at Albany; and, afterwards, at the request of "numerous members of both branches of the Legisla-"ture," they were again delivered, in the Assembly-chamber, in the Capitol, in the same city. They were also delivered at Troy and at New Haven, during the same Winter. In the early part of 1849, they were delivered at Buffalo; and it is believed that they were read elsewhere, at different times.

The introductory remarks, preceding the first Lecture, varied as the audiences varied; and, sometimes, the locality called out, from the author, some allusion to the past, either of the place or of some of its inhabitants, preliminary to the Lecture itself. The particular "Introduction" which has been employed in this publication is that which was used at New Haven, in the Spring of 1845.

* We are indebted to Appleton's *New American Cyclopedia* for the above sketch of Major Douglass's life and services.—Editor.

It is believed that few papers, concerning the War of 1813, possess greater interest and importance, as material for history, than these Lectures; and it affords us much pleasure that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has been permitted to present them to its readers, in the first publication of them.—EDITOR.]

LECTURE FIRST.

At the request of the Managers of the Young Men's Institute, I am to give you, in this and the following Lectures, some account of the military scenes and events of the Campaign of 1814, on the Niagara.

And, in recurring to these reminiscences of my early professional life, I must be permitted, in the outset, to express the deep emotion with which I find myself in the presence of a New Haven audience; for it was here, in this city, in the midst of associations which I dearly love to cherish, that I first conceived the idea of becoming a professional soldier, and received a large portion of the impressions which, whether in that profession or out of it, have given a character and coloring to my whole subsequent life.

It was in the Summer of 1813, during the pendency of the War—those will remember, whose recollections go back to that period. Large armies, drawn from the population of different districts of our country, were in the field: nearly the whole of our immense frontier was the theatre of actual War; the mails were loaded down and the press teemed with the stirring events of both pleasing and painful interest passing around us. A very high degree of military feeling pervaded the whole country. Even this city, threatened with attack from the British Squadron blockading New London and, sometimes, making its appearance further down the Sound, had its *elite* organized for instant service; and the streets wore an appearance not unlike that of a frontier town. It is not surprising that, under such influences, and with a mind naturally predisposed to military enterprise, I should have adopted *that* as the profession of my life.

With an education much superior to that of most aspirants of that period, I aspired, of course, to the higher department of the service—the Corps of Engineers; and my application was so favored, by this circumstance, that, thirty days after I received my degree from President Dwight, in the Church across the Green, I was a Second-lieutenant of that Corps. Nearly all the events then of which I am to speak, happened within a short year from the termination of my College-life; and, amidst the strange vicissitudes of that eventful year, how often did my thoughts revert back to the quiet retreats of Yale-college, scarcely able, in so great a change of scene, to realize my own personal identity.

The human race, it has been philosophically remarked, may be regarded, in a certain sense, collectively, as an individual man; having had its infancy, in the early ages of the world; its progress from youth to manhood, marked by the gradual development of its intellectual and moral powers, in after times; and its full maturity consummated, or yet to be consummated, at some later period. Whether the race is destined still to go on, progressively, to some ulterior state of advancement, or, like its parallel, in human life, to sink, back again, through the phases of a descending scale, to a second childhood; and whether, in the latter case, it has, or has not, yet passed its grand climacteric, are questions which time only can solve. The analogy might not hold good, in every particular, and yet be true and instructive, as undoubtedly it is, in the main.

But there is another and more obvious application of the same idea, not to the race, collectively, but to the particular States and Nations into which it has been distributed. This is a most natural thought. The mind, of its own accord, and almost without any external suggestion, invests Nations with the attributes of individual and personal character. We trace the time and circumstances of their birth; we follow them, in their growth and progress, from the weakness and imbecility of infancy, to the strength and vigor of mature age; we contemplate their gradual improvement in knowledge, refinement, letters, and the liberal arts; we discriminate among them, as among individuals, diversities of character; and we are not slow in detecting those particularities of circumstance and condition which may have operated in producing those diversities. Finally, we follow those that have passed it, through the period of their greatest development; and, finally, too, through the successive stages of the inverted series of their decline and fall; and only turn from the contemplation, at last, when, as in the case of individuals, passed from the stage of life, the places which once knew them know them no more.

Regarding, in this aspect, the individuality of the social and political state, it follows, naturally—and history abundantly sustains it, as part of the constitution of things in which we live—that nations, like individuals, are here in a disciplinary state. In the earlier periods of their existence, they are, as it were, in the hands, and sometimes under the rod, of the schoolmaster, receiving, in some sense, for good or for evil, an education; having before them opportunities, to be improved or neglected, for the culture of the powers and susceptibilities

of the common mind; for the cultivation of right moral impulses—right practical habits; and, in short, for the formation of a moral and intellectual character, suited to the responsibilities and dignity of after life. Even at mature age, instruction is not discontinued. The whole of the life of an individual man is but an education; and a Nation, with its own experience and the experience of other nations to guide, instruct, reprove, and warn, can never be without something to learn. Nor can such lessons be neglected, nor such opportunities abused, with impunity, any more by nations than by individuals. The retributions of the former are, indeed, temporal, but not, therefore, the less certain.

The interest of these remarks, on the present occasion, arises from their application to our own particular circumstances, as a nation. In the scale of history, we have passed but a very brief period since the beginning of our political existence—not more than sufficient, ordinarily, to have brought us across the threshold of our pupilage—and yet we are already filling no inconsiderable place in the community of nations. This rapid acquisition of power, station, and influence suggests a peculiar necessity for our looking well to our ways, and treasuring up, only the more carefully, the fruits of our past experience, for our guidance in future. And yet it is to be feared that, like other children of prosperity, we are more inclined to exult in the brilliancy of our success than to draw a moral lesson from it—like them, too apt, in the ardor of our pursuit of what is present and future, to forget what is past. A single fact in connection with the subject matter of which I am to speak, will illustrate the truth of this remark.

A few years since, I was requested by an institution, in the city of New York, to throw together, in the form of a Lecture, my personal reminiscences of the Niagara Campaign. As I was very young, at the epoch of that Campaign, I naturally looked around, with a view to meet this request, for such documents and memoirs as, it was reasonable to believe, had been published on the subject; and, to my amazement, I found none—except the brief and hasty despatches of the different commanders, written at the moment, there was nothing. Not only the Niagara Campaign, but the whole War—I speak of its *military* events—was already passed, or rapidly passing, into oblivion, except to those who had been personally connected with it. To myself, the events of the Niagara Campaign were, generally, very familiar; but, having derived my knowledge of them from my participation in them and my personal intercourse with my brother officers, I was not, until I made the inquiry, aware how very great was the deficiency of historic records to the world at large.

Surely there was something wrong here: there must have been some defect, either of national feeling or of historic interest, to account for such a deficiency. The War was not a small one. It was fought against one of the most powerful nations on the globe; it occupied three Campaigns; it called forth the active energies of the whole country; and led to the organization of our whole inland and maritime frontier. Military operations of great scope and compass were embraced in it; many desperate battles fought—sometimes attended with defeat, it is true, but not the less valuable and instructive, as matter of experience, on that account; while, on the other hand, there was no inconsiderable number of contests well sustained, and some fairly to be claimed as victories gained.

There was surely no lack of interest in the subject; and yet, after an interval of thirty years, no historian had been found to record these events, either for the honor of the country or its guidance in a future War. Even the Regiments which fought on our side had been dismembered, broken up, and scattered, and the record of their respective achievements utterly lost; while those that fought against us had been enriched with every species of armorial honor; and, even to this hour, in every part of the world where they appear, to be quartered, they are paraded under the historic memorials of our NIAGARA, our FORT ERIE, our PLATTSBURG, and our BALTIMORE, in common with those of VITTORIA, SALAMANCA, and the PYRENEES.

There are some, perhaps, who find an excuse for the indifference, to which I have alluded, in the errors and disasters of the War, as if the national pride might be wounded by an impartial narrative. Such a sentiment has, not unfrequently, been expressed in my hearing; but can it be needful to repel it, on this occasion and before this audience? If it were well-founded, how weak would it be to shut our eyes to the lessons of experience from any consideration of this kind. In the discipline of common life, our most useful lessons are often drawn from our most painful experiences; and, in the complicated operations of War, neither the *esprit de corps* nor the higher tactics are to be acquired without severe conflicts and some humiliating trials of disaster and defeat. If the fact were, indeed, as the objectors represent, it would be the *more* necessary for us to make it matter of history, that we might be guarded against the like disasters, in future—for history is the memory of the State.

But the fact is not so: the early Campaigns of the War were, undoubtedly, disastrous; but could it have been expected otherwise? A Peace, scarcely interrupted for thirty years, had, in a great measure, neutralized the experience acquired in the War of the Revolution; so that we had not only soldiers to raise and train, and stores to provide, but Staff departments, of all kinds, to create; arsenals and depots to organize; frontiers to entrench and fortify; and, above all, to acquire that systematic unity of action, which is indispensable to the success of military operations of the State. These things are the work of much time. A resolve of Congress may call into service a hundred thousand men; and a very short time would suffice, with good drill-masters, to give them elementary discipline. But of what avail would it all be, without the higher discipline and the mature experience necessary to provide for all their multifarious wants and to direct, and move, and marshal, and use them with advantage, at the precise point of time and place, on so vast a field of action as ours? I confess, when I look at the great superiority of our late enemy, in all these respects—his long experience; his habitual and perfect organization; his veteran Battalions, disciplined in the War of the Peninsula, and coming hither, flushed with victory—I am rather astonished that the War was not tenfold more disastrous than it was. Captious criticism may doubtless find errors enough, and the critic may employ himself, if he choose, in magnifying and distorting them; but I defy him to make a case of national dishonor, even if it were admitted that the first two Campaigns were disastrous, when the third found us front to front with those very Battalions, coping with them, with crossed bayonets, in such a strife as that of Lundy's-lane.

The history of the War, if written at all, must be written soon, as the time of collecting materials is rapidly passing away. The substantial matter must be drawn chiefly from personal sources; and these, I am grieved to say, are every day becoming fewer and fewer. Even now, I look round me, in vain, for the groups of gallant men with whom it was my privilege to be associated, in the Niagara Army. Of the Engineer Corps of that Army, I am the only survivor; and of the chosen circle, to the number of twenty, from various Corps—kindred spirits, who used, nightly, to assemble at the Engineer mess-room, at Fort Erie—only two or three remain. To my mind's eye, indeed, I find it not difficult to recall, at pleasure, the living, breathing forms and lineaments of my old comrades and friends; but, to my corporal sense, they are gone.*

Before speaking of the events of the Niagara Campaign, in particular, I must request of you a moment's attention to some of its external relations; the military attitude of the frontier, at the time it was fought; and the particular train of events which led to its organization.

The political circumstances under which the War was declared involved, as a sort of moral necessity, an imperfect state of preparation, on our part. Whatever may have been the preponderance of public opinion, in its favor, there was, in the differences of political sentiment or in the antagonisms of party, at the time, enough of opposition to defeat any formal measures, in anticipation of it, so long as the chances of its occurrence were only contingent. Even after it became, in the eye of the sagacious and far-reaching statesman, inevitable, the country was slow to realize its approach—slow, even then, to make any prudent preparation for it; nor did they so, in fact, till the question was irretrievably settled by the actual declaration of War. The Rubicon once passed, and all possibility of retreat thus excluded, then, for the first time, seriously and in good earnest, we began the work of preparation.

Our enemy, however, in the mean time, was, by no means, thus dilatory. Greatly our superior, then, at least, in the personal organization and discipline of his forces; more accustomed to the active enterprises of war; and, habitually, more prompt and decisive in all his military movements; he was enabled, while his numbers were yet inconsiderable, to anticipate us, not only in the points of attack, but in the time and mode of the assault. A character was thus given, at the outset, to the military policy of the first two Campaigns. Instead of being active and aggressive, as they were intended to have been, they became eminently *defensive;* and, for a long time, even as late as the middle of the second Campaign, the energies of the country, which should have been directed to a regular systematic invasion of Canada, were almost wholly absorbed in measures for repelling petty partisan attacks.

On the remote North-western frontier, our exposure to this species of warfare was particu-

* In the manuscript, at this place, there is a line of asterisks, which indicates the fact that, on the subject last referred to, in the text, Major Douglass was in the habit, while lecturing, of extemporizing further than he wrote.

It is to be regretted, since they are now matter of history, that the portraits of those who were thus assembled, in commands of greater or less importance, on the Niagara frontier, in 1814, as those portraits were thus presented by so capable a hand, have not been preserved for the benefit of those, coming after, who shall incline to the study of the history of that yet unfashionable subject.—EDITOR.

larly great. The vast border country, on that quarter, was inhabited by numerous and powerful tribes of Indians, through whose territory the jurisdictional limits of the two powers had never been defined, and whose allegiance, in point of fact, had been secured, by a long course of protection and friendly policy, exclusively to the British Government. To overawe these Indians, probably more than to operate extensively upon Canada, at that remote point, the expedition of General Hull had been put in motion, even before the declaration of War; and, having a considerable force of Militia, concentrated at Detroit, soon after that event, it crossed the river and commenced an invasion of Upper Canada, at that point.

The theory of this movement was, undoubtedly, correct; and if its legitimate object had been reached by a reasonable amount of enterprise and skill, in its execution, it would have ensured safety and peace to the scattered frontier settlements, for whose protection it was designed, and put an end to the War, in that quarter. But, unfortunately, in this respect, it was a failure. It retired, timidly, before the first demonstration of hostile force; and the disgraceful capitulation of Detroit, which followed, soon after, placed those settlements in a far worse position than they would have been, if this movement had not been attempted.

The enemy, by this and other advantages obtained, in the same neighborhood, immediately acquired possession of the whole Indian territory, including our own peninsula of Michigan, and, with it, a more unlimited control than ever over its savage population; while we, on our part, were not only thrown upon the defensive, but obliged to marshal our line of defence far within our own territory.

The organization of that defence, on the remote frontier of Ohio, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and discouragement, is one of the brightest passages in the history of the War. In the depth of an inclement Winter, at a distance from any settlement capable of affording aid or supplies, in the presence of an enterprising enemy, crowned with success, hitherto, and daily increasing in force and self-confidence, by the most extraordinary efforts, forts and intrenchments were built; roads opened; troops levied, and brought from remote places into line; and supplies of arms, munitions, and stores collected and transported, hundreds of miles, on pack-horses, through the wilderness. All this done, and, in the short space of two months, such an attitude of defence attained, that the most desperate and determined assaults of the hitherto victorious enemy were wholly unable to make any effective impression upon it. The tide of War, in that quarter, was thus, at length, turned: and, towards the Summer of the second Campaign, the British Commander, having been foiled, with great loss, in all his attempts upon the positions of his adversary, abandoned further operations, and fell back to Malden and Detroit, to wait the event of the approaching contest on the lake.

On the tenth of September, 1813, was fought the memorable naval-battle of Lake Erie, in which, in the chaste and beautiful language of Commodore Perry's despatch, "It pleased the "Almighty to give to the arms of the United "States, a signal victory over their enemies on "that lake." This event, besides giving us the naval ascendency on Lake Erie, changed, entirely, the relative situation of the contending parties, on the land. General Harrison, having now no apprehension of danger to his right flank, assumed the offensive and compelled his antagonist, in turn, to retreat. The recapture of Detroit and the capture of the Canadian posts, on the opposite side of the river, was a thing of course; and the complete overthrow of the hostile Army, in the battle of the Moravian towns, in Upper Canada, on the fifth of October, following, restored the Indian tribes to their rightful jurisdiction, and gave a triumphant termination to the Campaign and all further hostilities, on that frontier.

Looking, now, at the corresponding operations, on the lower part of the frontier, we notice, that, while the War of nearly two Campaigns had been thus brought to a successful close, in the Northwest, down to the date of its final and decisive battle in October, no strategical movement, in the proper sense, had taken place on any other part of the line. Troops and levies were collected in considerable numbers, particularly on the Niagara border, in 1812; and, in the latter part of that year, several attempts were made to gain a footing, on the Canada side of the Strait. The assault upon Queenston Heights stands conspicuous among these, as an example of determined bravery, on the part of those engaged in it; but, like all other attempts of the like kind, it was ultimately unsuccessful; and the Campaign closed without any advantage really gained in the prosecution of the War, and without any movement of a more general character.

The commencement of the year 1813, found a naval armament organized on Lake Ontario, and a large land force, of different arms, collected at Sackett's-harbor; and, in the month of April, of that year, a combined expedition of land and naval force was fitted out and directed against the post and depot of Little York, the seat of government of Upper Canada. The capture of this post was effected in the face of a strong force, though not without severe loss;

and, the works and stores being destroyed, the expedition united with the troops at Fort Niagara, and, with them, made a forcible descent upon the peninsula of Upper Canada, at that point. The British forts were captured, on the twenty-seventh of May, and a large American force took possession of the country, in advance of Fort George; but, as the opposing Army was strongly reinforced, about the same time, they failed of accomplishing any ulterior aim, and merely occupied their intrenched camp, at Fort George, through the Summer.

This expedition, from its imposing character, in point of force, the range of its operations, and the success of its *first* enterprises, may be considered an interesting episode to the Campaign of 1813, and, doubtless, had some influence, at first, upon the tone of public opinion; but, as it seems to have had no manifest reference to the systematic prosecution of the War, and really made no essential change in the relation of the belligerant parties, I have not considered it an exception to the remark, heretofore made, although it occurred before the termination of General Harrison's Campaign. In the eye of strict military criticism, it must be regarded as a desultory operation, however distinguished it may have been, in examples of courage, discipline, and personal achievement.

Of a very different character, however, in its design, as well as in the force organized for its accomplishment, was the expedition set on foot, towards the close of this Campaign, for the invasion of Lower Canada and the capture of Montreal. According to the project of that expedition, two Armies, taking their departures, respectively, from Sackett's-harbor and Plattsburg—one near the outlet of Lake Ontario, and the other at the nearest adjacent point of Lake Champlain—were to advance to a common point, on the St. Lawrence, at some distance above Montreal, and, there, unite, and proceed, with great force and promptness, to the ultimate object of the expedition—the occupation of Montreal.

The command-in chief, on the Canada frontier, had recently been assigned to General Wilkinson, whose long experience in service was thought to give him a claim to this distinction; and, by him, the organization and movement, at Sackett's harbor, was personally superintended; while to General Hampton, another officer of the old Army, were assigned the corresponding arrangements of the Plattsburg Divison.

Towards the latter part of the month of October, the Sackett's harbor column, strengthened by the junction of the Niagara Army and the disposable force, from all the intervening posts, to the number of about seven thousand men, was organized and equipped with means of transport, for the descent of the St. Lawrence; and, on the twenty-fifth of that month, it was accordingly put in motion. The descent of the river, although opposed, of course, by every means which the enemy could bring to bear upon it, appears to have been well ordered and, for the most part, skillfully managed; and, although the flanking parties and guards were frequently engaged in skirmishes requiring strong reinforcements—in one instance amounting to a pitched battle—the main body of the Army succeeded, without serious loss, in passing all the garrisons and strong places of the route; and, on the eleventh of November, reached a point, near St. Regis, at which the co-operation of the right column was expected to commence.

The movements of that column, in the mean time, having converged to within seventy or eighty miles of the point of junction, had been suddenly suspended by its General, on the ground that the aggregate of stores and supplies, in the two Armies, would not be sufficient for the subsistence of the whole, in the meditated enterprise; and, without awaiting further orders, after stating this opinion, the column was immediately put upon a retrograde march, and conducted back to Plattsburg. The Commander-in-chief being thus deprived of the expected co-operation, after counseling with his officers, abandoned the attack upon Montreal, and retired into Winter-quarters, at French Mills; and the expedition, upon which so much labor and means had been expended, and from which a decisive result had been so confidently expected, was thus terminated, by causes within ourselves, in utter failure and defeat.

It would not be consistent with the object of this brief outline, to assign the responsibilities or to analyze the delinquency of the parties in this extraordinary failure. It would be impossible, however, for any well-regulated mind to contemplate, without repugnance, the breach of military subordination, if not the culpable negligence, connected with it; nor is it very easy to account for their occurrence, except with a knowledge of the fact—which ought, doubtless, to have been previously considered—that the two Generals were on terms of bitter personal hostility with each other.

It would be difficult for any one, whose personal recollections do not go back to the period of which I am speaking, to realize the feeling of disappointment and regret which came over the country, by reason of this failure.

Two seasons of the War had transpired, not inactively, but without any direct tangible result tending towards its termination; the

public mind, naturally becoming impatient and dissatisfied under these circumstances, had caught, with avidity, the first development of the present enterprise, and watched it with no common interest, as it advanced. In proportion as it seemed to approach its object, expectation became more and more intense; and when, at last, in direct opposition to the popular assurance of its success, the news of its failure arrived, and when it was found that the elements of this failure were among ourselves, the state of public feeling can better be conceived than described. Investigations and Courts Martial were, of course, instituted, and a long series of recriminations, fruitful in nothing but bad feeling and personality, ensued; but, as they are irrelevant to the present occasion, we pass them without further notice. The public mind, indeed, had scarcely time to dwell upon them, before it was diverted to a new train of events, on the Niagara frontier.

The military occupation of that frontier, in the early part of the Campaign, had naturally led to the formation of a strong opposing Corps, on the part of the enemy; and a portion of that Corps remained, after our troops, except garrisons in the forts, had been withdrawn. These garrisons were composed chiefly of levies and volunteers, engaged for various and uncertain periods; and not being always regularly replaced, as their times expired, the aggregate strength gradually diminished, until it became necess ry, at last, to abandon the forts on the British side. In doing this, the commanding officer, under a mistaken apprehension of his orders, set fire to and destroyed the neighboring village of Newark; and, in this inconsiderate and unjustifiable act, as it gave a pretext for a barbarous and inhuman retaliation, originated, as we shall see, the Niagara Campaign and, to a very considerable extent, the subsequent policy of the whole Canada War.

The act was promptly disavowed by the superior authority, and by the Government; but the disclaimer seems to have had no effect in allaying the feeling of hostility which had been kindled; and, unfortunately, the occasion of retaliation was not long in presenting itself. The evacuation of Fort George took place on the tenth of December, Fort Niagara being left, with a moderate garrison, at the same time, without any apprehension of immediate danger. On the nineteenth of the month, however, a strong detachment of the enemy, under cover of night, and presuming, doubtless, upon the assurance of security, on our part, crossed the river, near Lewiston; approached the fort, without opposition; and took it, by surprise, after a short conflict. Large bodies of Indians and Volunteers crossed, immediately after, and commenced, at Lewiston and Youngstown, the work of devastation; and, before the end of the month, the whole line of the frontier, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, was, in the hands of these marauders, a scene of indiscriminate conflagration and cruelty.

Such was the melancholy termination of the eventful and varied year of 1813. And, having followed the main line of its military policy, without regard to incidental events, I shall recapitulate the condition in which it left the different portions of the frontier, as follows: The North-western wilderness, with its Indian hordes subdued and held firmly in check by the decisive victories of General Harrison and the triumph on Lake Erie: the North-eastern border, nearly as at the beginning of the Campaign, except a much larger force in the field, a higher state of discipline and *esprit de corps*, and some experience in the more difficult sciences of military administration and the tactics of Campaigns: between these extremes, the Niagara frontier had been snatched, momentarily, from us and desolated with fire and sword.

With these preliminaries, we may now approach the Campaign of 1814, prepared to appreciate the circumstances under which the Niagara portion of it was planned, organized, and executed. The cruel barbarity which had been introduced, on that frontier—repugnant to common humanity, as to the laws and usages of all civilized warfare—the in lividual injury sustained, in person and property, by thousands of unoffending and peaceful citizens; and the general feeling of insecurity and alarm, created along the whole New York frontier, rendered it imperative upon the Government that some measure of reparation should be adopted, without delay—not, indeed, to retaliate outrage with outrage; but, on the contrary, to put an end to this miserable strife; to re-assert the rights of humanity, in the conduct of the War; and to give to the peaceful citizen some assurance of domestic safety and protection. Thus much was required in the cause of humanity; but there were other considerations also to be regarded, in the organization of that Campaign. It was of no small consequence, in a military sense, to re-occupy the captured posts, particularly Fort Niagara, at all hazards. The attempt to do this would, of course, operate as a *diversion* in drawing the troops of the enemy from his positions, below; and, when the time for taking advantage of that diversion should come, experience had shown how easy it would be, by a proper concert of action between the land and naval forces—we having possession of the lake—to snatch away the Division thus employed, on the Niagara frontier, and use it in a

combined attack upon Kingston and Prescott. And this was the theory of the Niagara Campaign: Firstly, to re-occupy that frontier, in force: Secondly, to divert the enemy from his lower posts; and, Thirdly, to be in a position, if necessary, to take advantage of that diversion, whenever the time should arrive or the occasion offer for so doing.

The first suggestion of these considerations appears to have come, on the spur of the occasion, from the Executive of New York. Addressing the Secretary of War, on the second of January, immediately after the news of the Niagara outrages reached him, and in anticipation of others, of the same kind, Governor Tompkins thus wrote: "To counteract these Winter ex-"peditions of the enemy, it will be indispensa-"ble that our Army be in motion. I would "throw out for consideration, whether the whole "force at French Mills and Plattsburg ought not "to be removed to Ogdensburg or Sackett's har-"bor, and, acting in concert with the force at "the latter place, attack Prescott or Kingston; "or whether, if *that* be deemed impracticable, "twenty five hundred of the Army cannot be "conveyed to the Niagara frontier, and, with "the Militia and Volunteers—I pledge myself "there shall be five thousand Volunteers, pro-"vided the above number of Regulars be as-"sociated with them—make a diversion from "Kingston and Presrott, whilst the residue of "the Army, with Commodore Chauncey's force, "assails one of those places."

The last of these suggestions was adopted, and began immediately to be acted upon, by the Secretary of War. General Scott, then a Colonel, but, soon after, promoted to a Brigadier, was first put under orders, and, within thirty days after the burning of Buffalo, had already commenced the formation of a Corps for that frontier. General Brown was simultaneously detached from French Mills, with a force of two thousand Infantry and a proportionate Corps of Artillery, to reach Sackett's-harbor, by a forced march, in the depth of Winter, and, afterwards, to proceed also to the same scene of action. Other officers of distinguished merit and gallantry were understood to be detailed for that service; and the report soon became current, in the circles of the Army, that a strong corps of picked troops was to be formed, on this frontier, under the command of Major-general Brown, seconded by General Scott and others of the same stamp, to be employed in the recapture of the forts, and such other active enterprises as the fortune of War might place within its reach.

The expectation that the capture of Fort Niagara would require the operations of a regular siege, bringing into use the arm of Engineering, in its most important and responsible character —an opportunity seldom enjoyed in our service— created no little interest among the officers of Engineers to whom it became known; and, when it was further rumored that two of the most eminent and distinguished members of that Corps—Major, afterwards Colonel, Mc Ree, and Brevet Major Wood—were to be included in the detail, for this high duty, the desire to participate in it, so far as the circumstances became known, was intense.

During the pendency of these interesting movements, in the latter part of the month of January and the beginning of February, it was *my* peculiar good fortune to enjoy the society and friendship of the last-mentioned officer, at West Point, he having just returned, with great eclat, from the scenes of the North-western Campaign; and I, a junior Subaltern of Engineers, preparing myself, by study and military exercises, for active duties to come.

West Point was not, then, as it now is, during the Winter, a place of studious enterprise and zeal to an organized Corps of Cadets. The Corps, authorized by the law of 1812, had not yet come into being; and to the few Cadets, previously attached, the Winter was a season of relaxation; and most of them were absent, in vacation, at the time here referred to.

The chief importance of the post arose from its being the rendezvous and, generally, the head-quarters of the Corps of Engineers; and there was a garrison of soldiers, enlisted expressly for that branch of service, called the Company of "Bombardiers, Sappers, and Miners," the command of which, for the time being, had been assigned to me.

The obvious relation between the duty and discipline of this Company and the chief anticipated enterprise of the Niagara Campaign naturally suggested its designation as an appendage to that Army. At all events, it was permitted me to enjoy the assurance that I should be included in the detail for that Corps; and, from that time forth, until the departure of my gallant friend, it was our custom to occupy the disposable part of every day, and often whole nights, in analyzing the events of the preceding Campaign or in developing, with as much minuteness as the case admitted, the anticipated plans and operations of that to come.

I am somewhat particular, in making these statements, to repel an assertion which has found a place in some of the memoirs of that period; viz.: that the Order, given in March, to General Brown, to proceed to and operate upon the Niagara frontier, was intended and indicated as a *feint*, but, being misunderstood, in that sense, by the General, the Campaign, with all its hard-fought battles, was entirely the result of this paltry mistake.

I do not pretend to know what may have transpired between General Brown and the Secretary of War—it is but hypothetically set forth, in the statement referred to—but it does not appear, even from that statement, that he transcended the discretion committed to him; and that there was no great mistake—on the contrary, that he acted in conformity with a settled plan—I am constrained, implicitly, to believe from the evidence already in part adduced. As early as the first of February, before General Brown could have left French Mills, it was known, at West Point, through the correspondence of Major Wood, the substance of which was communicated to me, at the time, not only that such a Campaign as I have described was to be organized, but that General Brown was to be its commander. The selection was a very natural and proper one. General Brown had commanded the elite of the Army—the special Corps selected for its protection in the descent of the St. Lawrence, the preceding Autumn—had gained a character in the discharge of that duty; was altogether a popular General: at all events, the fact of his being selected must have been settled, somewhere, to have been spoken of, as it was, at that time; and it is not easy to perceive, in consistency with this conclusion, how the Campaign could, in any respect, have been the result of a misapprehension of orders, in the month of March following. But I return to my narrative.

On the twelfth of February, my friend, Colonel Wood, left West Point, and repaired, first to Albany and then to Canandaigua, to take part in the preparatory arrangements for the Campaign. On the twenty-first, in a letter written, at the moment of his departure from Albany, he alluded to the subject, in the following terms: "A train of field-artillery has already left this, "for the Niagara frontier, and it is expected "that a Battery train will immediately follow, "for the same destination; so you can form your "own opinion as to the nature and extent of the "meditated operations. It is now, more than "ever, probable that your services, as an Engin-"eer in the field, will soon be required. Gov-"ernor Tompkins tells me that a large force of "Militia is already collected at Eleven Mile-"creek; and that other troops are soon to join "the Army, near Buffalo. I hope we shall be "able to do something for the honor of the ser-"vice, in the Spring."

From the date of this letter, as the Spring advanced, troops, of all descriptions, for the new Army Corps, were in rapid motion towards the scene of its contemplated action; and Buffalo, or rather the site where Buffalo had been, being the place of rendezvous, soon put off its aspect of desolation, and became an animated scene of the most active and busy preparation. The Regular troops, as they arrived, were organized into two Brigades, under Generals Scott and Ripley. The Militia and Volunteers of New York and Pennsylvania, under General Porter, formed another Brigade. A fine Battalion of Artillery and battery-train, placed under the command of Major Hindman, with a detachment of Cavalry, under Captain Harris, completed the the active force. To these were added a Corps of Engineers, and the various departments—Adjutant's, Quarter master's, Inspector's, Commissary's, and Medical—of a General Staff; and the whole, as it began to assume an air of organization, was designated the Second Division, or left wing, of the Northern Army. In the mean time, stores, munitions, and equipments were also collected; vehicles and other transports provided; and all the means and appliances of an active and vigorous Campaign gradually, but steadily, tended to their completion.

Long before they were completed, in fact, however, the troops, as they came in, had been formed into a Camp of Instruction, and put upon a rigorous system of drills and field-exercises calculated to develope, at the eve of its requirement, the full extent of their powers as a fighting Corps. Since the days of the Revolution, our country had probably never seen a more thorough and efficient drill than that here spoken of; nor have the immediate benefits of such discipline been often more conspicuously manifest. Even the Militia levies, under the influence of its example, participated eminently in its good effects, and showed, on various occasions, during the Campaign, a coolness and intrepidity worthy of veteran soldiers.

The difference, I may remark, in passing, between soldiers and Militia—I use the term in no individual sense—does not consist, as many are apt to imagine, in the better acquaintance of the former with the movements and evolutions of War; nor yet in their greater familiarity with danger—still less in a higher degree of personal courage, for, in this respect, the advantage may be, and often is, on the side of the Militia-man—but in *this*, that the Militia-man, however courageous he may be, individually, has not learned to depend upon the courage and firmness of those around him. He has no practical experience that A. B. and C., on his right and left, will not run off and leave him alone, the moment any very imminent danger threatens: and, although, perhaps, not very easily alarmed, when he measures the immense disparity of force between the enemy's column and himself, alone, he, at once and very naturally, decides that *discretion is the better part of valor*.

The disciplined soldier, on the other hand, has been trained and drilled, shoulder to shoulder, with his fellows; and he has merged his indi-

viduality—incorporated himself, as it were—in the Corps of which he is a member. For himself, in particular, when danger impends, he has, comparatively no consideration: it is his Regiment, not himself, that is to cope with it; and he feels that the firm sinews and stout hearts around him, blended, as it were, into one personality and animated by one spirit, are not to be moved by a sense of danger.

The effect of discipline then, is to unite and combine the elements of strength into a mass; and the relative firmness of an undisciplined and disciplined soldiery may be likened to that of a vast number of threads or fibres which, when loose and unequally strained, are broken, one by one, with the slightest weight; but, when twisted into a firm compact cable, may almost defy the utmost stretch of human power to sever it.

It was a kind Providence that put it into the hearts of our Generals, thus to train and discipline that Army, in anticipation of the approaching contest; for if we regard, now, the note of preparation, on the other side, we shall find a force converging to the same frontier, which will presently put their discipline and firmness to the test.

You remember that, previous to the year 1814, Great Britain had sustained the War in Canada simultaneously with her vast military operations on the Continent of Europe; but that the pacification of Europe, in the early part of that year, putting an end to those operations, enabled her to withdraw a portion of the force, thus employed, and direct it against us.

Early in the month of May, the advance of these reinforcements, having been embarked directly from Bordeaux, began to arrive in Canada; and, by the opening of the Niagara Campaign, several Regiments of these and other veteran troops, relieved from duty in the lower Provinces, were in rapid movement towards the frontier. The possession of Fort Niagara, the successful incursion of the preceding Winter, and the consequent depopulation of that border, naturally suggested it as a vulnerable point, proper for the commencement of a more formidable invasion; and such would, undoubtedly, have been the policy of the enemy, had the frontier been found unoccupied in force, or less obstinately contested than it was.

Such are the reflections suggested by the state of things, in the early part of the month of June. The opening of the Campaign was then daily expected; and, in the retirement of West Point—not yet having received my orders—I began to fear that my anticipations of service, in that quarter, were not to be realized. At length, however, after a long and tedious interval, on the sixteenth of that month, they came to hand; and I was directed to proceed, forthwith, with the Company under my command, and join the North-western Army, under Major-general Brown.

The Company was taken entirely by surprise. The intended movement had been carefully concealed from them, lest some traverse interest should be made to prevent the issuing of the Order. It did operate rather hardly upon them. They had been recruited under an impression, totally unauthorized, that they would remain, permanently, at West Point; some of them, it turned out, had even enlisted to avoid Militia draft for the lines; more than half of them were married; and all quietly barracked, at the Point, as they supposed, for the year to come, at least. The Order came among them with the suddenness of a supernatural visitation. But it is due to them to say, that they behaved well, on the occasion. They were, in reality, as fine a set of men as the service could boast; and when recovered from their first surprise, united, with hearty good will, in the arrangements for their departure. Within fifteen minutes after the publication of the Order, I had their knapsacks spread out on Parade, for inspection; and, in little more than an hour, they were drawn up, at the public store, to receive their extra supplies. The Order was published at the drum-head, on the sixteenth, at eleven o'clock; and, on the nineteenth, at evening, all our adieus had been made, and we embarked, under a parting salute, for Albany.*

A slow sailing-craft passage, up the river, delayed us until the twenty-fifth, in leaving Albany; but, after that, our progress, no longer retarded by adverse winds or tides, was steadily forward; and, although the weather was intensely hot and sometimes rainy, we accomplished the march of three hundred and sixty miles, in thirteen marching days. At Canandaigua, on the fifth of July, we met the interesting intelligence that the Army had crossed the strait, on the morning of the third, at day-break; and that Fort Erie had capitulated, with only a slight resistance, immediately after. This report, of course, added new speed to our motion; and every person we met on the road was interrogated, without ceremony, for news. Nothing further of consequence however was obtained, until the morning of the seventh, when the confused rumor of a battle fought, first met us, at Genesee-river. In the course of the day, as we advanced, it became certain that an important

* "At the eve of our departure, I had the happiness to be allowed the companionship of Lieutentant "Story, recently appointed in the Corps of Engineers, "who had obtained orders attaching him to the Com-"pany, and took the field with us."—*Major Douglass.*

battle had, in fact, been fought on the plains of Chippewa, with a decided advantage, it was said, on our side; and that the Army was already in motion, in pursuit.

We were now rapidly approaching the scene of many and long-cherished anticipations. Another day was to bring us within the sound of the artillery; and the occurrence of these rumors, as we approached—at first, vague; then, more determinate; and, at last, clear and definite on matters of the greatest moment—gave increasing interest, at every step of our progress.

On the ninth of July, at noon, we arrived at Buffalo—not the enterprising, busy metropolis of Western New York, as it now is, spreading its noble avenues, miles in length, on every side, and rearing aloft its stately edifices and glittering domes; but a wide, desolate expanse, with only two small houses visible; a few rude sheds and shanties; a soiled tent, here and there; and, in one or two places, a row of marquees, of a better sort, apparently giving shelter to some wounded men. These were all the habitations, or substitutes for habitations, the place afforded. Half a dozen isolated sentinels were seen on post, keeping guard over as many irregular piles of loose stores and camp-equipage; and the ground, recently occupied by the camp—thick set with rows of measured squares, worn smooth on the surface, and scattered, here and there, with fragments of soldiers' clothes, old belts, and accoutrements, of various kinds—gave an air of desolation to the whole scene, only rendered the more striking by these details; and, in fact, Buffalo, just deserted by the busy groups which had, a few days before, occupied it, was desert and comfortless, beyond any power of mine to describe. The two buildings were, above and below, filled with wounded officers from the Battle of Chippewa; and here, during an hour's halt, under no very pleasing auspices, commenced our intercourse with the realities of War.

We had little time to linger, however. The goal of our present aim was still in advance. The Army was understood to be at Chippewa, eighteen miles down the river; and this further distance was to be accomplished, if possible, before the Company had rest. Here, however, a difficulty occurred, as to the means of transport—every vehicle was in Canada; and our wagoners, having been engaged only to Buffalo, refused to cross the river. Persuasions, promises, and threats were exhausted upon them, in vain; and there seemed no alternative but to pitch our camp at Buffalo, for the night. At this stage of our embarassment, however, it was recollected, fortunately, that a launch, or hulk, of eighteen or twenty tons burden, was laying at Black Rock, two miles below; and thither we accordingly marched, without a moment's delay.

The launch was on shore, at high-water mark, and badly out of repair; but the whole Company were set, immediately, to work; and, after four hours labor, she was placed in the water, at sun-set, apparently almost tight. The Quartermaster furnished us with a pilot; we immediately embarked, with all our establishment of equipage and camp-stores, and committed ourselves to the current of the Niagara, having appointed relays of men to keep the water out of the boat. It soon turned out that our pilot had never been down the river, before, and scarcely knew how to steer a boat. He wished to go down to Chippewa; and thought this a good opportunity.

We knew of no difficulty, however, in navigating the river, except to stop at the proper point; and of this, as the roar of the cataract became audible, we resolved *not to be unmindful*. The night was clear, but dark. We drew cautiously over to the Canada shore, and kept near it, all the way; and, at length, as the increased current indicated our approach to the Rapids, we discovered the lights of the camp, at Chippewa. Some difficulty, encountered in getting round a body of drift wood, at the mouth of the creek, threw us out some distance into the channel, and caused us to drop a little below before we made the shore; but a dozen men leaped into the water, with a line, as soon as we got within their depth; and we were presently brought to, in the still water of the Chippewa. In the mean time, we were challenged by two or three sentinels at once, and a file of men hastily sent to ascertain whom we might be. Satisfied, on that point, however, and report made at Head-quarters, we were welcomed within the cordon of the Army, and made comfortable for the night.

It was just twelve o'clock when our launch was moored; and, within ten minutes from that time, every man, although they had had no refreshment, except a few biscuit, since the preceding morning, was stretched on the ground, or in the boat, fast asleep. Two Staff-officers, at the same time, relinquished to Lieutenant Story and myself what was then deemed the perfection of camp hospitality—to each of us, six feet by one of dry, plank flooring, and an equal area of spread buffalo-skin. It was, indeed, a luxury, though to us not a new one; and, in our dutfil cloaks—booted and belted—we soon realized the value of it. And such was our first night's lodging in Canada.

With regard to the positions of the Army: it was found that the main body, on the day just preceding our arrival, had moved forward to Queenston; and the troops among whom we had been received at Chippewa, were the New York and Pennsylvania Volunteers, under General Porter. The morning following, therefore,

found my little command again on its feet, with wagons loaded for the remaining march of eight miles to Queenston.

You will judge of the interest which absorbed us, at that time, when I mention that even the great cataract of Niagara, roaring within a few hundred yards of our path, was scarcely an object to be regarded. A brief halt was, indeed, permitted; but scarce a minute allowed for a rapid glance before the drum-taps called every man back to his post; and we were again in full march forward.

But how shall I describe the emotions with which we drank in our first view from Queenston Heights! Standing on the crest of the mountain, near where Brock's monument now stands, the horizon—East, West, and North—was terminated by the silvery surface of Lake Ontario, having its nearest shore in front, about five miles distant. Between that and the foot of the mountain, some three hundred feet below us, lay a varied and beautiful surface of verdure and foliage, intersected by the Niagara-river, running from the abyss of the Rapids, near where we stood, directly out to the lake. But these, beautiful as they were, were not the objects that chiefly engaged our attention. Beneath our feet were a small village and a broad expanse of open plain, adjoining, literally whitened with tents. Long lines of troops were under arms; columns in motion; guards coming in and going out; Divisions of Artillery on drill; videttes of Cavalry at speed; and Aides and Staff-officers, here and there, in earnest movement. There was no great display of gaudy plums or rich trappings; but, in their stead, grey-jackets--close buttoned--plain white belts, steel hilts, and brown muskets; but there were bayonets fixed, and a glance of the eye would show that those boxes were well filled with ball cartridges. There was an earnestness, and with good reason, for, yonder, in plain sight, are the colors of the enemy waving proudly over the ramparts of Fort Niagara and Fort George; and a straggling ray, now and then reflected, tells of bayonets fixed, there, too. This, then, was no mere parade—no stage play, for effect—it was a simple and sublime reality—IT WAS WAR.

A few minutes only could be spared to enjoy this sublime and thrilling spectacle; and we were again in motion, descending the hill, to mingle in the moving groups, below. As an addition to the force, we were received with open arms; and our personal greetings were no less cordial. While the Company was filing in, its position in line was determined and laid out by the proper officer; and, on the following day, half the battering-train was assigned to the Bombardiers, and was fought by them, afterwards, to the end of the Campaign.

And here, for the present, fearful of having trespassed too far upon your indulgence, I suspend my narrative. But, before I take leave, allow me to deprecate your judgment for having occupied so large a portion of your attention in matters of personal interest, and things relating to myself. I assure you I am not so unaware of the foible, sometimes charged—perhaps justly—upon the dotage of the military profession, as not to have guarded myself, generally, against it. And if I have departed, in some degree, from my customary rule, this evening, it is only in obedience to the suggestion of some of your number, in whose judgment, on such matters, I have more reason to confide than in my own. Thus sanctioned, as I have now explained all the external relations of the Campaign and fairly introduced myself as the narrator, I propose, on another occasion, if it meet your approbation, to give, in a simple narrative, the scenes and events following, as they actually presented themselves or became known to me, at the time, beginning with the Battle of Chippewa, although it occurred a few days before my arrival, and ending with the evacuation of the British lines, before Fort Erie, on the nineteenth of September.

The more I reflect upon the incidents of this period, the more sensible I am that, on the part of the community, at large, they have never been rightly understood or duly appreciated. With the exception of the official dispatches—which are always necessarily hurried and concise—and the communications of a few of the officers, nearly all that has been published, in relation to those events, has, in some way or other, from design or otherwise, done them injustice. The British officers seem more disposed to set a proper value upon them than we, ourselves.

It is much to be desired that some means should be taken to retrieve these events from the untoward influences under which they have hitherto rested; and, in as far as I can be instrumental in doing this, my ardent desire, as a lover of my country and my country's service, will be truly gratified.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—*HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO-COUNTY, NEW YORK.*

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I.—*INDIAN OCCUPANCY.*

At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, less than a century ago, the entire white population of the State of New York, did not

much exceed two hundred thousand, chiefly occupying the Counties situated immediately on the Hudson and Mohawk-rivers. The vast region West, South-west, and South of Albany, now comprising thirty of the sixty Counties of the State, with an aggregate population of a million and a half, was roamed over by the Indian tribes of the Iroquois, consisting of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, comprising a nomadic population of about one hundred thousand, with twenty-five or thirty thousand warriors, having their principal head-quarters in the vicinity of the central lakes, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca.

That portion of this great Confederacy, which were found inhabiting, temporarily or permanently, the Chenango valley, on the arrival of the first white settlers, were members of the Oneida and Tuscarora tribes; the former of whom, from the remains of old fortifications, Indian burial-places, and rude instruments of Indian warfare, discovered, from time to time, by the whites, must, apparently, have occupied the region, for centuries. The most ancient of these relics were the vestiges of an old fort, on the East bank of the Chenango-river, near the centre of the present village of Oxford, on the *top* of an embankment, flanking which, was found the dead trunk of an old tree, fifty or sixty feet in height, which, being cut, disclosed some two hundred concentric circles, indicating a growth of at least two centuries. In the neighborhood of the Fort, many Indian relics, such as stone hatchets and chisels, and flint arrow-points, were found, in turning up the soil.

One mile South of the village of Norwich, were, also the remains of another fortification, occupying a high bank, on the East side of the river, and known as the "Castle," and which was much frequented by the Indians, at the period of the first advent of the whites. This structure was, however, evidently of much more modern date than the one at Oxford. On the West side of the river, opposite the "Castle," was a space, extending for a mile or upwards, from North to South, known as the "Indian "Fields"—a favorite place of resort for the Indians, and subsequently owned, successively, by Avery Power, one of the earliest white immigrants, and by Captain John Randall, who became the purchaser, in 1800.

Some four miles below Oxford, on Paget's-brook, the remains of Indian fortifications were discovered, consisting of twenty-five distinct embankments, adjacent to each other, over which were found trees of a very great age and, in their vicinity, evident traces of Indian graves, lined, above and below, by cobble stones, the upper strata of which had fallen upon the lower. In ploughing up the lands, in the neighborhood of Norwich and New Berlin, flint arrow points, stone tomahawks, and old gun barrels, were found, in great abundance; and, on excavations made, on the site of the present burying ground, near the southern boundary of the village of Norwich, on the farm of Casper M. Rouse, human bones, in great numbers, in a nearly upright position, were found. Near the late residence of Abel Chandler, in that village, there is also a large mound, corresponding in shape with the Indian tumuli found on the Mississippi and other Western rivers; and, from the traces of an Indian village or settlement, in the neighborhood of the "Castle" and "Indian Fields" referred to, this mound is supposed to have been an ancient Indian burying-place.

Two miles South of the present village of Greene, on the farm formerly owned by Mr. Lott, a few rods from the river bank, was found, some forty years since, a circular mound, forty feet in diameter and six or seven feet in height, in which were discovered a great number of human bones, confusedly jumbled together and in a state of great decay, mingled with a large quantity of flint arrow-heads and stone chisels, of various construction, and adapted, apparently, to various uses, besides several Indian trinkets, of a more elaborate workmanship. Some of the bones, underlying the others, had been evidently burnt. In the centre of the surface of this mound, a large pine stump, the remains of a dead pine-tree, standing there on the arrival of the first settlers, was found, which, when cut, showed one hundred and eighty concentric circles. Estimating the age of the mound by the number of these circles, and bearing in mind the fact that the tree was entirely dead, at the time of the advent of the first white settlers, it could not have been less than two hundred years old; and, from the apparently hurried and disorderly manner in which the bones were found, and the presence of an unusual number of arrow-heads and other warlike weapons, the inference seems not unreasonable, that they were the remains and implements of bodies which had fallen in battle.

Several Indian skeletons were also excavated in digging for the Chenango canal, some thirty years since, about four miles North of Oxford, near the site of what was formerly known as Gates's Tavern—the "half-way-house" between Norwich and Oxford.

There is a tradition concerning a powerful Tuscarora Chief, Thick Neck, who, more than two centuries since, possessed himself of the fort, in Oxford—perhaps constructed it—and, for many years, kept the Oneidas at bay. After many unsuccessful attempts to decoy this form-

idable usurper, from his stronghold, the latter succeeded in cutting him off from the fort, in one of his sallies, and compelling him to make a precipitate retreat, down the river, where he was traced to a marsh around Warn's-pond, killed, and buried. The remnant of his forces were adopted by the Oneidas; and an Indian—Abram Antone—executed for murder, some fifty years since, at Morrisville, in Madison-county, claimed to have been a descendant, in the seventh generation, from the Tuscarora Chief.

Another and later tradition related to a tragical scene, occurring in the vicinity of the "Castle," near Norwich, and the "Indian Fields." A young Oneida brave was contracted in marriage, with the consent of her parents, but, apparently, against her own inclination, to a beautiful squaw of the same tribe. Soon after the nuptials, the bride eloped from her husband's wigwam, with a more favored suitor. The incensed brave immediately put himself upon the trail of the fugitives; and, having, during the darkness of the night, discovered their retreat, entered their lodging-room, and finding them embraced in each others' arms, in profound slumber, buried his knife in the body of the paramour and inflicted a series of ghastly wounds upon that of the faithless bride. She, however, afterwards recovered, and cited the murderer before the assembled Council of Chiefs and warriors, who, after a solemn hearing of all the facts, and in view of the flagrant provocation given, acquitted the accused.*

The latest adjudication of the Indian Council, assembled as a Court of Justice, appears to have occurred a short time subsequently to the settlement of the whites, and to have been characteristic as well as equitable. The complainant was an Indian, who alleged the destruction or despoliation, by one of the settlers, of a valuable rifle, celebrated for its excellent properties. The friends of the injured party were secretly assembled and lay in wait, for several days, to take vengeance upon the offender. The Chief, however, on receiving intelligence of the state of things, apprehensive of still further complications, summoned the Council, who sent for the parties, and, after hearing all the proofs and allegations, directed, first, that the injured rifle should be replaced by another of equal value, in all respects; and, secondly, that the whites should, thereafter, either wholly abstain from selling whiskey to the Indians, or sell it to them in quantities so small as to incur no danger of intoxication.*

At the early period when the town of Norwich included, within its boundaries, the additional territory now constituting the towns of New-Berlin, North Norwich, McDonough, Preston, Plymouth, and Pharsalia, comprehending an area six times greater than her present limits, the streets of the little village were, on all public days, such as Court-days, town-meetings, the fourth of July, and other holidays, crowded by hundreds of Indians, from every direction; and, not unfrequently, serious affrays occurred between parties of them and the white settlers, or among their own body—especially after having been liberally supplied with ardent spirits, by the numerous booths which lined the streets, and tempted, by their varied attractions, their ungovernable appetite. Ordinarily, however, the intercourse between the two races was of the most friendly nature.

At the time of the formation of the first State Constitution, in 1777, there were but fourteen Counties, viz.: New York, Westchester, Duchess, Albany, Orange, Ulster, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Richmond, Tryon, Charlotte, and Cumberland. The two last named were, subsequently, ceded to Vermont. Tryon-county—changed, in 1784, to Montgomery—comprised all that portion of the State lying West of the three river Counties, Albany, Ulster, and Orange, as then constituted, on the West bank of the Hudson. Albany comprehended the present Counties of Schenectada, Saratoga, Warren, Essex, and Clinton, and a portion of Greene, the residue of which was included in Ulster. The County of Tryon included, therefore, at this time, the entire territory West of a North and South line drawn from the South-west corner of the present County of Orange, and, passing through Ulster, the western boundary of Greene, a small portion of Schoharie and Schenectada, adjoining Albany, and, thence, along the eastern line of the present Counties of Montgomery, Fulton, and Hamilton, and the centre of Franklin, to the northern boundary of the State; comprising the whole of the present Counties of St. Lawrence, Lewis, Herkimer, Otsego, Broome, Chenango, Madison, Cortland, Onondaga, Oneida, Oswego, Cayuga, Wayne, Seneca, Tompkins, Schuyler, Chemung, Tioga, Steuben, Yates, Ontario, Monroe, Livingston, Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Genesee, Orleans, Niagara, Erie, and Chautauqua, and the western parts of Franklin, Hamilton, Fulton, Montgomery, Delaware, Ulster, Sullivan, and Orange. In 1791, the Counties of Herkimer, Tioga, and Otsego, were formed from parts of Montgomery—Herkimer including the territory comprised in the present Counties of St. Lawrence, portions of Franklin and Hamilton, the whole of Lewis, Oneida, and Madison, and the five northern towns of the present County of Chenango; and Tioga including all South of that line and West of the present Counties of Otsego and Delaware.

* Clark's *History of Chenango.*

II.—*PURCHASE OF THE TWENTY TOWNSHIPS. EARLY PATENTS.*

In June, 1785, Governor George Clinton, on behalf of the State, negotiated a Treaty with the Chiefs and Sachems of the Oneida and Tuscarora Indians, at Fort Herkimer, by which, in consideration of the sum of eleven thousand, five hundred dollars, "in goods and money," paid to the Indians, they ceded to the State all that portion lying between the Chenango, Susquehannah, Tianaderha, or Unadilla-rivers, comprehended within the following boundaries: "Beginning at the mouth of the Unadilla, or "Tianaderha, river, where the same empties "into the Susquehannah; thence up the said "Unadilla, or Tianaderha, river, ten miles, "measured on a straight line; thence, due "West, to the *Chenengo*-river; thence, south-"erly, down the Chenengo-river, to where it "empties into the Susquehannah-river, and to the "line commonly called the '*Line of property*,' "established at a Treaty held at Fort Stanwix, "in the year 1768; thence, along the said "line, to the place of beginning; so as to com-"prehend all the lands belonging to the Oneida "and Tuscarora nations of Indians, lying South "of a line to be run from the Unadilla, or "Tianaderha, river to the Chenengo-river, and "North of the division line between this State "and Pennsylvania." The southern line of the present town of Norwich, the fifteenth of the "twenty townships" subsequently organized, extended, East, to the Unadilla-river, constituted the northern boundary of this cession. The "Line of property," referred to, was the one, dividing the English and Indian possessions, in America, from a point a few leagues West of Fort Stanwix, now Rome, south-westerly, to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi-rivers. This line coincided with the Unadilla, or "Tian-"aderha," river, to its mouth in the Susquehannah, at the present site of Binghamton, and then took an easterly course to the Mohawk branch of the Delaware-river, constituting the boundary of the "back settlements" of the English, in New York.

In 1788, Governor Clinton, concluded, at Fort Schuyler, near Fort Stanwix, a second Treaty with the Chiefs and Sachems of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and other Indian tribes; including the cession, by the latter, of all their right and title to the territory subsequently known as the "Twenty Townships," including, on the North, the towns of Sangersfield, in Oneida-county, and Nelson, in Madison-county, and extending, South, to the southern limits of Norwich, Preston, and Mc Donough, in Chenango-county. The eastern boundary of this portion of the Grant was, chiefly, the Unadilla-river, and the western, what was subsequently known as the "Military-tract," set apart, by the Legislature, in 1782, for the benefit of the troops of the line of the State, serving in the Revolutionary War, and for other purposes specified in the Act. Through some errors, in the original surveys of this territory and that acquired under the Treaty of 1788, a "gore," comprising a portion of the present town of Cazenovia and the entire town of De Ruyter, in Madison-county, and the towns of Lincklaen, Pitcher, and German, in Chenango, was left, on the eastern boundary of "the "Military Tract."

By an Act passed on the twenty-fifth of February, 1789, the Surveyor-general was required to locate "the Twenty Townships" within the following specified limits: Upon the eastern side of the lands recently purchased of the Oneidas, at Fort Schuyler; lying South of the lands reserved by the Oneidas, for their own exclusive occupancy; and North of the territory purchased from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, under the Treaty of 1785, at Fort Herkimer. Under this Act, the towns were, accordingly, surveyed and numbered, from one to twenty, inclusive. The first three townships, on the North, with the twentieth, adjoining the third, on the East, comprised the present towns of Nelson, Eaton, and Madison, in Madison-county, and Sangersfield, in Oneida, extending from West to East; the fourth, nineteenth, eighteenth, fifth, and sixth, in a reverse order, from East to West, the towns of Brookfield, Hamilton, Lebanon, and Georgetown, in Madison-county: the seventh, eighth, ninth, and seventeenth, from West to East, Otselic, Smyrna, Sherburne, and Columbus; the sixteenth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, in reverse order again, the towns of New-Berlin, North Norwich, Plymouth, and Pharsalia; the fifteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth, the towns of Norwich, Preston, and Mc Donough. On the West of these townships, extending from North to South, lay, as before stated, as part of the town of Cazenovia and the towns of De Ruyter, Lincklaen, Pitcher, and German—the three latter then forming the town of German. Immediately South of Mc Donough, Preston, and Norwich, were, subsequently, formed the towns of Smithville, Oxford, and Guilford; South and South-west of Smithville, the town of Greene; and South of Oxford and Guilford, Bainbridge.

The Surveyor-general was also directed to subdivide the original twenty townships into equal quarter-sections, as nearly as possible, and to subdivide each of the Sections containing two hundred and fifty acres each, as nearly as practicable, from the nature of the soil and other natural obstacles—these lots, in each township, to be numbered from one to one hundred, inclusive. In each township, one lot was to be

reserved for "Gospel" and one for "School" purposes, to be located as nearly central as might be, for religious and educational purposes. The Commissioners of the Land Office—consisting, at that time, of the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, Secretary of State, Attorney-general, Treasurer, Auditor, and Speaker of the Assembly, together with the Surveyor-general—were directed, after selecting five townships, as a reserve for the redemption of Bills of Credit issued by the State—the choice lands to be sold only for gold or silver—to make sales of the residue, at a minimum price of three shillings—seventy-five cents—per acre. These sales took place in the city of New York, then the capital of the State, after three months public notice; and, from the tardy circulation of those notices, in the remote sections of the State, and the difficulties of traveling, at that early period, over the rough and primitive roads incident to a new and frontier settlement, the greater part of these lands fell, naturally, into the hands of wealthy individuals, speculators, and jobbers, in the two large cities, Albany and New York, or members of the Legislature and others, in official attendance at the seat of Government, and were speedily re-sold, at a greatly enhanced valuation.

On full payment of the prices for which these lands were sold by the State, Patents were issued, under the Great Seal, from the Secretary's Office, with the Governor's signature, either to the original purchasers or their assignees, and, usually, though not necessarily, entered of record in the State Department.

At this period, the whole of the present Counties of Chenango, Madison, Herkimer, Oneida, Broome, and Tioga, with all the adjoining Counties, on the West, were included within the limits of the town of Whitestown, in the present Oneida county. Herkimer, Oneida, Tioga, and Otsego, having been subsequently carved out of the original Montgomery, in 1791, Whitestown became the half-shire of Herkimer; and Newtown Point—the present Elmira—the shire-town of Tioga. Up to as late a period as 1808, the old jail, at Whitestown, still continued to be used for the confinement of prisoners from Madison and Chenango-counties.

The first Patent for lands sold in the County, under the authority of the State, was granted, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1792, to Leonard M. Cutting, for the fifteenth township, Norwich, then including a part of New-Berlin. The first Certificate of Survey was delivered to Mr. Cutting, on the second of November preceding. The second Certificate bears date the third of November, in the same year, and covered a portion of Preston, the fourteenth town; the West part, consisting of upwards of seven thousand acres, having been sold, on the same day, to Melancthon Smith and Marinus Willett. On the first of January and twenty-eighth of June, 1793, Mr. Cutting received a Patent for the East part of Preston, including a part of Norwich and the whole of Plymouth, purchased by him, in November preceding. On the thirty-first of January, 1793, Robert C. Livingston obtained a Patent for the seventh town, now Otselic. On the sixth of April, following, William S. Smith obtained a Certificate of Survey, for the towns of Smyrna and Sherburne; followed by a Patent, on the sixteenth of April, 1794. James Tallmadge and Ezra Thompson, of Duchess, purchased the tenth town, North Norwich, together with a part of New Berlin; Thomas Ludlow and Josiah Shippey, the thirteenth town, McDonough, on the sixth of February, 1793; White Matlach and Jacob Hallett, the twelfth, Pharsalia, on the sixth of April, following; and John Taylor, part of New-Berlin and Columbus, on the second of February, for which a Patent was issued on the fourteenth of February, 1797.

[To be Continued.]

III.—*GENERAL MEADE AND THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.*

An Oration, delivered by Major-General Charles Devens, Junior, at the Re-union of the Army of the Potomac, at New Haven, Connecticut, May 14, 1873.*

Mr. President and Comrades of the Army of the Potomac:

When, two years ago, our distinguished fellow-soldier, Governor Fairchild, suggested that it would be well to place upon our records, by our exercises upon these occasions, as fullan account as we could gather of the part which our Army took in the War of the Rebellion—a suggestion which was then well carried out by himself and, after, by General Woodford, in the eloquent address delivered last year, at Cleveland—he also remarked that it could hardly be done consecutively; but there must, of necessity, be intervals in the regular progress of the narrative. Most unwillingly do I break the thread, and recognize that one of those occasions has come. One theme only seems appro-

* This article is printed from a corrected copy of the Oration, communicated by General Devens for publication in The Historical Magazine; and, as the proofs of the article have been read and corrected by him, it bears the form, in this version of it, which the Author himself desires it shall wear before the world of historical literature.—Editor.

priate for our meeting, to-day, when we remember that, of the five commanders of that Army, in front of Washington, which became the Army of the Potomac, but four now survive. He who was its leader, from the proud day of Gettysburg unto the yet prouder day when its great rival, the Army of Northern Virginia, piled up its arms in sad and sullen submission and the sword of its leader was laid in the conquering hand of Grant, has passed, since we last met, from the ranks of living men. No more shall we see that slender, yet not ungraceful, figure, which seemed the embodiment of the scholar, the soldier, and the gentleman, that, of late years, has risen so cordially, at all our gatherings, responsive to our call, as, in the times now long past, we rose to his—no more recognize that quick and spirited glance: no more hear that voice whose tones have summoned to high duties and great enterprises, always, and never counseled fear or dishonor.

His loss has been mourned as a public one, throughout the Union, especially in the city which was his home and in the State whose hills shall guard his fame forever; but, whatever may be the honors paid to his memory, elsewhere, there is no place—the sacred circle of home alone excepted—where that memory can be held so dear as among those who, with him, have borne the weary campaigns and the long marches, by day and night, alike in July's heat and December's cold; have seen, with him, the sad hours of disaster and defeat; and have known, with him, the stern joy of victory. Honored and respected, as a wise and brave commander; loved as a comrade; always considerate and true, if I dedicate these fleeting moments to him, however imperfect my tribute may be, I feel convinced I shall not want your approval. Nor, if I speak, as I must, of the great field by which he is especially endeared to his countrymen, shall I speak of it otherwise than as it stands, to-day, upon the verdict of history, now that its record, drawn from the Reports of the principal Commanders, on either side, is fully made up, and the victor and vanquished chieftains sleep in the common repose of death. Wounded, severely, at Chancellorsville, a few weeks previously, in its dangers I had no part; to its honor, I can lay no claim except to that which was there reflected by you upon every one who could call you "Comrade;" yet, even from this, I would not willingly part, when I remember that, as the glad tidings were flashed towards the North, each one of your wounded veterans stood more proudly on his crutch; and even the fever-stricken patient, in the hospital, as he raised himself from his couch, and strove, with parched lips, to join in the ringing cheers, murmured, "I, too, am a "soldier of the Army of the Potomac."

Although born upon foreign soil, yet, under the flag of the Union and in its citizenship, George Gordon Meade graduated at West Point, in 1835; and was then brevetted as Second-lieutenant of Artillery. Resigning, in 1836, he passed the intervening years, until 1842, as an Engineer in the Civil Service of the United States, when he was again appointed to the Army as a Second-lieutenant of the Topographical Engineers; and, in the discharge of the pursuits and duties of that important Corps, for which he had a peculiar aptitude, he continued until the breaking out of the War with Mexico. During this, he served, at first, upon the Staff of General Taylor, participating in all the hard-fought fights of that resolute soldier, until his line of approach to the city of Mexico was relinquished, when he was transferred to the Staff of General Scott, and aided in the conduct of the seige operations against Vera Cruz. At its close, he resumed, with renewed interest, the scientific duties of his profession, until he was summoned from them, in 1861, by the call to arms, when the experiment of firing the Southern heart, by the attack upon Fort Sumter, was found to have been successful, not in that only, but in fully arousing the North to its danger, and rendering anything like peaceful secession impossible.

It will be seen, therefore, that General Meade's early education, as a soldier, had been, in every way, calculated to develope his great natural powers. Fully acquainted with all the scientific branches of his profession and, undoubtedly, from his tastes, strongly attracted by them, he had not run the risk of becoming a mere soldier of the book, but had seen the great actions and served with the great Captains of the Mexican War, each of whom possessed qualities worthy of note and study, and from whom he may have learned some lessons of that care in preparation, that vigor in execution, that calmness in difficulty, which he was, afterward, to exhibit on a far greater field of warfare.

Appointed a Brigadier-general of Volunteers, in August, 1861, his military life was with this Army. He served in the operations in front of Washington and through all the conflicts of the Peninsula Campaign, up to the battle of Glendale, in June, 1862, where he was severely wounded; proving himself, everywhere, a zealous and competent officer, as vigorous and brilliant in attack as he was calm in endurance, when compelled to stand on the defensive. Returning to the field, in September, 1862, he was, at once, assigned to the command of a Division, with which he served through the Maryland Campaign, when Lee was driven up, through the passes of the South Mountain range, to the field of Antietam; and, at Antietam, was, after the gallant Hooker fell, severely wounded, placed in temporary command of his Corps.

After Fredericksburg—in which battle he continued to command the same Division, and where he succeeded in breaking the right of Lee's line and threatening, formidably, his communications with Richmond—although forced, finally, to relinquish his hold, for lack of support, General Meade was assigned to the Fifth Army Corps, he having, some time previously, been made Major-general of Volunteers. In command of this Corps, he served at the Battle of Chancellorsville; and remained with it, until the twenty-eighth of June, 1863, when he was appointed Commander-in chief of the Army of the Potomac, as that Army was moving up, through Maryland, to encounter Lee—an encounter which, as you all know, when it came, resulted in the victory of Gettysburg.

The causes which led to that bold and remarkable movement, on the part of the Rebel Government—the invasion of Pennsylvania, in 1863—have never been, so far as I know, completely stated by it. The Report of the rebel Commander-in-chief clearly indicates that, when it was written, he did not intend to develop them. He says, there, that the Army of the Potomac lay, along the Rappahannock, in such a position that it could not be attacked to advantage; that, by moving Northward, through the great valley of Virginia, a fairer opportunity would be offered to strike; that the plans of the enemy, for the Summer, would be disarranged and time consumed; and then adds that, actuated by these and other important considerations that he may hereafter present, he determined upon the movement. Those important considerations have never been divulged; and, so far as General Lee is concerned, now, never can be: yet they may be reasonably conjected.

Two reasons existed which, if it were possible to get a foothold in any Northern State, rendered it vital that it should be done. The Confederate diplomatists had been struggling, abroad, in vain, for recognition as a Government. They saw that they could not hope to obtain this, as long as the War was confined to the limits of the Southern States and, however formidable in proportions, bore, always, the aspect of a mere local rebellion. Let but their Army maintain itself on Northern soil, and Mr. Davis believed that his Ambassadors could obtain recognition from some foreign States, at least, and, with it, all the advantages of a position in the family of nations. The other, was the necessity of doing something to sustain the courage of the rebel States, under a misfortune which was impending over them, well known to Davis and Lee, and as yet little appreciated, generally, among the mass of their people. The sword of Grant was knocking fiercely at the gates of Vicksburg: at any hour it might burst them. With this, Port Hudson must fall; and, cutting the Confederacy in twain, the Mississippi would be open, from the mountains to the sea. This was a blow which could neither be warded off nor parried: it must descend: and there was left only the hope of dealing another, in return, elsewhere, which would, in some degree, diminish its weight.

No sooner were the designs of Lee fully unmasked, by his movement from the Shenandoah into the Cumberland-valley, than General Hooker, who had fallen back, toward Washington, in obedience to the exigencies of the problem which pressed upon every commander of the Army of the Potomac—the necessity of covering Washington—acted with his usual vigor. Crossing the Potomac, to the North side, himself, on the twenty-fifth of June, on the twenty-seventh, he had concentrated his forces at Frederick. It was on the twenty-eighth, that Lee—whose Cavalry had been cut off from him by the rapidity of this action, and who had then pushed Ewell forward to York and Carlisle, with intent, as he says, to cross the Susquehanna, and was, himself, at Chambersburg, with Longstreet and Hill—learned, at the same time, not only that Hooker had crossed the Potomac, but was actually at Frederick. "We may "search the history of modern Campaigns in "vain," says Captain Chesney, one of the most intelligent of the British writers on our War, "to find a more striking example of the effect "produced by operating on the enemy's com-"munications, than that of this movement of "Hooker's. The first sound that reached Lee "of the advance of the Federal columns to the "North of the river, caused him to suspend all "action in any direction tending to draw him "further from his base." He resolved, at once, on concentrating his forces on the East side of South-mountain, and preventing Hooker's further march, westward; and orders, for this purpose, were at once issued. Before these facts were known to Lee, which caused him thus to desist from any further movement, forward, the change had been made in the Army of the Potomac, which placed General Meade in command—General Hooker being relieved at his own request. The immediate cause of this request, was the refusal, by the War Department, to place at his disposal the troops at Harper's-ferry; and, without entering into the discussion of this matter, here, I may say that I think that there will be found few, to-day, to defend a course which, when the air was black with the gathering clouds of such a storm as burst in thunder, a few days later, over Gettysburg, would have left out of the conflict, ten thousand

efficient troops, under the command of a veteran General [*French*].

No tribute to the discipline that prevailed in this Army can be higher than that which is paid by saying that this change was made when every one knew a battle was impending, without, in any way, affecting its spirits or its energy. The French herald who, in the same breath, announced the death of one King and the accession of another, by the words, "The King is "dead: Long live the King!" was never received with more unquestioning loyalty than, in its devotion to the cause it served, and not in indifference to its leaders, this Army received each announcement of a change of Commanders. Faithful and devoted to those who had preceded, it prepared to render the same obedience to him who, now, in the very imminence of a mortal struggle, found its heavy cares and responsibilities thrown upon him. The situation was one which might give the most audacious anxiety, for the loss of a great battle, then, might endanger all for which we had been struggling; and yet a great battle must be fought, to relieve the Northern States from the invasion which, at that moment, seemed to threaten, most directly, the splendid city of Philadelphia. If Meade could secure the immense tactical advantage of compelling the enemy to attack him, that might be rendered certain, which, without it, would be doubtful. It was his opinion, that the Infantry of Lee must surpass his own by about ten thousand men, supposing that each could bring on to the field, substantially, his whole Army. If any lesson had been clearly taught, already, however—and every day's experience was to confirm it—it was that, in a country like America, with the rough field-works that troops may throw up, the improvements in artillery and musketry are so much for the benefit of the party which stands on the defensive, that a force decidedly weaker may, in such a position, receive the assaults of another, with confidence. Cool as he was brave, he resolved that this advantage should be secured, by forcing his opponent to attack him, if possible. Accepting his position, in an Order issued early in the morning of the twenty-eighth, he nobly summoned his troops to their duties—nor do I like the Order less because it is distinctly marked with the manly, healthy, religious feeling which was an essential element in his character. "The country," he says, "looks to this Army to relieve it from "the devastation and disgrace of a hostile inva-"sion. Whatever fatigues and sacrifices we "may be called upon to undergo, let us have "in view, constantly, the magnitude of the in-"terests involved; and let each determine to do "his duty, leaving to an all-controlling Provi-"dence, the decision of the contest."

From the nature of the case, as General Meade states, no precise plan had probably been formed, by General Hooker, or could be, by himself, other than to be governed by the exigencies of the situation. Already, the Army was in a position which threatened Lee, formidably; but the information of any hour might make a change of movements necessary, to bring about that which he desired. The twenty-eighth was spent in getting together the essential information, as to his own Army, its various forces and position, as well as in ascertaining all that was then known at the Head-quarters, in reference to the enemy; and, on the twenty-ninth, instead of continuing to move westward, which was, perhaps, the apprehension of Lee, fearful always as to his communications, he commenced to move northward, to compel him to loose his hold on the Susquehannah. From this river, unknown to him, Lee was already drawing back. Moving, upon the twenty-ninth and on the thirtieth, in a manner which would enable him to concentrate his forces upon Pipe-creek—a position, about fifteen miles South of Gettysburg, which seemed to afford a good line, alike for the purpose of preventing the crossing of the Susquehannah and of covering Washington and Baltimore—no means were neglected in endeavoring to ascertain the exact whereabouts of the enemy, and also of the places where it would be suitable to offer him battle. General Humphreys was directed, on the arrival of his Division, at Emmettsburg, to report whether the ground, there, was favorable, the position, itself, being evidently an important one. On the thirtieth, Meade was informed by Buford, who covered, with his Cavalry, the left of our Army, of the presence of the enemy, near Gettysburg, whither Reynolds, with the First and Eleventh Corps, had already been ordered to proceed. While the orders of the thirtieth thus directed Reynolds, those to the other Corps contemplated, evidently, taking up the line of Pipe-creek, in doing which they would be shielded and masked, by Reynolds, on their left front. Reynolds was also instructed, as General Humphreys states, in his beautiful Address upon General Meade, lately delivered in Philadelphia, to report whether Gettysburg, itself, afforded ground suitable for a battle. All the Orders indicate that every movement was liable to be changed by the development of events; and, showing the great skill which Meade possessed, as a tactician, on a large scale, they demonstrate his ability to handle an Army in a series of manœuvres of the greatest importance. He was fully entitled to the praise bestowed by Swinton, the able critic of the operations of the Army of the Potomac, who says that, in "spite of the malicious detrac-"tion of his adversaries, who have tried to make "it appear that he shrank from the issue of

"arms, at Gettysburg, it was, in reality, the moral "firmness of General Meade that determined "the combat, in the form in which it actually "occurred."

On the morning of the first of July, the first encounter took place; and, although to the North and West of Gettysburg, it is still to be considered a part, and an essential part, of the battle. It was a day beginning successfully; but, so far as the loss of troops was concerned, ending seriously, and yet a conflict of inestimable value, for, although forced from the ground we at first occupied, at its close, we held the position, to the South of Gettysburg, on the crest, to be, thenceforth, forever, renowned in the American annals. Hill's Corps had moved from Chambersburg, through Cashtown, and, on that morning, was encountered by Buford, upon that road which is to the West from Gettysburg, beyond Seminary-ridge, which, on the next day, became the most important part of the Army's line. Meeting them, at about nine o'clock in the morning, he held them, most gallantly, in check, until the arrival of Reynolds, with Wadsworth's Division, who immediately prepared to engage, sending back for the rest of his Corps and for the Eleventh to hurry forward. To sustain Buford was, undoubtedly, his most pressing reason, at the moment, as the delay of the enemy was of importance, that Meade might be aided in the concentration of his forces; but, with the knowledge he had of the anxiety of the commanding General, who was then ignorant of the peculiar facilities afforded by the ground, at Gettysburg, it is not likely that he passed over the Emmettsburg-road, without taking in all the advantage to be obtained by the possession of the crest, or anticipating that, if forced back upon it, he could cling to it, until he was sustained by the whole Army. Arranging his troops, forming his lines, with his customary rapidity and energy, he advanced, at once, on the force opposed to him, which already largely outnumbered his own; but, hardly was the movement commenced, when he fell, mortally wounded. Brave men were to die, by thousands, on that terrible field; yet no one could fall whose loss was more seriously felt and more deeply deplored. Not the men of the First Corps only, whom he had long led, but the whole Army, knew him as a soldier in whose bravery and skill the most implicit confidence might be placed. The senior of Meade, in military rank, no jealous thought, at his promotion to the command of the Army, ever entered that loyal heart. Modest and simple, in manner: with no trace of affectation or boasting: reliable as steel! A true soldier, he died a soldier's death, grandly contributing to the triumph he was never to share. Yet, where could man meet better the inevitable hour, than in defence of his native State, his life-blood mingling with the soil on which he first drew breath? Long may the statue which the love and honor of his comrades of the First Corps have reared to him, on the field, stand, in glorious though mute resemblance to him, as he stood that day, watching, with eager gaze and dauntless heart, the advance of the coming foe.

His troops did not lose the impulse he had given them, even at his fall: gallantly holding the enemy at bay, many prisoners were taken; and, for an hour or two, all went well. Substantially, the remainder of the First Corps and two Divisions of the Eleventh Corps arrived with General Howard, who took command on the field; but, soon, the advance of Ewell's troops, who now approached, from the North, on their way, from Carlisle and York, to Lee's proposed concentration at Gettysburg, seemed to render necessary, an extension of our line round to the North of the town, by which it was weakened, seriously; and, outnumbered at all points, the day was fairly turned against us, and Howard was forced back, through the town, to the Heights where the battle was finally fought. Nor could he effect this withdrawal, except at the expense of a severe loss, in prisoners, which fell more heavily upon the Eleventh Corps, which had been exposed to the assaults of the columns coming from the North. Although the number of Divisions engaged was about equal, it must be observed that, at this time, each Division and Corps of the enemy was more than double the size of one of ours. Luckily, or rather prudently, General Howard had left, in position, on Cemetery-hill, as he advanced, one of his own Divisions—Von Steinwehr's—which had not been engaged; and, aided by General Hancock, who had now arrived with an order from Meade to take command, upon the field, but without troops, the confusion of the withdrawal was subdued; and the men, undiscouraged by the reverse, prepared to receive the assault of the enemy and maintain their position, until after nightfall. A demonstration was, in fact, made, but not with the usual vigor of the enemy; and was, without difficulty, repulsed. To Meade, Hancock immediately sent that the ground was favorable, and that it could be held until after nightfall. The Twelfth Corps, in response to the summons of General Howard, sent earlier in the day, had now reached the field—one Brigade of the First, which had been delayed, and two of the Third arriving soon after—and General Hancock, surrendering the command to General Slocum, reported, in person, to General Meade, who, he found, had already issued Orders to all his Army, to move, as rapidly as possible, to Gettysburg, and was, himself, preparing to go thither, at once,

and waiting only to hear from the Sixth Corps, which could not reach there until after the middle of the next day, as it was more than thirty miles away. That Summer night witnessed a scene, in Pennsylvania, such as I trust its hills may never behold again, as the whole Army—the Artillery by every road, and the Infantry by every path—were moving to the conflict; but, early in the day, every thing was ready except the Sixth Corps; and, for it, they were strong enough to wait. The guns were in position, and some slight breast-works of earth and rails had been hastily thrown up. Meade, himself, had reached the ground, soon after midnight, and directed the arrangement of his troops: that his tactical disposition, for the coming battle, were of as excellent an order as his materials allowed, has not been questioned, that I am aware of, by any one. One of his directions, on arriving, was, that proper examination should be made of all the roads leading from Gettysburg. This Order, which proceeded only from the caution of a prudent commander desirous to be prepared for any event, however unfortunate, afterwards gave occasion to a charge against him that he intended to withdraw, without fighting—a charge that he always felt to be cruelly unjust. In his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he emphatically denied it, in terms of such solemnity, that, now, when he stands before the tribunal to which he then appealed, it is but just that it should be repeated, here. "I utterly "deny," said he, "under the full solemnity "and sanctity of my oath and in the firm con- "viction that the day will come when the secrets "of all men shall be made known—I utterly "deny ever having intended or thought, for one "instant, to withdraw that Army, unless the "military contingencies which the future should "develop, during the course of the day, might "render it a matter of necessity that it should "be withdrawn."

The morning of the second of July wore away, without anything decisive—our own Army, on the crest which stretched, from Culp's-hill, along Cemetery-hill and ridge, to Round-top; while the enemy, with Longstreet's and Hill's Corps, occupied Seminary-hill, a ridge about a mile distant, overlapping our left and extending round to our right with Ewell's Corps. Early in the afternoon, stout John Sedgwick, with the Sixth Corps, were up, after their long march of thirty-six miles; and the Federal Army stood ready to receive the blow which the Army of Northern Virginia must deliver, or lose the prestige it boasted and acknowledge the invasion a failure. Whether it was wise in Lee to make the attack, has been doubted; but he, himself, felt that it was forced upon him, and says in his Report that, "while he had not intended to fight a "general battle, so far from his base, unless "attacked, yet, finding himself confronted, un- "expectedly, by the Federal Army, the battle be- "came, in some measure, unavoidable by him."

The exact numbers engaged remain, to-day, in dispute; yet they were, undoubtedly, as nearly equal as can ever be expected to be found, in a conflict of such magnitude. That theirs exceeded ours, seems to be the more general estimate, and by about ten thousand; although I observe General Humphreys, in the Address to which I have referred, places their Infantry as exceeding ours by fifteen thousand men.

It was three or four o'clock when the comparative silence of the earlier part of the day was broken by the attack upon our left, which was held by the Third Corps, under General Sickles. Instead of extending, directly, from the left of the Second Corps, which was our left centre, to Round-top, he had thrown his line forward to obtain one, which he deemed more commanding, upon the Emmettsburg-road. While a strong attack was made upon his left and the angle where his line receded towards Round-top, a flanking force was dispatched to carry little Round-top, which the rebel commander rightly judged to be the key of the whole position. Before it reached it, however, reinforcements had already arrived, from the Fifth Corps; and the struggle for its possession became, at once, most furious. Nowhere, during the engagement, was more determination shown. Each Regiment, as it came up, realized that the point was vital—that to lose it, was to lose the day—and fought accordingly. Fiercely striven for: manfully held: nightfall saw it and the whole crest, from it to Culp's-hill, in our possession. The Third Corps had, indeed, been forced from its more advanced position, on the Emmettsburg-road, for, after a stubborn resistance, in which General Sickles was severely wounded, and a heavy loss, in men, it had fallen back on the line, from Hancock's left to Round-top, which General Meade always considered the true line.

The most anxious hours of the whole battle were those in which the possession of Round-top and the line on the Emmettsburg-road were thus fiercely debated. In this conflict, the Third Corps was assisted by reinforcements from nearly every other; and the day was, at last, brilliantly closed by a charge from General Crawford's Division, supported by the advance of the Sixth Corps, which drove the enemy, finally, from too close proximity to Round-top. On our right, an advantage had been gained by Ewell, who had secured a position within our lines, weakened, as they had been, by the reinforcements sent to the left of the line; but, of this, it was clear to General Meade that he would be easily dispossessed, in the morning.

Night descended at last; and each Army, anxious, but determined, waited for the coming day, which must decide the momentous issue. For Lee to desist in his attack, was to confess defeat, while yet, as he says, "he believed ultimate success might be secured;" and, although he knew well that the position from which the Third Corps had been forced, was an advantage, rather apparent than real, yet he knew, also, that it had inspirited his troops to a belief that the task before them was not beyond their powers. On the other hand, in our Army, while all felt that the hour for exultation had not come, everything seemed to indicate, in spite of the loss of the position on the Emmettsburg-road, that the true line of defence was untouched; and that the same determination, on the day which was to come, as on that which was passed, would insure the victory. To the rule that Councils of War never fight, which has become a proverb, the Council of War held this night is an exception; for it was there agreed to be the only thing to be done.

Unwilling to abandon the scheme of an invasion, and confiding in the spirit of his troops, Lee decided, on the next day, to try, again, the fortune of an attack. While not materially changing his position, on the morning of the third of July, which, as before, swept round from Seminary-ridge—relinquishing any attempt to carry Round-top, now securely held and rudely, but strongly, fortified—his plan was an assault, by main force, upon our left centre, which should reach all before it. Nor was this unexpected by Meade, who, in a conversation with Gibbon, on the evening of the second of July, had predicted that, after his ill success on our flanks, the next movement of Lee would be at our centre. Any project of a movement, in force, upon our right was abandoned, also, if entertained. The driving out of Ewell's force, in the morning, from the more forward position it had held, the evening before, had deprived him of his foothold, there, which it would cost a desperate struggle again to obtain. This had not been done, however, until Lee's disposition was nearly completed, as Ewell had reinforced the Division which had effected an entrance, within our lines, upon Culp's-hill; and their determined resistance had delayed a termination of the struggle, until nearly noon.

It was one o'clock, on the third of July, when all was ready, within the Confederate lines, for that celebrated assault which ranks among the most remarkable in history, alike for the fierceness with which it was made and the resolution and persistency with which it was met and foiled. It has been compared to the charge of the Old Guard, at Waterloo; but not, I think, very happily, for that was but a desperate effort to save a battle already lost. It far more resembles the renowned charge, at Wagram, directed by Napoleon, himself, then in the zenith of his fame and the full splendor of his great military intellect. Aspern and Essling had been doubtful, or, indeed, defeats for the Emperor; and the fate of the day, at Wagram, was trembling in the scale, when, concentrating the fire of one hundred guns upon the Austrian centre, after a furious cannonade, he launched McDonald, with ten thousand men, upon it. It was observed that, although the Empire had long since come, as if to inflame his men with all the fire of the French Revolution, McDonald, who led the column, in person, wore, that day, his old uniform of a Republican General. Bursting upon the Austrian line, it was broken; and instant retreat followed. This day was to see repeated that favorite movement of Napoleon, of striking at the centre, on an even more gigantic scale, yet not with like success—as the wave, which beats upon the rocky barriers of our coast, is dashed, back again, in clouds of scattering, dissolving spray, so this fierce and bloody wave of rebellion was to be hurled back, broken, scattered, and in wild disorder, when it struck the adamantine wall of the Infantry of the Army of the Potomac.

Concentrating an immense mass of artillery, not less than one hundred and fifty guns, along his front, the Confederate commander strives, first, to shake the morale of the Federal troops, whose firmness and courage he clearly does not despise, in order that his Infantry columns may more readily do the decisive work he has in store for them. From eighty guns posted upon Cemetery-hill and ridge, our Batteries make stern reply; and an Artillery conflict of unexampled fury rages, from ridge to ridge, and over the valley of death that lies between. Sheltering themselves, as well as they can, by such rude breastworks as they have, from the terrific storm of shot and shell which fills the air and, with its tumult, could wake the very dead among whom their lines are drawn, were they sensible to mortal sounds, our troops await the momentous struggle which is coming; for the mighty roar is but the overture and prelude to a mightier drama. For two hours, the tempest continues. Hunt, our prudent Chief of Artillery, toward the end, slackens his fire, that the ammunition may not fail—when the Infantry attempt to close, he knows, he shall need it all—and his wisdom is well rewarded, afterwards. Hancock, who commands the left center, his own Corps being immediately under Gibbon, knows that somewhere on him the storm is to break, and rides along his whole line, seeing that all is prepared, and rousing his men, by his ardent words

and magnetic presence, to the hot work that is before them.

And now, there is a momentary lull in the fire of the Confederate line—all know it as the lull which precedes the wildest roar of the tempest; and that, for a few moments, their Batteries cannot fire, because their Infantry are moving. Out of the wooded crests which have shielded them, on Seminary-ridge, they are coming, now, in number nearly, or quite, eighteen thousand men. From the edge of the wood, Longstreet directs the assault; and, anxiously, Lee watches the result. Pickett's Division, about five or six thousand strong, is the directing force. Upon the right, it is supported by Wilcox and Perry, from Hill's Corps. Upon the left, Heth's Division of Hill's Corps, commanded by Pettigrew, forms a portion of the assaulting lines, and is strengthened by two Brigades from Pender's Division, of the same Corps. On Pickett, however, the greatest reliance is placed. Let him but reach our line, with adequate momentum, and they feel that the day is theirs. The men of this Division have not yet fought in the battle, and feel that they have been kept for its very crisis: they are resolved upon their work, for they know that the eyes of both armies are upon them. Virginians all: alas! that the State, so honored in the Union as to be termed the mother of its Presidents, should send forth so gallant a body of her sons, in the mad and wicked effort to destroy it! Conspicuous, in the front, as they move into the more open ground, is Pickett himself, carefully forming his lines; and, almost immediately, they come under the fire of our Batteries; yet, steadily they move, through the valley, with a courage that, in a good cause, should command the admiration of the world. There is no rushing or tumult, for they are old troops and know well the value of discipline and that they must keep their formations, or they will be driven, as a mob would be driven, from the front of the Army of the Potomac. They close up their ranks, too, as the shot and spherical case come plunging through their lines, for they have often looked, before, upon the sight of blood. The lines of Pettigrew, more exposed by the open character of the ground, waver, soon, under the terrific cannonade—for Hunt, economical, a little while ago, is liberal enough, everywhere, now—and are broken, on their left, while the right still clings firmly to the directing force. The supporting columns fail to advance, in season and with vigor; and Pickett's Division must do the work, finally, almost alone, if it may. Already, it is within the musketry fire of our troops; but yet they withhold it. Many of our guns have now exhausted their canister, and are drawn back, to await the struggle of the Infantry; but, still the stout Army lets its opponents come. The Second Vermont Brigade—First Corps—thrown forward upon its flank, is the first to open; but the column still presses on. It encounters, now, the Second Corps; and, as it receives a terrific fire, from the Divisions of Gibbon and Hays, it returns it, with desperate energy, and, rushing fiercely onwards, strikes, with its fullest force, upon the front of Webb's Brigade, pressing back our line, from the stone-wall which had covered it, to the crest, immediately behind, where the gallant Webb, assisted by Hall, soon restores order. Already, their battle-flags are on the low stone-wall; already, Armistead, who leads, as he stands upon it, waves his troops forward to their last great struggle. The hour for the Army of the Potomac has come. Up now, men of New England, and show yourselves, in the field, the same stout defenders of the Constitution and the Union that your statesmen have ever done, in the forum! Up, men of the Middle States, upon whose soil this unholy attempt to strike at the keystone of the arch is made! Up, men of the West, whose fortunes have so long been cast with this Eastern Army, that you may bear back, beyond the mountains, the tidings of the great victory, won to-day, on the Atlantic slope! Up, true men of the South, few though you are, in numbers, who fight in our ranks, to-day! There is no need for any one to echo the Order of the Duke, at Waterloo, to call or command, for, now, the left centre, as if by a common impulse and instinct, throws itself upon the foe. The point penetrated by the enemy is covered by some Regiments; while others change their front, so as to strike them on the flank. There is confusion: organization is, to some extent, lost in both Brigades and Regiments; but all understand what is to be done, and are resolute. It is the stern confusion of the onset; and not the wretched tumult of disaster. As the long wave of fire bursts upon their charging lines, the colors of our Regiments are advanced to meet the battle-flags of the foe. Firmly on, our men come—officers animating, by their example, at least, when they cannot direct by their commands; for we stand no longer on the defensive, but take the offensive, now. Before that determined front and concentrated fire, what brave but erring and misguided men could do, their men did. Killed or mortally wounded, their Brigadiers fall, their lines waver, yield, and break, at last; and, while a few wild, disorganized masses struggle to reach the Confederate line, from which they issued, so proudly, an hour before, the Army of the Potomac gathers up the prisoners, by thousands, and their battle-

flags, in sheaves, and knows that Gettysburg is won.

General Meade, who was at the right, getting his Reserves in order, when the assault commenced, reached the left centre just as the repulse was fairly completed, and, speaking to General Gibbon's Aide, asked, "How is it going, here?" He was told that the assault was repulsed. He repeated, "Is it entirely repulsed?" and when the Aide replied that it was, and all around broke into loud cheers, he raised his hat with a simple, "Thank God!" Nor, with him, was this the mere repetition of a phrase of custom, but an expression of deep and heartfelt feeling. Although thousands, in a grateful country, attested, by solemn thanksgiving, their gratitude for this great triumph—worthy to be ranked with what Oliver Cromwell termed the Battle of Worcester, "the crowning mercy of the Lord"—I question if, from one, it came with more deep emotion than from the lips of the Commander-in-chief, upon the field itself. "A soldier," says Corporal Trim, in Sterne's fine story, "a soldier, "an't please your rev'rence, must say his prayers "when and where he can."

It has been contended that we should now have attacked, in our turn; but such a movement, if successful, might, of course, become seriously compromising; and it was not in the character of General Meade to put at risk that which he had already gained, when it was of such vast value and importance. The battle had been fought, for the key of the country, where he stood, and fought out, thoroughly: it was his, beyond doubt or peradventure: no earthly power could wrest it from him. The invasion was at an end; and Lee would be compelled to abandon the territory into which he had entered. Nor must it be forgotten that, while the losses of the the enemy were greater, far, ours were yet enormous; for, tested in the merest material way and without regard to the consequences involved, Gettysburg is one of the great battles of the world. The Confederate loss was eighteen thousand, killed and wounded, and thirteen thousand, six hundred missing—nearly the whole of the latter being our prisoners—making a total of thirty-one thousand, six hundred: our own was sixteen thousand, five hundred, killed and wounded, and six thousand, six hundred missing—to a large extent, the prisoners of the first day—making a total loss of twenty-three thousand, one hundred.

It was the fifth of July when Lee commenced his retreat; and, as he reached the Potomac, which he had crossed in such high hope, he learned, by a message from Davis, that the blow upon Vicksburg, of which he had hoped to break the weight, had fallen, and that the Mississippi was open to the sea. Whether or not he could have been attacked to advantage, before he crossed, is yet an open question, which I shall not undertake, here, to discuss.

I would not, willingly, do injustice to the other great fields of the War and their splendid results; and yet it has always seemed to me that Gettysburg was the culminating point of the Rebellion; and that the blow struck, that day, for the Union, accompanying the fall of Vicksburg, turned, forever, its bloody tide. Large, varied, and constant as were the services rendered by General Meade, before that day and after it, to the very end of the War, it is by his judgment, in so manœuvering his Army as to compel the Confederate Commander to take the initiative; by his energy, in bringing his troops to this decisive field; by his skill, in posting his force and arranging his order of battle; by his calmness, courage, and persistency, in all its vicissitudes; that he will ever be most gratefully remembered. His fame is built upon the rocks, and is as immovable as the hills of Gettysburg. Great fields were yet to be fought; great sacrifices endured; great victories won: the leader, wise of head and stout of heart, who should gather the springs which moved all our Armies into a single hand and control them with a single will, was yet to come before the long-tried Army of the Potomac should see all that it fought for, fully secured. Yet, although all this was still to be, and although the waves of the Rebellion were to come, again and yet again, never was its bloody crest to be reared so high, as at Gettysburg.

To do justice to all the valor and heroism of that day and all its momentous consequences, is a task beyond the reach of language; yet, so far as words may do it, is has been already done. The monuments which the intellect can rear, outlast the stateliest that hands can raise. The columns which the States of Greece reared to the dead of Thermopylæ, crumbled to the dust, hundreds of years ago; but the noble ode by which Simonides commemorated them, is taught, to-day, in the schools of this University, beneath the budding branches of whose elms we stand, in a world undreamed of, then. Athens is in ruin; conqueror after conqueror has pressed his rude heel upon her; but the noble oration, by which Pericles celebrated the Athenian dead, is fresh in immortal youth. And as long as the Union shall stand, will the simple, majestic memorial by which, with words fresh from his true and honest heart, Abraham Lincoln commemorated the great deed done, that day, be remembered; and "Government of the People, by the "People, and for the People, shall not perish "from the earth."

Already my brief hour draws to its close. You know well that, within its limits, it would

be vain for me to attempt to write the history of the subsequent operations of the Army of the Potomac; yet, to do all this, would be necessary to do full justice to our late commanding General. Let me sum them briefly up by saying that the operations of the remainder of the year of which I have been speaking, though important, were indecisive, both the Army of the Potomac and that of Northern Virginia being reduced, by heavy drafts made upon them, to reinforce the movements now taking place in the West.

The succeeding Spring witnessed the great change, by which our Armies came under one head, by the appointment of General Grant, as Lieutenant-general, who was to command in the field and not from the Bureau—of which latter style of commanding we had, indeed, had enough—and to whose splendid exertions and unflinching determination we owed, under God, our final triumph. Recognizing, fully, that the pinch of the contest was between this Army and that which had, so long, held the lines of the rebel capital, and that other operations, however important, were secondary and subsidiary, only, the proper place to direct the movements of all seemed to him to be from this; and his Head-quarters were fixed near those of our commanding-General. The near presence of an officer of higher rank, with him, undoubtedly rendered General Meade's position one of some delicacy; yet it cost him no difficulty to meet all its exigencies. While the responsibility for the great movements to be made rested with the Lieutenant-general, their tactical execution, so far as this Army was concerned, devolved upon him, and the immediate command was always his; and his duties were so executed, I hazard nothing in saying, as to command, from General Grant, a respect and esteem which continued to the day of his death. In the long series of battles which now commenced, General Meade's splendid abilities, as a tactician, his firmness and judgment, his devotion to his troops, were every where conspicuous, at the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, lavish of their dead; and, in every conflict, up to the last, when, though the malarial fever that raged within his veins did not permit him to sit on his horse, he still directed the Army of the Potomac, in its stern pressure upon the encompassed and belcaguered Lee. To the great and high idea of duty which he expressed, in taking command of the Army, he was faithful, to the close of its existence; and the succeeding years, which witnessed his command in the Southern States, attest that the moderation and firmness, the humanity and love of justice, which were essential attributes of his character, make his civil life as honorable as his military career was splendid.

Comrades, the Army which he commanded so long, has passed away. No more shall its bugles break the sweet stillness of the morning air, as, with their reveille, they salute the coming day; no more shall the falling night hear the rolling tattoo of its drums: its tents are struck; and its cannon have thundered their last notes of defiance and of victory. Each year, we, who were its survivors, assemble in sadly diminishing numbers, as the remorseless artillery of time hurls its fatal missiles into our ranks, until, shortly, a few old men only shall gather together and strive, with feeble voices, to raise the thundering battle-cheer with which we once answered the rebel yells, to sink, themselves, soon after, under the common lot. How fast the coming generations rise to push us from our places, when you remember all whom we have lost, even since the War, I do not need to remind you. Yet, as generation after generation shall come, in their long succession—while the great flag that it bore at the head of its marching columns, waves over a free and united people—it will be remembered that, in its day and generation, and in its time and place, the Army of the Potomac did, for liberty and law, for the Constituton and the Union, deeds worthy of immortal honor. And he that was its leader, on so many a hot and bloody day and on so many a well-contested field—we leave him to his long repose, to his pure, unsullied, and well-earned fame, in the full confidence that, while a Christian gentleman, a wise and true soldier, a lofty patriot, is honored, he will not be forgotten:

"Mild in manner, fair in favor,
"Kind in temper, fierce in fight—
"Warrior, nobler, gentler, braver,
"Never will behold the light."

IV.—*THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*—CONTINUED FROM VOLUME I., PAGE 330.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

The New York city of 1784 was a great city, in the esteem of people then living; and Doctor Cutler was evidently not a little impressed by its grandeur. It will repay us to glean a few facts, from various sources, to aid in reproducing it, as it appeared to the traveler whose diary we are using so freely.

At that time, it numbered about twenty-thousand people, but was rapidly growing. In 1766, when the Common Council gave the Presbyter-

ians the lot on which to build the "Brick "Church," it was called "in *the Fields*," to indicate that it was in a section but little built up. The City-hall, on which the people prided themselves, was in Wall-street; and the churches were all below the present Park. The *Map of the City of New York, surveyed by John Hills, 1782*, shows that the city then extended from the Battery but little above the site of the present City-hall—not higher than the old Hospital, or Duane-street, on the North-river side, and, perhaps, Ferry and Pearl, or, at farthest, Roosevelt-street, on the East-river side, with a few blocks farther East. The map indicates some buildings on the Bowery, near its junction with Chatham-street. Along either river, are the signs of "Fortifications made by the British" and "extended by the Americans." The interior of the island contained brooks, swamps, hills, fresh-water-ponds, farms, forests, orchards, and common country-roads. There was not a sign of the American Metropolis above Leonard-street. The buildings which then graced the town, were very plain, as compared with the modern palaces, for business, which now line every thoroughfare and avenue. The City-hall, which is described by Doctor Cutler, was a small affair, in all respects, as compared with its successor. And so with the churches and other edifices. In its streets, lamps, and everything, it was a plain city; whilst, in size, it was not, then, as large or fine as Lowell, or Columbus, or Indianapolis. And so with its shipping—how trifling it appears, in comparison with the marine that now seeks freight in that great harbor. It would be interesting to go into details; but we have not the space for more than a few. All the foreign vessels that entered that port, in a year, at the time mentioned, did not exceed six hundred; and the "coast-wise" vessels not twice that sum. In 1795, there were only nine hundred and forty-one foreign vessels, a sum that astounded President Dwight, who said, "the "number has been constantly increasing, and, "in all probability, will continue to increase, "through centuries to come." As for the means of travel, they were scarcely better, in 1787, than they were, before the Revolution, when Mr. Franklin said, with evident pride, "In *Summer-* "time, the passages are frequently performed "in a week, from Charleston to Philadelphia "and New York; and, from Rhode Island to "New York, through the Sound, in two or "three days; and, from New York to Phila- "delphia, by water and land, in two days, by "stage-boats and wheel-carriages, that set out "every other day!"

It was a mere town which our traveler was for the first time visiting; and these preliminary statements will add a relish to the descriptions which he gives of places, people, and customs in New York.

"*Friday, July 6.* This morning delivered "most of my introductory letters to members of "Congress. Prepared my papers for making "application to Congress, for the purchase of "lands in the Western country, for the Ohio "Company. At 11 o'clock, I was introduced "to a number of members on the floor of Con- "gress-chamber, in the City-hall, by Col. Car- "rington, member from Virginia. Delivered "my petition for purchasing lands, for the Ohio "Company, and proposed terms and conditions "of purchase. A Committee was appointed, "on terms of negotiation, and report to Con- "gress. Dined with Mr. *Dane*. He and Mr. "Milliken, Comptroller of the Board of Treas- "ury, have hired a house in Broadway; and "live in a family state, with only two servants. "Spent the evening with several members of "Congress.

"*July 7.* Paid my respects this morning to "Doctor Holton and several other gentlemen; "was introduced, by Dr. Ewing and Mr. Ritten- "house, to Mr. Hutchings, Geographer of the "United States. Dined with Gen. Knox; intro- "duced to his lady and a French nobleman, "the Marquis Lotbinière, at dinner; to several "other gentleman, who dined with us. Mrs. "Knox is very gross; but her manners are easy "and graceful. She is sociable and would be "very agreeable were it not for her affected "singularity, in dressing her hair. She seems "to mimic a military style, which, to me, is "disgusting, in a female. Her hair, in front, "is craped at least a foot high, much in the "form of a churn, bottom upwards, and top- "ped off with a wire skeleton, in the same "form, covered with black gauze, which hangs "in streamers down to her back. Her hair, be- "hind, is in a large braid turned up and con- "fined with a monstrous, crooked comb. She "reminded me of the monstrous cap worn by the "Marquis La Fayette's valet, commonly called, "on that account, the 'Marquis's Devil.' No "person attracted my attention, at the table, so "much as the Marquis Lotbinière, not on ac- "count of his good sense, for, if it had not "been for his title, I should have thought him "two-thirds of a fool.

"Waited on the Rev. Dr. Rogers; and drank "tea in company with Dr. Ewing, Dr. Wither- "spoon, and several other clergymen. The "Doctor urged me, exceedingly, to preach for "him, at least part of the day, on Sunday; "but, as the two Presidents were in town and "I had just come off a long journey, I prevail- "ed on him to excuse me. In the evening, "called on Dr. Crosby, in company with Mr. "Hazzard. Dr. Crosby is Professor of Medi-

"cine in the University in this city. He is "much of a gentleman and received me polite-"ly."

The famous "Brick Church," which occupied, for three-fourths and more of a century, the spot on which the "*Times* Building" now is, must always be an interesting name to the lover of Revolutionary history. During the several years the city of New York was occupied by the British troops, they seemed to cherish a special spite against both the Presbyterian and the Dutch churches. The old Wall-street congregation had colonized, or, rather, in 1766, had built a second edifice, to accomodate the overflowing congregation, opening it for worship, in 1768. It was regarded as one of the finest churches in the city; and Doctor Spring, in his first Memorial Discourse, thus describes the treatment both churches received from the enemy: "During the War," says Doctor Spring, "these "two Presbyterian churches were the objects of "the special vengeance and indignity of the "enemy. The church in Wall-street was con-"verted into barracks, and the Brick-church "into a hospital; defaced and stripped of their "interior and left in ruins; and the parsonage-"house burned to the ground. On the return "of Peace, and while these edifices were being "repaired, the congregations statedly worship-"ped in St. George's and St. Paul's, through "the unsolicited and generous courtesy of the "Vestry of Trinity-church. After having been "repaired, at great expense, the Brick-church "was re-opened, in June, 1784."—SPRING'S *Old and New Church*, 7.

From the sermon of the Rev. Doctor Livingston, preached at the re-opening of the "Mid-"dle Dutch-church," in Nassau-street—now the city Post-office—on the fourth of July, 1790, we learn of "the wanton cruelty of those who de-"stroyed this temple and the various indignities "which have been perpetrated. It would be "easy to mention facts which would chill your "blood! A recollection of the groans of dy-"ing prisoners, which pierced this ceiling, or "the sacrilegious sports and rough feats of "horsemanship, exhibited within these walls, "might raise sentiments, in your mind, that "would, perhaps, not harmonize with those "religious affections which I wish, at present, "to promote and, always, to cherish." * * * "Seven years are not elapsed since we returned "to this city, in peace. And lo! in less than "seven years, two ruined churches have by us "been repaired." The enemy actually stole, and carried to England, the pulpit of the North Dutch-church, where it was afterward discovered, in a country church, by a gentleman who had known it in New York.—DE WITT'S *Discourse*, *41*, *79*, *81*.

It is interesting to gather up these incidental allusions to the condition of New York city, as it was since its evacuation by the enemy. The churches, ruined by the enemy, were not all restored; but business was gradually reviving, so that, when Doctor Cutler spent some Sabbaths in the city, he found churches that excited his admiration. Among these, he mentions two; and having premised so much, we recur to the Diary.

"*Sunday*, *July 8*. Attended church, this "morning, at the New Brick Presbyterian-"church. The house is large and elegant. The "carvings, within, are rather plain but very "neat, and produce a fine effect upon the eye. "Dr. Ewing—Provost of the University of "Philadelphia—preached a very pretty ser-"mon, on the advantages and excellencies of "the Christian religion. The congregation ap-"peared remarkably neat and rich, in their "dress, but not gay. The house was very full; "and the audience attentive. I was particularly "pleased with the singing. When the Psalm "is read, the Chorister rises and sings the first "line: he is then joined, in the second line, by "the whole congregation. Men, women, and "children all seemed to sing, without excep-"tion. The airs of the tunes are sprightly, "though not quick. The singing, notwith-"standing it was performed by such a mixed "multitude, was soft, musical, and solemn; "and the time well preserved. There is an "orchestra, but no organ. The public service "was introduced by a short prayer, reading the "scriptures, and then singing; but, instead of "singing before sermon, they sing, in the morn-"ing as well as the afternoon, after the last "prayer. As soon as the last singing is ended, "the Wardens go out from their large round "pew, with each a large pewter platter in his "hand, each taking a tier of pews and walk-"ing down the aisles. Every person, great and "small, puts into the platter one copper, and "no more. The contribution is made through "the whole congregation, in less than three "minutes.

"I was struck, this morning, with a custom "in this city which I had never heard of, be-"fore, in any part of the world. I observed, "as I was going to church, six men walking, "two and two, towards the church, with very "long white sashes which appeared to be made "of white Holland, the whole width and two "or three yards in length. They were placed "over their right shoulders and tied under their "left arms, in a very large bow, with several "yards of ribbon. On the top of their should-"ers, a large rose, of white ribbon, was placed "upon the sash. As I came up to the yard of "the church, Dr. Rogers and Dr. Ewing were

"just before me, going into church, both in "their black gowns; but Dr. Rogers, with a "large white sash, like those of the six men, "only that the bow and rose of ribbon were "black. These sashes, I was informed, were "given, the last week, at a funeral: they are "worn by the Minister and bearers to the "grave; and are always worn, by them, the "next Sunday, and the bearers always walk, to "and from church, together. To give these "sashes, is a general custom, at the funerals of "persons of any note."

In the evening, Doctor Cutler heard a celebrity preach, in the Brick-church—Doctor John Witherspoon; who was elected President of the College of New Jersey, in 1768, and had, the same year, entered upon the discharge of his duties. His learning, originality, and good sense—the whole flavored with an irrepressible wit—made him the most popular College-President of his day; and, even yet, there linger, about the venerable edifice and grounds of Nassau-hall, anecdotes and sayings of his, which excite the mirth and admiration of young men, almost as much as they did, a hundred years ago. As soon as he came to this country, he espoused the cause of the patriots; and, both by pen and speech, promoted resistance against the encroachments of the Parliament and King of Great Britain. He is described as a florid, raw-boned, angular Scotchman; with a strong brogue; with no grace of manner; but quite abrupt. He was greatly admired; and it is a somewhat singular coincidence that, after the lapse of a century, a second celebrated Scotch scholar and divine should be called to the Presidency of Nassau-hall. Doctor Mc Cosh, in personal appearance and manners, must be quite in contrast with his illustrious predecessor.

"Attended Lecture (in the evening) at Dr. "Roger's New Brick Presbyterian Church. "Full congregation. Dr. Witherspoon, Presi- "dent of New Jersey College, preached. He is "an intolerably homely old Scotchman; and "speaks the true dialect of his country, except "that his brogue borders on the Irish. He is "a bad speaker; has no oratory; and had no "notes before him. His subject was *Hypocrisy*. "But, notwithstanding the dryness of his sub- "ject, the badness of his delivery—which re- "quired the closest attention to follow him— "yet, the correctness of his style, the arrange- "ment of his matter, and the many new ideas "that he suggested, rendered his sermon very "entertaining. The attention of the congrega- "tion strongly marked their regard to good "sense and clear reasoning, rather than mere "show of oratory and declamation. Spent the "remainder of the evening with Mr. Hazzard."

Before leaving the Brick-church, which was one of the celebrated spots of New York, we will anticipate the record of Doctor Cutler's Diary of Monday, the ninth of July, in order to get a look at the most popular preacher of the city, the senior Pastor of that church: "*July 9th.* Dined with Dr. Rogers, in com- "pany with Dr. Ewing, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. "Mc Whorter, of Newark, Mr. Wilson—col- "league with Dr. Rogers—and two other clergy- "men, from the southward, whose names I do "not recollect. It seemed like a Ministers' meet- "ing. They appeared to be much of gentle- "men; and I must do them justice to say I was "treated with particular marks of attention, "notwithstanding my being a New England "man. Dr. Rogers is certainly the most accom- "plished gentleman, for a clergyman, not even "to except Dr. Cooper" [*of Boston*] "that I "have ever been acquainted with. He lives in "an elegant style; and entertains company as "genteelly as the first gentlemen in the city. "This he may well do, for his salary is seven "hundred and fifty pounds a year, and his per- "quisites upwards of two hundred pounds "more. Mr. Wilson is a young Scotchman, and "colleague with Dr. Rogers. They have two "distinct congregations; but they alternately "preach in each house—the same sermons they "preach in the forenoon, they always preach in "the afternoon, by exchanging houses. The "churches which belong to the two houses are "but one corporate body; although they com- "mune separately.

"It was with reluctance I took my leave "of this agreeable and sociable company of "clergymen; but my business rendered it nec- "essary."

Some weeks later, our tourist heard and described Doctor Rogers; and we anticipate his description: "*Sunday, July 22.* Attended "public worship, in the morning, at the old "Brick, in Wall-sreet. Dr. Rogers preached. "He makes no use of notes; but he arranged "his subject very well. Gave us a very pretty "sermon on the Lord's Prayer. His address is "easy, soft, and engaging. No display of ora- "tory. His style was pure, sentimental, and "and nervous; but plain and familiar. He "made me often think of *Dr. Cooper*. I dined "with Mr. Hazzard, Post-Master General. In "the afternoon, attended at the same meeting. "Mr. Wilson preached. He uses no notes; *nor* "*are they much used by our clergy in the city.* "His subject was Envy. He was sufficiently "methodical, but is not a good speaker; nor was "there anything extraordinary in his sermon. "It was rather a harangue; but he was very "catholic in his sentiments. In the evening, "attended a lecture at the Old Dutch-church.

"The sermon was delivered in Dutch, with a "great deal of vehemence and pathos; but "whether it was good or bad I know not."

[To be Continued.]

V.—*AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.*—

Continued from Volume I., Page 333.

By Ethan Allen, Esqr.

Section III.

Of the consciousness of the agency and entity of the human soul, and of the insufficiency of its external sensations, to discover the existence and actions of moral beings.

Our compound nature existing of sensation and reflection, is in many respects mysterious to us, nor is it at all surprising, that the agency as well as nature of such creatures as we are, (partly spiritual and partly animal,) should more or less involve our speculations thereon in doubt, and perplexity. We ough to analyse and critically distinguish, between the knowlege that we immediately have from our own consciousness, and that which we premise to have acquired by the progress of reasoning, as the former is certain and true, and the latter may be true or false, according as we may be supposed to reason right or wrong. Strictly speaking we can not reason wrong, for such part of the progress as may terminate in a wrong conclusion, is deception and not reasoning, hence we infer, that reasoning is always right, but as we all pretend to reason in our disquisition of things whether we do or not, and likewise set up for Judges of it, and as every one is Orthodox to himself, we have no standard whereby to decide the authenticity of our reasonings, but individuals must Judge for themselves. some writers have defined reasoning, to be right reasoning, but this every one will premise his reasoning to be, whether right or wrong, so that we gain nothing by using the word right before the word reason, as every one supposes his reasoning to be right, till he is convinced of the contrary, and since all (real) reasoning is right, right reason is the same as reason, and it is our business to distinguish it from error, and not to call that reason which is not so: but the conscious knowledge that we have of the existence and agency of our own souls we do not acquire by (a progress of) reasoning, and therefore are not lyable to be mistaken or deceived therein, as in argumentative investigations which will be farther considered in its order.

The Author of nature has intuitively and universally impressed on our minds; a conscious knowledge of our agency (or power of action,) in all cases wherein it is attended with the consequences of moral good and evil. This consciousness of agency of which our minds are intuitively certain, is not derived from the deductions of reasoning, all ranks and degress of mankind are equally sure of the reality of it, a sense of liberty of action is inherent in the soul, and originated with it, and is essential to it, and we are as conscious of it, as of the existence of the soul, since it is not from sensation or reasoning, that we are apprized of the one or the other, but have our evidence of both merely from our consciousness thereof.

God has not made it requisite that we should become philosophers or understand science, in order to know that we are (free) agents, in matters that respect the morality or imorality of our actions, for there are comparitively but few of our species who have arrived to any considerable degree in sciantifical knowledge: and as the Divine Legeslator has promulgated his Law to every of us who understand moral good and evil, he has also co-extensively given us a consciousness that we are (free) agents, which together with the knowledge of right and wrong, makes us accoutable creatures, for as a sense of accountableness pre-supposes the knowledge of moral good and evil, it also pre-supposes a power or liberty of agency, since the mere understanding of right and wrong, without the power of agency therein, could lay us under no moral obligation to conform to the good and refuse the evil, for that the mere knowledge of moral fitness in us, abstractly considered from a power, or an ability of conformity thereto in life and action, could not render us amenable either to God, society, or to ourselves, since our accountableness originates as much from our power of agency, as from our knowledge of the difference between moral good and evil. Hence we infer, that it is the understanding together with the ability of a conformity to moral rectitude, that makes us probationary and accountable creatures. And it matters not whether we are wise enough fully to investigate the subject of our agency; or the nature and manner of the souls exertion of itself, since we are conscious of intelligent being and of agency, from whence results all our mental happiness and misery. Was it necessary in Order to our being free and consequently accountable beings, that we should comprehend the essence, spring, and manner of our liberty, or how agency is extended in all and every respect, and be able to solve all questions concerning it, our liberty in consequence thereof would be foreclosed, together with our accountability, since none of

our race are wise enough, fully and perfectly to understand all this. Those who are the greatest adepts in the science of anatomy, have not discovered every minute part of the (animal) machenery of the human body, or the respective usefulness of such parts as they have discovered, to the whole, nor has the united wisdom of mankind investigated the intrinsic reason, or natural cause of motion in the human body, or how it is that we move a hand or finger. We know from experience that our hands & feet obey our volitions, but how volition operates on an animal machine we know not, yet should any one deny the reality of such motion or exertion he would be deemed a mad man, since motion is an Object of sense, in which all uniformty agree: nor are we less certain of the reality of our souls, than of our bodies, nor of our agency than of either of the other positions. The body and its motions are pereceived by the senses, and the soul, and its agency by its consciousness, and we may as well dispute against the reality of the external motion or action of the hand, because we cannot comprehend it, as against the agency or action of the soul, because we cannot comprehend it. Furthermore, we have the same kind and degree of evidence and no other, of the reality of our agency, as we have of the reality of our souls, the evidence of both resulting merely from an immediate consciousness thereof, and since we have the evidence of the existence of the soul, from its conscious exertions, and in the same exertions, we are likewise conscious that we are (free) agents, we can not therefore be deceived with respect to our agency, any more than with respect to our existence, which is bringing the argument to a decision in favour of human agency, for if we are as certain of it as of existence, we may venture to conclude our selves to be spontaneously active, for it is too evident to be controverted; that we Obtain both the knowledge of our intellectual existence and agency from the same manner and degree of evidence, or in other words from the same conscious exercise of our minds, nor is it in nature possible for us to have a conscious knowledge of the exercise of our minds, without having at the same time, an intuitive knowledge that the same exercise is free, the consciousness of the one cannot be without the consciousness of the other, for agency or the power of agency, is congenial with intelligence, and in the constitution of human nature, inseperably united to, and connected with it.

We may from our consciousness of intelligent action, infer the existence of the soul, abstractly considered from our agency, since mere action implies being, without considering whether we are necessary or free beings, for that nonenity can not act at all, or be necessary or free as it has no existence, but in agency we are possessed of a two fold consciousness, the one respects merely our actions, and the other the manner of them, since our manner of acting, as well as our actions themselves, are comprized in our consciousness of them, and it is a consciousness of the manner of our acting, which inform us that we are free agents, as a mere consciousness of action, without a consciousness of the manner of them, could not inform us whether we acted spontaneously or was acted upon by some other being or cause, and since every one by consulting his own consciousness will find that he has a power of agency, or that this is the manner of his acting, we need not pry into science for the discovery of our (free) agency.

Furthermore, we may deduce the evidence of the certainty of our intelligent being, as well from our consciousness of liberty, as that of action abstracted from it, for that mere liberty or a power to act implies being, or an agent in whom it inheres or resides. Liberty therefore includes an Idea of existence, as it exhibits to us a consciousness of the manner of the exertion of the soul, and as the manner of those exertions implies exertion it self, and exertion implies being, therefore our consciousness of the power of spontaneous agency evinces our existence; as it makes known to us the intrinsic mode or manner of our actions, and as the mode of those actions imply their existence, and their existence imply the existence of the soul, consequently our cousciousness of liberty by tracing it to action, and from action to the soul, evinces its existence.

From what has been already argued on this subject it follows, that we have as great a certainty of our (free) agency, as we have of our intellectual being, and are as certain of that as we are that we have a sensitive body, for the acts of our senses are not more certain, than our consciousness of intelligent action, since our consciousness extends both to sensation and reflection, without which we could have no knowledge of either.

Having briefly considered the nature and force of the evidence of our power of agency, arising merely from our consciousness thereof, which amounts to an intuitive certainty of it, we proceed to the consideration of our bodies and of external things in general. An accurate examination into our own constitution will discover, that our organized senses can not perceive, nor can we through their medium, have any conception of the soul or of its actions or operations, for that the soul and its actions, and the manner of its actions, which is the same as the soul and its agency, (as agency implies not only action but the manner of action,) are altogether

imperceptible to the five senses. The soul or spirit of man is not visible to the sight, nor vibrating to the drum of the ear, nor can it excite the Idea of sound immediately, though mediately or by the use of the organ of the body, and invented instruments it can do it, nor can we taste, smell, or feel a soul. Furthermore our own souls are as imperceptible to their own respective sensoriums, as the souls of others, and so are their respective agencies. We can no more by our senses perceive the actions or agency of our own souls, than through those mediums we can perceive our souls themselves, for both our own souls with all others of the species, with all their actions or agencies, are imperceptible to the faculties of sensation, and as our senses are by nature incompitent to communicate the knowledge of any moral being, or the exertions or agency of such being, or beings to us. We therefore infer that we have the understanding of that part of our nature we call moral, and of its spontaneous powers and exertions, merely from an intuitive consciousness thereof. The intuitive method of understanding the nature and exertions of our own souls; is altoger dissimular and unlike the manner of our coming at the understanding of external things, which are the proper objects of sense, and come within the mode of their perception. Hence we infer that the medium of sensation is inadiquate to mere mental discoveries.

We know by experience that we can no otherwise corrispond with each other, or communicate or receive Ideas, but by adiquate representations made to our bodily senses, either oral or written of which we understand the signs. Thus it is that the knowledge of external objects is communicated to the mind, by the instrumentality of the senses, as argued at large in the first and second sections of the fourth Chapter of the theology frequently mentioned. Our external senses are therefore the only medium by which the first perceptions, and consequently the knowledge of external things are discoverable to us, yet the mind makes no manner of discovery of it self, or of its spontaneous exertions through that medium, but from an immediate consciousness of thinking as before argued, in which consciousness of being or of the exertion of agency, the senses do not act a part: nor is there any need of their assistence in the discovery of mere mental beings, whose essences are too subtile, vivid and pure to come within their notice. The acts of consciousness which an intelligent being has of it self and its agency, is immediate which necessarily excludes the intervention of any intermediate cause whatever, whether that of its own natural sensorium or, of those invented mediums called glasses. The animal machine is no more than a piece of the Divine art, however stupendious to our imagination and surpassing our art and comprehension.

The soul is too superior a being, to need any machinery in its immediate consciousness of it self, and its actions. Did the soul stand in need of such helps for the knowledge of its (internal) being, it would militate against its immortality, as death destroys the machine of sense. The knowledge of external things is (in this life) mediate, but not Immediate, since it is accquired by the instrumentality of the Organs of sense, and through the medium of human invented instruments, but the conscious knowledge which we have of our intelligent selves, is immediate, as it is independent of natural or artificial mediums, or instruments. Was it not that in the order of nature we were previously apprized of our intelligent selves, we could not secondly have been apprised of other things, therefore we premise that the intuitive knowledge, which we immediately have of our mental selves, is prerequisitely assential to our knowledge of external things, which we call mediate knowledge, because it is obtained by the instrumentality of the senses, or human constructed instruments, as alread sufficiently described.

The conscious knowledge therefore which an intelligent being has merely from himself, and that immediately (and exclusive of all mediate causes,) can not be a deception, or mistake, as it is the intuitive or certain knowledge of being and agency, or the manner of action, which can not and does not at all depend, on human reasoning or art for its investigation, and therefore is not lyable to errors, mistakes or any deception, as our scientiphical reasonings on external things are. Hence we infer that the apprehensions which we have from intuition is certainly true, and is the spring, foundation and source of all our knowledge, and since the understanding of our (free) or spontaneous agency, does not result from reasoning or argumentation, but from a conscious intuition of it to all mankind, we can not herein be mistaken or deceived, as it is possible for us to be, in matters relative to external things, wherein prejudices, errors and mistakes may interve. and make our conclusions faulty and irregular, and consequently widely different the one from the other, though we all agree in the conscious knowledge that we are (free) agents, and yet in other matters have been ridiculously divided and subdivided.

No sooner do we depart from the basis of the intuitive knowledge of our agency, in which all agree, and further essay to explain and investigate the subject, than we more or less disagree in our apprehensions and final conclusions con-

cerning it, as the learned disputations thereon may witness. Yet those clashing and diverse, and I might add party, as well as imperfect reasonings ought not, and in the fitness of things cannot militate against the intuitive certainty of our moral agency, of which we are as certain as of a moral existence: Yet when we have the weakness to compare our agency with external and incogitative things, that are necessarily governed, we lose sight of our liberty, and by reasoning from false analogy, involve it in destiny as argued more at large in the eighth section of the theology, in the fourth chapter to which the reader is referred, and also to the succeeding section of this appendix.

[To be Continued.]

VI.—*THE ESTATE OF ANNETIE JANS.*

RECORD OF THE CONVEYANCE OF "THE "DOMINE'S BOUWERY," TO GOVERNOR LOVELACE, BY HER CHILDREN.

From the original entry, in the volume of *DEEDS AND CONVEYANCES OF REAL ESTATE, 1665–1672*, in the Office of the Common Council of the City of New York.

Anno 1670/71 March the 9th. Have Johannes Van Brugh, in right of Catrina Roelofse, his wife and Attorney of Pieter Hartgers; Willem Bogardus, for himselfe and his brothers Jan Roelofsen & Jonas Bogardus; and Cornelis Van Borsum in right of Sara Roelofs his wife and by assignment of Pieter Bogardus, all children and Lawful heirs of Annetie Roelofs Late widow of dom: Bogardus deceased; for a valluable consideration, Transported & made unto the Right houn^{ble} Collonel Francis Lovelace his heirs & assignes, their farme or Bouwery commonly called or knowne by the name of domenee's Bouwery, Lying & being on Manhattan Island towards the North River, the quantity of y^{e} Land amounting to about sixty two acres, as in the former ground briefe from Governor Stuyvesant bearing date the 4th day of July 1654, and the confirmation thereuppon from Gov^{r} R. Nicholls bearing date y^{e} 27th of March 1667 is more particularly set forth. W^{ch} Transport was signed by them and acknowledged before the Aldermen M^{r} Olof Stevensen Cortlant & M^{r} John Lawrence.

VII.—*CONFEDERATE LOVE-TAPS.*—Continued from Volume I., Page 351.

SUPPLEMENTAL.[*]

1—Tabular Statement of the "Present for Duty," on the thirty-first of December, 1862, showing the number of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, and the Per-centage of Loss in the Brigades of Breckinridge's Division, at the Battle of Murfreesboro'.

	Present for Duty			Com'd officers			Enlisted men					
Breckinridge's Division	Commission officers	Enlisted men	Aggregate	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Total	Aggregate	Percentage of Loss
31st Dec., 1862.												
Palmer's Brigade	129	1446	1575	1	1	–	1	19	1	21	23	1½
Preston's "	143	1808	1951	2	11	–	14	129	7	150	163	8½
Adams's "	100	1534	1634	7	18	–	75	326	118	519	544	33⅓
Hanson's "	141	1752	1893	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	513	6540	7053	10	30		90	474	126	690	730	10 2–5
Hanson's Brigade not in action, 31 Dec., 1862, deducting its strength, 1893, the Percentage is 14½ on Dec. 31st.												
2nd January, 1863.												
(Palmer's) Pillow's Brigade				5	31	2	42	273	49	364	402	25½
Preston's "				2	17	4	40	227	86	353	376	19¼
Adams's "				1	6	1	29	95	27	151	159	9⅔
Hanson's "				10	32	3	37	241	78	356	401	21¼
	513	6540	7053	18	86	10	148	836	240	1224	1338	19

Total force engaged in the several Battles, 7.053. Total loss 2.068. Percentage of loss 29⅓.

[*] The several papers published in this supplemental portion of the collection, were kindly communicated to us, for that purpose, by General Bragg.—Editor

2.—Tabular Statement, showing the number "Present for Duty," on the morning of the 31st of December, 1862, the number of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, and the Percentage of Loss in the Battle of Murfressboro'.

Present for duty		Commissioned officers	Enlisted men	Aggregate
Polk's Corps	Cheatham's Division	454	5.090	5.544
	Withers's "	617	7.957	8.574
		1.071	13.047	14.118
Hardee's Corps	Breckinridge's "	513	6.540	7.053
	Cleburn's "	840	6.176	7.016
		1.353	12.716	14.069
	McCowan's "	319	4.095	4.414
	Jackson's "	89	785	874
	Total Infantry & Artillery	2.832	30.643	33.475

Killed, Wounded & Missing	Comd officers Killed	Comd officers Wounded	Comd officers Missing	Enlisted men Killed	Enlisted men Wounded	Enlisted men Missing	Enlisted men Total	Aggregate	Percentage of Loss	
Cheatham's Div'n										
Donelson's Brig'e	10	42	1	98	533	16	647	700		
Stewart's "	8	23		55	311	2	368	399		
Maney's "	3	12		19	151	8	178	193	36	Polk's Corps. Div. Cheatham's D
Smith's "	7	48	3	98	516	35	649	707		
	28	125	4	270	1511	61	1842	1999		
Withers' Division										
Deas' Brigade	6	31		47	502	5	554	591		
Chalmers' "	8	32	1	59	413	35	507	548	29⅓	
Wathall's "	12	42		118	578	13	709	763		Withers's Div.
Anderson's "	3	34		70	394	16	480	517		
	29	139	1	294	1887	69	2250	2419		
Breckinridge's Division										
Pillow's Brigade	6	32	2	43	292	50	385	425		
Preston's "	4	28	4	54	356	93	503	539		
Adams' "	8	24	1	104	421	145	670	703	29⅓	Hardee's Corps. Breckinridge'
Hanson's "	10	32	3	37	241	78	356	401		
	28	116	10	238	1310	366	1914	2068		
Cleburne's Division										
Wood's Brigade	7	20	5	45	319	108	472	504		
Johnson's "	5	46	9	56	442	48	546	606		
Liddell's "	6	32		80	471	18	569	607	23⅓	
Polk's "	4	42		26	256	19	301	347		Cleburne's Div'
Genl Cleburne's Staff		2								
	22	142	14	207	1488	193	1888	2066		
McCown', Divis'n	8	101	9	86	661	97	844	962	21	
Jackson's Brigade	1	11		40	251		291	303	34⅔	
T'l In'try & A'ty	116	634	38	1135	7108	786	9029	9817	29⅓	

3.—General Braxton Bragg, C.S.A. to General Samuel Cooper, Adjutant-General.

Hd Qrs Army of Tenn
Tullahoma March 11th 1863

Sir:

I have the honor to forward by the hands of Col I. H Kelly 8th Ark Vols, Lieut General Hardee's Corps, the report of that General of the part taken by his Corps in the Battle of Murfreesboro, Dec 31 to Jan'y. 3d. Also the reports of Division and Brigade Commanders, including those of Maj Gen'l M'Cown's Division which was during the most important part of the operations, under Lt General Hardee.

Some errors and misapprehensions of Maj Gen'l Breckinridge, incorporated in his report will be corrected by reference to copies of notes received from him on the field of battle, and which are appended to the report, with an order for the Cavalry movement, endorsed by Brig Gen'l Pegram as "received." To these papers, appended to General B's report, I invite special attention

I am General
Very Respy Yr Ob't Serv't
Braxton Bragg
Gen'l Comdg

Gen'l S. Cooper
Adjutant General
Richmond–

[Enclosures in the above Letter.]

A.—Appendix, by General Bragg, to the Report of Major-general Breckinridge.

1—A note dated 10h 10m 31st Dec saying: "The enemy are undoubtedly advancing upon "me."

2—A note dated 11½ A M 31st Dec in reply to what he calls in his report "a suggestion from "the Commanding General"—in which he says: "*I am obeying your order.*" But expressing the opinion that the move would expose him "to a heavy force of the enemy advancing from "Black's (on Lebanon Road)"

3—A note dated 10 minutes to one Oclock 1st Jan'y 1863 (an error for 31st Dec'r 1862 the day it was received) correcting previous report, as follows, "It is not certain the enemy is ad-"vancing upon me in two lines" &c, and requesting the two Brigades asked as reinforcements against an imaginary danger, be held where he could get them. The hour of this note shows, too, an advance of half a mile—see report—in one hour and twenty minutes, *under order to attack the enemy.*

4—A note dated 7 P. M. 31st Dec'r an application to reinforce Hanson in his isolation

5—An order to Brig Gen'l Pegram Comd'g Cavalry—endorsed "received"—directing the Cavalry to join in the attack to be made by Gen'l Breckinridge—

It is stated in the General's report that he was informed the Cavalry was to attack with him, that he failed to communicate with it, yet reported he would be ready precisely at four

O'clock, and did attack at that hour with nearly a third of his force absent.

The tabular statement no 7—8th Feby 1863, accompanying my report of the Battle, shows the force of this Division on Wednesday the 31st Dec to have been 7.053– The loss of Wednesday the 31st was 730—not 440 as made by the Division Commander—and the loss on Friday the 2nd Jany was 1.338—not "1.700"—The loss of Wednesday, 440, stated by the Division Commander, deducted from his whole strength leaves 6.613—deducting again the Regiment and Battery he was ordered to leave out and adding the two Batteries of Capn Robertson, leaves him still over 6.000 Infantry and Artillery instead of 4.500 with which he says the attack was made and counting his error in making the loss too small on Wednesday and too large on Friday, he still has underrated his force by more than one fourth

B.—Copies of Dispatches received by General Bragg, on the field of Murfreesboro'.

I.

10x10 M.

The Enemy are undoubtedly advancing upon me.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

Lt- Genl BRAGG
Comdg Forces

The Lebanon Road is unprotected and I have no troops to fill out my line to it—

II.

11½ Oclock A. M. Decr 31st 1862.

GENERAL

I am obeying your order but my left is now engaged with the Enemy and if I advance my whole line further forward and still retain communication with my left, it will take me clear away from the Lebanon Road and expose my right and that road to a heavy force of the enemy advancing from Black's

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.
Major General.

General BRAGG.

III.

HEAD QRs BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION
IN THE FIELD* Jany 1. 1863
10 Minutes to One o'clock

COL.

It is not certain, that the enemy are advancing upon me in two lines.

Genl Pegram promises to report the true condition of things. The two Brigades you ordered to me might be held at the Ford of the River, subject to further developments. If necessary, I can get them into position from that point before the enemy could reach me.

Very Respectfully
JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.
Major General

Lt Col BRENT—
A A. Genl

IV.

HD QRS BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION
IN THE FIELD Decr 31. 7. P.M

GENERAL—

When I crossed the river this evening with two Brigades, I left Genl Hanson's Brigade, holding the Hill already designated as the Commanding position in front of my Division.

I have the honor now to report that Hanson's Brigade is still in the same position with 3 Batteries isolated from the balance of the Army

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant
JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

Genl BRAGG
Comdg Army Tenn.

V.

HD QRS IN FIELD
1 P. M. 2d

GENERAL.

The General is about moving to take by force a position between Hoovers house and the right of our line on this side of the river– General Wharton will be there– You will so arrange and dispose of your command in the vicinity of Hoover's so as to cooperate with this movement.

Respectfully
GEO W. BRENT
A. A. G.

Brigr Genl PEGRAM
"Recd"
"JNO PEGRAM.
"Brig Genl"

4.—GENERAL PATTON ANDERSON'S LETTER TO MAJOR HUGER, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

Hd Qrs, WATTHALL'S BRIGADE
WITHER'S DIVISION POLK'S A. T.
IN LINE Jany 2d 1863 10 45 P.M

MAJOR

Soon after dark to night, I sent a Staff Officer to the Maj Genl Comdg Division, to inform him of my present position. I directed him to say that I was immediately in front of the enemy with no infantry support on right or left. He informs me that Maj Genl Breckinridge was

* Received on the thirty-first of December.

present when he delivered the message and stated to the L[t] Gen[l] Commanding the Corps that supports had been ordered to take position on my right & left & that they were there in position. I deem it proper to state that since the return of my Staff Officer, (In company with other officers made a personal reconnoisance of the position & find *no infantry on my right* & none on my left, nearer than 800 yards distant. The enemy is immediately in front of this interval A Battery on my left in some measure commands the approach to this interval but not entirely. Gen[l] Breckinridge not being present I desire to inform the Maj Gen[l] Comdg Division of these facts

I am Major Very Resp[c]
Your Obt Sert
PATTON ANDERSON
Brig Gen[l] &c

Major HUGER
A. A. Gen—

5.—ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL BRENT'S LETTER TO GENERAL BRAGG.

HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN
TULLAHOMA March 15[th] 1863

GENERAL

On the evening of the 2[nd] January about 3½ o'clock, after the formation of the line of battle by Maj Gen[l] Breckinridge Division, Brig Gen[l] Pillow rode up and enquired of Gen[l] Breckinridge, if any support was on our right. He was informed that Brig Gen[l] Pegram with his Cavalry Brigade sustained by Brig Gen[l] Wharton was there. Brig Gen[l] Pillow then asked if any communication had been had with Gen[l] Pegram and on being responded to in the negative, said, that it was not only proper, but important to communicate with him prior to the movement.

I was on the field at that time by your order in company with Capt. Robertson Comdg Battery

I am General
Very Respectfully
Your Ob[t] Ser[t].
GEORGE W[M] BRENT—
A. A. G.

Gen[l] BRAXTON BRAGG.
Comdg Army of Tenn.

6—COPY OF GENERAL BRAGG'S ENDORSEMENT ON GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE'S LETTER ASKING THAT HIS LETTER TO THE ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR-GENERAL, REQUESTING A COURT OF INQUIRY, BE PUBLISHED.*

May 13[th] 1863.

I forward this application with the remark, that in the application for a Court of Inquiry, now asked to be made public, there were statements not in accordance with my understanding of the facts, on which I did not comment in transmitting the paper, believing that the investigation to follow would discover the facts, and other refutaion was therefore unnecessary.

The Department may decide whether such paper should be laid before the public under such circumstances.

BRAXTON BRAGG
Gen[l] Comdg.

Official
A. W. WALTER
A. A. G.—

[ENDORSED:]

May 26, 63–

Gen[l] Breckinridge's application for a Court of Enquiry was "approved" and forwarded without comment– On his application to have it published the within endorsement was made–

His report of the battle of Murfreesboro' and the application for the Court, both full of errors and misstatements have been given to the press without my endorsements–

B. B.

7.—GENERAL SAMUEL COOPER, ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR-GENERAL, TO GENERAL BRAGG.

ADJT & INSP. GEN'L'S OFFICE
RICHMOND, May 31, 1863.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 23[d] inst, on the subject of the publication of Major General Breckinridge's letter of the 31. of March asking for a Court of Inquiry.

In answer I have to state that the publication referred to was not made with the sanction of the War Department.

It is proper I should also state that a friend of Gen[l] Breckinridge had called on me for a copy of his letter for a Court of Inquiry, and said the General desired to know my opinion of the propriety or impropriety of making it public. The matter not being presented to me officially, I did not maturely consider it, and being hurried at the moment & viewing it as little more than the publication of a sub report, saw no objection to the publication & so answered. Since the receipt of your letter the case is presented to me as one of controversy in relation to an official transaction, & the impropriety of making a publication in that connection is clearly perceived; tho' it may be supposed, from the want of professional training on the part of Major Gen-

* This letter to the Adjutant and Inspector-general of the Army, may be found in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, III., 1., 337, 338.—EDITOR.

eral Breckinridge, that it was not perceived by him.

Had he pursued the strict military course in this instance he would have addressed his communication officially to this office through the channel prescribed by regulations, when his application would have been duly laid before the Secretary of War, who alone had the right to decide the question.

Very respectfully
Your Obt Svt
S. Cooper.
A. & I. G.

Genl Braxton Bragg.
Comdg &c &c
Shelbyville, Tenn.

8.—Assistant Inspector-general W. Clave, C. S. A. to General Bragg.

Shelbyville Tennessee
June 2d 1863.

General

I have the honor to reply to your inquiry—"What order, if any, did you carry to "Maj Genl Breckinridge on Wednesday at the "battle of Murfreesboro"—as follows—

About 10½ A M you directed me to gallop over to Maj Genl Breckinridge as rapidly as possible and tell him to advance with his entire Division except one Brigade, Hanson's I think—which you ordered to be retained as a support in rear of the Battery, then on the Hill in front of Genl B's line of battle—This order I communicated to Maj Genl Breckinridge as it was given to me, when I was informed by him that the enemy was threatening his right flank—and my impression is—the inquiry was made, whether he should advance under these circumstances—Not being able to reply I rode back to you with the information communicated to me by Maj Genl B– when you ordered me to return rapidly and tell Maj Genl Breckinridge, that unless he was certain the enemy were upon him, to go ahead–

Maj Genl Breckinridge's reply was, he could be certain of nothing, or something similar—but that he had taken steps to ascertain the correctness or falsity of the report by sending Staff Officers &c

While engaged in this duty I met Lt Col Greenfell Vol Aid and Lt Col Johnston—the former I know was on a similar errand to mysel– as he came to repeat the order and ascertain the cause of my stay– the latter I passed and understood he was on a like errand.

I am Genl
Very Resp Yr Ob Sevt
W. Clave
Maj & Asst Insp Genl

Genl Braxton Bragg
Comg.

9.—Statement of Assistant Adjutant-general David Urquhart, C. S. A.

Shelbyville 12th June 1863

On Friday Night Jany 2d 1863 at Murfreesboro, a meeting of the Corps and Division Commanders was held at Genl Bragg's Head Qrs.

The Division Commanders left at 10 or 10½ P. M.

Lt Genl Polk and Lt Genl Hardee left at 11 O'clock At about 12 or 12½ same night a Courier from the Cavalry came in, informing the Genl Comdg that the enemy were advancing on our Right Wing.

The General ordered me to go to Lt Genl Hardee and advise him of the report, directing him to go to that point, The command of the Right Wing having been given to him that Evening, under a new disposition of the troops. I found the General at Col Ready's House in Murfreesboro. Major Genl Breckinridge was also there waiting for supper.

Lt Genl Hardee went off to see Genl Bragg and Genl Breckinridge was also informed of the Reported advance of the enemy.

I went from there to Lt Genl Polk's Head Qrs to get a message sent out to Brig Genl Wharton of the Cavalry.

David Urquhart
Lt Col. A. A. G.

VIII.—*FLOTSAM.*

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. His. Mag.]

The First American Cent.

"F. S.," in the *Rural New Yorker*, is wrong in regard to the first American cent. The so-called "Washington pennies" were mere models or medals, and were not issued by the Government. The 1793 penny is the first of the American series; and there were plenty of these made in 1799. They can be found in any collection of note, in this country.

I have just noticed an inquiry, made by a correspondent, in the *Rural New Yorker*, in regard to the United States cents. As I have made numismatics a special study, I will answer his question. The copper cent was not issued for circulation until the year 1793, although several patterns had been struck off previous to that time. This cent of 1793 was very similar to those of later dates; but, instead of the wreath, it bore around the words "one cent," a chain having thirteen links.

This type was changed, during the same year. Cents were issued annually until the year 1857, with the exception of 1815, when none were coined. In 1857, the small nickel cents made their appearance. In consequence of their issue, the greater part of the large copper cents of that year were returned to the Mint.

Some of the cents are quite rare, and bring high prices, when in good condition. It is difficult to collect a complete set. The cent of 1799 is the rarest of the series. It is said that the scarcity of the cents of this date is owing to this fact: a firm in Salem, engaged in the slave-trade, at that time, obtained a large quantity, directly from the Mint, drilled holes in them, and shipped them to Africa, to exchange them for slaves. The African Chiefs would string them and wear them around their necks, prizing them very highly.

Pacific Aborigines. The curious Shell-mounds of California. Strange Relics. Ancient Burial-place.

San Pablo is about fifteen miles from Oakland, and lies almost due North; and the road follows the beach, giving, the whole distance, a sight of the bay, San Francisco city, the Central Pacific Railroad wharf, and the famous Goat Island of legislative renown. When, within three miles of the town, we came to a shell-mound rising up from the plain to almost the dignity of a hill, and which is now covered with a growth of shrubbery. There is no telling when or by whom that mound was raised, that is almost a mile long and half a mile wide.

Fragments of pottery, made of red earth not to be obtained anywhere in this State, are found, on the surface and near the top; and, about two years ago, Mr. McHenry, the owner of the land, dug a trench, and, at a depth of twenty feet, sixty feet in from the West, near the base, found numerous skeletons of Indians, of all sizes, and some bones of dogs and birds, and many implements of stone. One baby had been rolled in a monstrously long piece of red silk, like the mummies, and had been covered with a coating of a sort of asphaltum. Mr. McHenry also found, in other parts of the hill, evidences enough to show that this mound was a burying-place for some extinct tribe of Indians, as the skulls are different from all others known, in some particulars.

Where the red silk came from, would puzzle any one to know, as this must have been a primitive race, judging by the rude implements and utensils. All the skeletons were in a sitting posture, with their faces turned northward. The shells that form this mound are oyster, clam, and mussel shells, all having been exposed to the action of fire, and nearly all broken fine. Very rarely are entire shells found. The same kind of mounds, though not so large, are found near San Mateo, on the San Francisco side. They are all near the shores of the bay; and have been made of shells of the oysters and mussels that the Indians used as food, and which they evidently roasted to open. Some think it impossible that such enormous quantities of oysters, etc., could ever have been eaten; and I would never have believed it, had I not seen a gentleman eat roast oysters, once, and seen the pile of shells he left.—*Transcript.*

A Curious Letter in Massachusetts History.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:

In Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, we find reference to Major Robert Sedgwick, as a man "authorized, with Captain John Lever-"ett—afterwards Governor—to war against the "Dutch in America; but peace being made be-"fore their troops were ready, they turned their "attention against the French, at the eastward. "It was a time of peace," says Hutchinson, "between the two nations, but the English had "good right to the country; and the complaints "of the French in Europe could not prevail up-"on Cromwell to give it up again." The following account of the expedition, by Sedgwick, is most amusing. It strikes one as quite an anomaly in the way of military movements. I would premise that Major Sedgwick was then a member of the London Artillery Company, and, afterward, one of the founders of our own Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. The letter has not appeared, as I am aware, in our history; and is remarkable, among other things, for its religious tone and spirit. It is dated "From Major Sedgwick at Charles Town, "New England, this 24 Sept., 1654."

"I know you cannot but be acquainted with "our first business we were designed unto. God "did not seem to smile upon us in that business, "in many of his workings toward us. But so "it fell out, even when we were ready to ad-"vance, with our forces, to the southward, we "had countermands as touching that business; "we then being in a posture of War, and sol-"diers here listed in pay, attended the other "part of our Commission against the French, "and the fourth of July set sail for *Nantusket*, "with 3 ships, one Catch, and about two "hundred Land Soldiers, of old *England* and "New. Our first place designed for, was *St.* "*John's* Fort, there we arrived the 15 *Ditto*,

"and in four days took it in, where we found a "gallant Fort, above seventy proper Soldiers, "seventeen peece of Ordnance, besides Murth- "erers, Stokefowlers, and other Ammunition. "Having sent away the French, and settled our "Garrison, we set sail for Port *Riall*, and five "days after our arrival there, took in that Fort, "as also a ship of France that lay under the "Fort; in the Fort we found Seamen, Soldiers "and Planters, about an 135 fighting men. "Our force with which we landed, and lay "entrenched against the Fort, was but equal in "number; there was in the Fort twenty peeces "of Ordnance, above fourty barrels of pow- "der, with other necessaries. Our work being "finished there, we set sail for *Penobscout*, and "took in that, where we found a small Fort, "yet very strong, and a very well composed "peece with eight peece of Ordnance one Brass, "three murtherers, about eighteen Barrels of "powder, and eighteen men in garison. I am "willing to hope God intends a blessing in this "affair to the English Nation, and to the Plan- "tations in particular. It's a brave Countrey full "of fine Rivers, Airable Pastors, full of Tim- "ber, gallant Masts, full of Mines, Coal, Mar- "ble, Iron, Lead, and some say Copper. "Many convenient places for fishing, making "of Oyl, and good quantities of trade for Bea- "ver and Mous-skins."

CAMBRIDGE, April, 1873. A. B. M.

ANCIENT CHURCH.—The Trinity Episcopal Church, down in Oxford, Pennsylvania, is one of the oldest in this country. It was built in the year 1700, and is, therefore, one hundred and seventy-three years old. It is cruciform in shape. The bricks, from which it is built, were brought from England. The bible and a beautiful silver communion-set, were presented by Queen Anne; and have been in the church, in constant use, one hundred and twenty years, and are still in good condition. The grave-yard is enclosed by a neat stone-wall, and in it are many grave-stones of ancient date, some bearing the date 1701, 1706, and 1707—some no doubt are older, but are not legible. A new grave can scarcely be opened without disturbing some of the ancient bones reposing there. During last Fall, the interior of the church was painted and the walls frescoed in the style of the seventeenth century, presenting a very beautiful appearance.—*Doylestown Democrat.*

A CHASE FOR A FORTUNE.—The Executive Committee of the "Chase Heirs" of New Brunswick do not have much confidence in the existence of that somewhat mythical estate. In their Report, adopted at a recent Session in the city of St. John, they say:

"Reports have been circulated through the "public press, respecting the estate claimed by "the Chase heirs, which are without any foun- "dation whatever; and which are calculated to "mislead those unacquainted with the facts. "The Committee, therefore, think it advisable "to state that they have spent much time and "labor in endeavoring to ascertain whether or "not any property exists in England, to which "the Chases in this country, are entitled. Thus "far, the information obtained—both from let- "ters, from solicitors in England, and other- "wise—has gone to prove that no such estate "exists."—*Maine Farmer.*

GENERAL MEADE.—The New York *Church Journal* says of General Meade: "A more stain- "less knight never drew a sword. A kindlier "heart never beat. A simpler and truer Chris- "tian has seldom, in these days, lived; none "worthier to wear 'the grand old name of "'gentleman,' without a blot, than George G. "Meade. Philadelphia did well to drape her- "self in weeds of mourning. She expressed "but the whole nation's feeling. Knowing him "nearer, she felt his loss nearer. But we may "all thank God for the example of a life true "to duty, for another white name to place "among all the wreath-crowned names upon the "nation's walls, a model and an incitement "while the nation stands."

SCRAPS.—The Arkansas linguists feel that if the name of that State is to be often in the mouths of men, as it is likely to continue to be, unless the inhabitants mend their manners, then the true and orthodox pronunciation of it should be definitely settled. The weight of authority in the State, is in favor of the broad "a" in the last syllable, with the final "s" silent—Arkan*saw*. To fix the matter, definitely and authoritatively, the native linguists have investigated the derivation of the word. The territory was called Ock-en-sea. The old French settlers spelled it, as their records testify, Akancea—the "c" being soft. This indicates that the final "s" should not be sounded. The inhabitants prefer Arkan*saw;* and, as it is their own State, we suppose that they have a right to do as they please in the matter, especially as there is no law of the United States against their doing so. They say that when Mr. Fillmore was President of the Senate, he compromised the thing according to the tastes of the Senators from that State. Senator Sevier said Ar-*kan*-sas; Senator Ash-

ley, Arkan*saw*. Mr. Fillmore used to recognize Mr. Sevier as "the Senator from Ar*kan*-"sas," and Mr. Ashley as "the Senator from "Arkan*saw*."—*New York Tribune.*

—One of the subscribers of the *Prairie Farmer*, living at Dix, Illinois, says that he has heard and read a great deal about hard times, in these days, but avers that they do not compare with the times of twenty-five years ago. He gives the following incident as a proof of his assertion:

"In Jefferson-county, in this State, Mr. Coly "Babcock, in 1845, wishing to purchase two "pairs of shoes, went to his country store, and "found that the keeper had the shoes he desir-"ed: one pair at ninety cents, the other at sev-"enty-five cents. This was considered an exorb-"itant price, which he declined to pay, but "would go to St. Louis—the head market. "This was distant eighty miles from his resi-"dence; but he shouldered his rifle, put some "'corn dodger' and salt in his shot-bag, and "started, on foot, killing birds for meat, and "lying at night by camp-fires of marketers, "who were plenty at that time. Arriving at "the Mississippi and Illinoistown—now East St. "Louis—he found that it would cost him five "cents to cross the river. He was mortified to "find that he would then be obliged to break "in upon his shoe money; but succumbed at "last, went over to the city and made his pur-"chase of two pairs of shoes at a cost of forty "and sixty cents. On returning home, he found "he had cleared sixty cents, less the ferriage, "by his trip.

"Walking eighty miles to save this amount "may look absurd; but dollars were scarce; "markets distant; the land covered with forest; "labor without demand; and pork worth one "dollar and fifty cents per hundred pounds."

—A lake in Harrison-county, Indiana, which is supposed to have existed for hundreds of years, has recently been drained, and seventy acres of valuable land added to the farmer's fields. After the draining had been completed, the owner found evidences that the bed of the lake had, at one time, been occupied as an Indian camping-ground—probably the site of one of their villages. In evidence of this, he states that, in digging a cellar, large quantities of bear and deer bones were thrown up. At other points on the place, when digging holes to set posts, bones of Indians were found. Several Indian graves were also discovered on the place, which appear to have been covered with muscle shells, taken from the bed of some of the neighboring creeks or the Ohio-river. Indian implements of various kinds have also been found in the neighborhood. It is thought that the locality, at one time, has been the home of a large tribe of North American Indians, every trace of which has disappeared, except the relics thus accidentally discovered. This is an interesting field for the investigation of archæologists; and may enable them to gather some valuable information, in regard to the aborigines of the country.—*Albany Argus.*

—Little doubt now exists that the Colorado Desert was once the bed of a sea. Careful instrumental observations have lately been made, which seem to establish the fact, beyond doubt. Between the San Gorgonio-pass and the San Diego and Fort Yuma wagon road, a distance of fifty miles, the surface is far below the sea level. On the line of the railroad, there are depressions of two hundred and fifty feet below the surface of San Francisco-bay; and other parts of the Desert are three hundred feet below the level of the Pacific, beyond the Golden Gate. On the rocks and sides of the mountains, a great many signs have been discovered, such as are held to be confirmatory of this theory of former submersion; and it is now accepted, as a fact, by the best informed scientists. Hence it would appear that, either the gradual exhaustion of the sources of water supply, or through some more sudden natural convulsion, the heart of the Continent, once occupied by a vast expanse of water, has been drained; and, within a comparatively short space of time, changed to dry land.—*Ibid.*

—At Carrollton, near New Orleans, lives Colonel Bill Fisher, said to be the only surviving companion of the famous Seminole Chief, Osceola. The Colonel ran away from a Friends' School, in Philadelphia, when fifteen years of age, and joined the Seminoles. He was adopted into the tribe under the name of Oocha Bill. The Colonel's story of the origin of the Seminole War does not agree with the commonly published narrative. He says that a party of stock-tenders were hunting for lost cattle, and met some Indians engaged in skinning animals. It was doubtful whether the beeves belonged to the Indians or the stock-raisers, as the latter were in the habit of catching and branding all the wild cattle they could overtake. The white men did not wait to inquire, but fired into the Indians, and killed five. The result of this cruel and unjustifiable outrage was a War, which cost thirty millions of dollars and the lives of many soldiers and citizens.

—Mrs. Robert E. Lee does not ask to have the Arlington estate, now covered with soldiers' graves, restored to her, but calls for reasonable remuneration. She says that General Lee never owned an acre of it. When Mrs. Lee's fath-

er died, he made, in his will, an obligation that all the slaves belonging to the estate should be set free, after the expiration of five years. The time of their manumission came on, in 1863, and right in the very height of the War. General Robert E. Lee, as the executor of the will, summoned these slaves together, at a convenient point, within his lines, and gave them free papers and passes through the Confederate lines, to go whither they would. This fact, if it be a fact, is not generally known.—*Maine Farmer.*

—Ex-Confederate General Pendleton, an Episcopal clergyman, now, is lecturing in the South, to raise funds to build a tomb for General Lee. In his lecture at Mobile, he is reported to have made serious charges against General Longstreet, to whose delay he attributed the loss of the Battle of Gettysburg. He said Longstreet had received positive orders from General Lee to advance, at dawn, the next morning; that it was perfectly practicable, the enemy being unprepared; and that he did not advance till four A. M., when the Union Army was massed and concentrated.

—The town of Albany, in Oxford-county, in this State, was formerly called "Plantation of "Oxford." It was first settled so late as 1800; and incorporated on the twentieth of June, 1803.—*Maine Farmer.*

—Waterford, Maine, was settled in 1775, by David McMaine. It has a saw-mill, grist-mill, and tannery.—*Ibid.*

—The first mill in the town of Andover, Maine, was erected in 1791, by Colonel Thomas Poor.—*Ibid.*

IX.—*NOTES.*

Another Fort in the Indian War of 1755 to 1763.

In the days of Fort Dobbs, there was a neighborhood fort, on Fifth-creek, eight miles Northeast of Statesville, North Carolina, at what is now known as "Somer's Old Mill." It was near Andrew Reed's, on the old map of Fourth-creek Congregation.

He is supposed to have built the mill, and that the fort was there to protect it. The location is an admirable one: in coming to it, from the South, we descend for a quarter of a mile, and come to the present barn, back of which begins a deep ravine, that runs down on the left to the creek, where it comes around the point of a hill; and, coming against a high and steep ridge of a hill, is turned out of its course, more to the North. Where the end of that ridge sloped down into the bottom, was the mill-pond: a little more around to the right, is the mill. Then the creek flows partly back, on the lower or right hand side of the ridge, and turns off again nearly in the direction of it, and would have gone if these hills, projecting across its course, had not interfered with it. It was nearly in the shape of the letter S, with the middle part of it on the upper side of the bluff or ridge, that slopes away more gradually on the other or south-eastern side, down which the road goes, in front of the house, crossing the creek below the old mill.

The shape, too, made in passing round the end of the ridge, is very much like that of an ox-bow, with the open end on the South. At the barn, where the ridge begins to jut out, or a little lower down, on its highest part, or a little lower still than the house, where there appears to have been a building, any of these three points would have been a good site for a fort; but where it was, we do not know. When the country was nearly clear of timber, as it is said to have been at first, there must have been a very extensive prospect from this point—eighty-five feet, by measurement, above the stream—up and down the valley of the creek. There is no other place, in the whole region, like this.* Several families took refuge here, in time of the War—among others, the Archibalds. One of these, William, whose house was on the other, or western, fork of the same creek, had gone one day down near where Turner's-mill now is, and returning just in the edge of evening, but not yet dark, came to the ford, near where the late James Hill lived. He was on horse-back, and was shot through the breast. He jumped from his horse into the creek, and secreted himself, under the bank, where it projected over. He was well acquainted with the locality. The Indian who shot was so far off, that, in the dusk, he could not see where he went. Several of the savages came to the bank and examined; went off some distance and returned again, trying to track him, but did not succeed. He crammed his handkerchief into the wound to stop the flow of blood, and kept quiet, expecting every moment that they would come and dispatch him.

But, after waiting a long time, they departed. He, finding the way clear, came out; mounted his horse; and rode to the fort, two or three miles, when he fainted with loss of blood. He survived, but did not recover from the effects of the wound of that night.

These traditions, connected with various localities in this region, are interesting to the descendants of those who exposed themselves to dangers and hardships, in settling the country.

* This is also a great center of roads: several converge here, on both sides of the creek.—E. F. R.

"The rude forefathers of the hamlet" have passed away; and, in some cases, their very names have disappeared from the country. Some say that the mill, above-mentioned, was erected since that time, by the late Andrew Caldwell, the father of Hon. J. P. Caldwell, Judge D. F. Caldwell, etc., who occupied the place for many years. This is the *sixth* place of refuge from the savages, besides the main fort, three miles North of town, near the Huggins place—one on the North side of Fourth-creek, above the house of the late Ross Simonton; this one, at the old Somer's mill; one South of the Georgia-road, near Captain Eagle's; one South of town, upon the old road that went in that direction, and near where the late Joseph Murdock, Esq., lived; another, still further South, in the neighborhood of Andrew Nail's; another, to the right of Third-creek Station, in Rowan-county, on the Beaver-dam, a branch of Witherow's-creek. We suppose that these were wooden structures, called block-houses, such as is illustrated in Webster's large Dictionary, at that word—hence, they have decayed; and, in some cases, no trace remains. There were, doubtless, many others of the same kind in the country, exposed to the inroads of the savages.

STATESVILLE N. C. E. F. R.

WHITEHALL SLIP.—This name arose from a large dwelling, standing on the present corner of Whitehall and State-streets. This building is supposed to have been erected by Governor Stuyvesant, in the time of his administration. It afterwards came into the possession of Governor Thomas Dongan, in whose time it became known as the Whitehall. It was occupied, at different intervals, by merchants. Attached to the premises, were a bake-house, bolting-house, and warehouse, erected in the time of the great flour speculation.

Governor Dongan afterwards became Earl of Limerick. He was still living in England in 1715, at which time he sent over a kinsman to sell this and other property still belonging to him in this country.

THE HAMERSLEY FAMILY.

= *William Hamersley*, an officer in the British Navy; resigned the service, while stationed in New York harbor, in 1716; was a merchant, as appears by his tomb-stone in Trinity churchyard; and died in 1752. A Vestry-man of Trinity church, from 1731 to 1352; and was a shipping merchant in the Mediterranean trade.

Sons of William Hamersley.

1st, *William Hamersley*, eldest son, an officer in the British Army; died in service, in the West Indies; and never married.

2nd, *Andrew Hamersley*, Merchant — after whom Hamersley-street was named—commenced life with a Commission in the Army; and married, in 1755, Margaret, grand-daughter of Thomas Gordon, of the King's Council and Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, who was a son of Sir George Gordon, one of those who took an active interest in the advancement of the Colonies. Andrew Hamersley was in the Common Council, in 1773, and in the Vestry of Trinity-church, from 1787 to 1807.

3rd, *John Hamersley*—John Hamersley & Co. —importer of general merchandise, from 1759 to 1770, as appears by one of his inward invoice-books. Not married.

Sons of Andrew Hamersley.

1st, William, M. D.—about 1790, received his degree from the hands of Doctor Robertson, the historian, at Edinburg. He was the first Professor of the Institutes of Medicine at Columbia-college, at the age of twenty-five—from 1792 to 1800. He married Elizabeth Van Cortlandt de Peyster.

Their son *Andrew*—now deceased—was author of the prize essay on *The Remote and Proximate Causes of Phthises Pulmonalis.* New York State Medical Society, 1825.

Second son. *William*, now, 1863, Mayor of Hartford, Connecticut.

2nd, *Louis Carré Hamersley* married in Virginia.

3rd, *Thomas Hamersley*, a ripe scholar and Warden of l' Eglise du St. Esprit. Lorenzo du Ponte thought him the best Italian scholar in America. He married Susan, daughter of Colonel Watkins, Aide-de-camp, during the Revolution, of his father-in-law, Governor Livingston of New Jersey. Governor Jay and Colonel Watkins married two daughters of Governor Livingston.

Andrew Hamersley, Louis Carré Hamersley, and Thomas Hamersley were merchants, importers, and dealers in iron and iron-ware, for more than half a century.

NEW YORK CITY. J. W. H.

X.—*REPLIES.*

MILES STANDISH.—[*H. M., III., i., 56, 251, 370.*]

I.

If Myles Standish was a Roman Catholic, he was also a hypocrite; till proof of the latter, he must be considered, what the Pilgrims believed him to be—and never before doubted—a Protestant and *an honest man.* Myles Stand-

ish *was not the man to sail under false colors.* He was bold, brave, impetuous, open as the day, and *not double-faced.* His memory should have been safe from insult. He wrote it MYLES.

BOSTON, MASS. J. W. T.

II.

J. W. T. raises the issue whether Miles Standish was a Roman Catholic or a hypocrite; as if he must have been either the one or the other. But J. W. T. does not attempt to prove that Miles ever pretended he was not a Roman Catholic; and his reply is equally barren of evidence to prove that Miles ever pretended that he was a Protestant. Where, then, was Miles Standish's "hypocrisy" manifested? Why, then, might he not have been a Roman Catholic, since his alleged family was unquestionably and actively such and he never pretended to be anything else?

J. W. T. says Miles "was not the man to sail "under false colors." Granted; and to prove it I call the attention of J. W. T. to the patent fact that *he never pretended that he was a Protestant.* He never sailed under *Protestant* colors: he preferred to sail *without any colors* rather than to hoist those which would have *falsely* proclaimed him to have been—what he really was not—a Plymouth Separatist and a Protestant.

J. W. T. raises a new issue as to the character of Miles—"he was bold, brave, impetuous, "open as the day, and *not double-faced.*" Admitted, again; but does not the fact that he was "open as the day" and "not double-"faced" rest on the best evidence when that other fact is presented, to prove it—that he despised the idea of *professing to be* something entirely different from what he *really was?* Why he would have lowered himself to the level of a common Puritan of the Bay Colony, if he had attempted to do differently; and it is not impossible that the reason for the current misunderstanding of Miles Standish's character may be found in the stern fact that that character has, hitherto, been generally looked at through Puritanic spectacles. Massachusetts has not dared to disregard Miles Standish: she has contented herself with dwarfing him to her own standard and *then* adopting him.

J. W. T. says the Captain wrote his name "Myles." He did so, now and then; but *he wrote it* "Miles" *ten times, yes, a hundred, to every single instance of spelling it* "Myles."

J. W. T. supposes the memory of Miles Standish would be "insulted" were he recognized as a Roman Catholic. I think, on the other hand, that the greatest insult which could have been, or which, hereafter, can be, offered to that sturdy soldier's memory, would be to represent the Standish family, generally, *as anything else than Roman Catholics*, or the Captain, himself, *as anything else than what he really was*—NOT *a Protestant.*

J. W. T. does not seem to dispute the fact that, possibly, after all, Captain Miles Standish was not, legitimately, *a Standish*, but only indirectly so: I need not, therefore, pursue that enquiry, in this place.

MORRISANIA, N. Y. H. B. D.

XI.—*WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.*

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

TRUSTEES, AND WHAT THEY AMOUNT TO, IN THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In our numbers for May and June, respectively, we noticed two subjects which are peculiarly interesting to members of The New York Historical Society: in this, we propose to notice another, of the same general class.

We alluded, in one of our former articles, to the success which had attended the efforts of the Society, while it yet confined its humble operations and the employment of its limited means to its legitimate "purpose of discover-"ing, procuring, and preserving whatever may "relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ec-"clesiastical history of the United States, in "general, and of this State, in particular," and before it entered on its licentious career of free-lunches and other equally flagrant violations of its Charter; and it is very well known that its strong-room, these many years, has been well provided with material for history, of great value—the result of its *early* fidelity—which, in the hands of the Society, as it has been more recently conducted, might as well have been at the bottom of the Red Sea.

To remedy this evil and to make available, for historical purposes, the material which, *without a Catalogue*, has thus *been kept away from all to whom the Librarian did not please to show it*, in April, 1865, a Committee of the Society issued *Proposals* that "the New York "Historical Society will establish a Fund for "the regular publication of their transactions "and Collections in American History." To effect their object, in this instance, the Society proposed to issue one thousand scrip shares, of twenty-five dollars each, transferable on the books of the Society, and entitling the holder of each share to receive, FIRST, *interest thereon,*

until the Fund was complete or sufficient to enable the Trustees to begin the contemplated publication, without impairing the principal sum; and, SECOND, one copy of each and every publication made at the expense of the Fund, *amounting to not less than one octavo volume of five hundred pages per annum.* The Society was to receive, for its own purposes, two hundred and fifty copies of each work, *at the expense of the shareholders;* and it pledged itself, in return, "that the moneys received shall be "applied for these purposes, *and no other*, and "shall be invested solely in stocks of the "United States, the City and State of New "York, or on bond and mortgage, and be held, "for ever, by the President, Recording Secre- "tary, and Treasurer of the Society, as Trus- "tees (ex-officio) of the Publication Fund."

The Committee who was charged with the duty of establishing this "Publication Fund," was one of the most influential and persevering that the Society ever organized; and it went to work, with spirit, in its commendable effort to secure subscriptions for the one thousand "scrip shares of twenty-five dollars each." Circulars were issued, profusely; subscription-books were formally opened; sub-committees waited on members of the Society—where is a membership of considerably more than a thousand strong men, mostly such as few other Societies can exhibit—and all the powers of persuasive eloquence and executive skill were brought into play, to secure subscriptions. But the members of the Society, except here and there one, had seen the mode of conducting its ordinary business, under the new system; and they contented themselves by—*not subscribing.*

The proposition dragged, therefore, month after month and year after year, without much promise; and more than once it was supposed that it would become necessary to return the monies collected, submit to the loss of labor and money expended, and abandon the project. At length, another party of members, unwilling to see so commendable a project fail, for the want of a few thousand dollars, renewed the effort; and, by carrying their subscription-books outside the Society and, very often, by largely increasing their own subscriptions, the Fund was very considerably increased, without, however, being entirely filled, even by these extraordinary means.

From that day to this, this Fund has remained, incomplete. It is quite large; but it needs more subscriptions in order to complete it. No one doubts that the principal sum is secure: we wish we could say as much for other portions of the business of the trust—of the latter, only, we write.

The same system of withholding information from those who are most interested therein, which has marked the administration of the Society's affairs, has, also, from the first, distinguished the administration of the affairs of this Fund—*no one*, unless those who have happened to be within the circle of the Librarian's grace, *has ever seen a Report of the Trustees of this Fund; and no one, with the exceptions named, knows how the principal of the Fund is invested, nor how its income has been employed.* If any person calls at the Library and makes inquiry on these subjects, *if the Librarian is seen*, his questions are answered, *in general terms*, verbally; but we have failed to find any individual shareholder, outside of the ring, who has ever seen a written or printed Report of the Treasurer or who knows anything concerning the condition of the Fund. As a very large proportion of the shareholders are resident in other cities than New York, these, at least, have no means of learning *anything* concerning the subject, nor of receiving any dividends, or interest on their investments, or any of the promised publications; and the greater number of them, in the absence of any information, or of any returns, of any kind, have, very probably, long since carried the amount of their subscriptions to this Publication Fund to the debit side, on their own ledgers, of Profit and Loss.

More than eight years have now elapsed since these Trustees, through their authorized representative, "George H. Moore, Librarian of the "Society," began to collect money for this proposed "Publication Fund," ON THE CONDITIONS WHICH WE HAVE NAMED; and yet, during that period, *only* THREE *volumes have been issued to the subscribers, instead of the promised "not less "than one octavo volume of five hundred pages "per annum," whenever interest on the amount subscribed, at five per cent, has not been paid, instead.* It is now more than two years, if we do not mistake, since these respectable Trustees attempted either to issue a volume of any sort, or to pay a cent of interest on the shares: into whose pocket, and for what purpose, has the interest on the invested principal sum of the Fund, during that period, gone? We call on the Trustees to make a Report on this subject; or, if they shall not do so, we warn them that the Supreme Court may be invited to take a hand in the little game, and, in the end, the result, in that case, may not be either profitable or agreeable to those who are within the ring.

But this is not all. In the letter which accompanied the *Proposals* which the Society's Committee issued, on the fourth of April, 1865, the "member of the New York Historical So-

"ciety," to whom it was addressed, was officially informed of the treasures of "original "MSS. in the possession of the Society, *from "which the earliest volumes to be published will "be made up;*" and "the COLDEN Papers," "the GATES Papers," "the STEUBEN Papers," "the STIRLING Papers," and "the DUER Pa-"pers" were announced as the sources whence the contents of the "earliest volumes to be pub-"lished" would be drawn. So much for the promise: what, while this promise was still fresh on their lips and the ink with which it was written was scarcely dry, was done by these Trustees, in the preparation of the three volumes already issued? The first of the three volumes contained material different from that promised by the Committee, and the second, also; while *a heavy proportion of the last-issued of the three volumes—two hundred and thirty-seven out of the four hundred and eighty-eight pages it contains—is occupied with a collection of gleanings from the Society's newspapers, originally made by one of the employees of the Society, on a private venture, for Valentine's* Corporation Manual, *with the expectation of receiving a dollar per printed page for it; and when it was not wanted, at that price, in that volume, it was secured, "on "private terms," by the Trustees of this Fund, and transferred, bodily, to the place, in this volume, which was to have been occupied by unpublished treasures from the papers of Colden, Gates, Steuben, Stirling, or Duer;* and, if report speaks truly, when the shareholders shall again be favored with a "publication," in book-form, instead of an instalment from "the historic "treasures" to which reference was made, in the Committee's letter to members, another unmarketable production of another of the Society's employees—Mr. Moore's long talked-of, but unpublished, collection of General Charles Lee's erratic productions—is to be ushered into existence, *at the shareholders' expense.*

As we have said, a large sum of money was collected and is held, in trust, for certain specific purposes; but the Trustees are either, themselves, violators of their trust or, by their neglect, accessories to the violation of it by others who, in that neglect, find an opportunity for wrong-doing. They have made no Report, to their shareholders, of either their own acts or those of their employees. They have sent out no notices, to shareholders, either in New York or elsewhere, of the promised payment of interest or the promised issue of *annual* volumes. They have practically confiscated the dividends of books or money, privately declared, when they are not called for by those who have never heard of them. They are a private body, created by others than those whose monies they hold and without accountability to them—the Society, *who is not a shareholder*, elects them and displaces them, at will. Shareholders are nothing more nor less, under existing circumstances, than victims of misplaced confidence in the eminent respectability of the controlling power of The New York Historical Society, whose mode of using that power has been already noticed.

It is to be hoped that, at an early day, a Receiver will be appointed to take charge of this Fund; when, by the distribution of it, among the shareholders, and the subsequent employment of his portion of the principal sum, in some other quarter, each shareholder will receive, in solid yearly dividends, more than he now receives in graceful bows, and amiable smiles, and unperformed promises, from those who now control this Fund as well as the New York Historical Society.

The Society's good name is now hazarded by this flagrant violation of their duty, as Trustees, by some of its officers: we call upon it to take such early measures as it can employ to relieve itself from that disgrace as well as that danger.

At an early day—in our next, if possible—we shall examine the Society's Cash-account, and inform our readers *where the leak is*, through which the large income of the Society so mysteriously disappears, year by year, without effecting any visible good in "the pur-"pose of discovering, procuring, and preserv-"ing whatever may relate to the natural, civil, "literary, and ecclesiastical history of the "United States, in general, and of this State in "particular," for which the Society was especially organized; and we shall inquire, too—by comparing the results effected by similar Societies, elsewhere, with the results effected by this Society, and by contrasting the relative cost of conducting each—just where the superior abilities of Mr. George H. Moore, as the Librarian of this Society, have been displayed—possibly we may notice, also, just why that gentleman's modesty prefers that the vouchers of the Treasurer, *whose Assistant he is*, shall not be compared with the Treasurer's Annual Report, with the text of the Society's Charter, and with the Society's own By-Laws; and just why members of the New York Historical Society, unlike the members of any other Historical Society in the country, of like standing, have not been favored, year by year, with detailed Reports of the sources and amounts of the Society's revenues and equally detailed Reports of *just what becomes of them.*

XII.—*BOOKS.*

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. "DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Memorial of William Spooner*, 1637, *And of his Descendants to the Third Generation; of his great-grandson, Elnathan Spooner; and of his descendants, to* 1871. By Thomas Spooner. Private Edition. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 242.

It is not certainly known *when* and *whence* Thomas Spooner came to America; but we incline to the belief that he was from Colchester, in England—an humble agriculturist, of small means—and that he was brought, thence, by his master, John Holmes—unto whom he had been indentured, in the preceding March—between the first of May, 1637, and the first of July, in the same year. Indeed, there can be very little doubt that he was equivalent to what was known, at a later period, as a "redemption-"er"—it is evident that he was already a full-grown, if not a married, man; capable of making contracts without the concurrence of either parents or guardians; and, in a fair way of becoming, within forty-seven years, both "aged "& weake of body," as his Will, made in March, 1684, expressly declared him to have been, at that time.

He came to Plymouth, subsequently becoming a Freeman and a public officer, there; thence he removed to Acushnet, where, also, he was a town-officer; and he died, evidently respected by those who knew him, in 1684, leaving several children, from whom have descended a numerous progeny, scattered over the entire Republic, honoring the memory of its ancestor by its enterprise, public spirit, and personal worth.

In this very beautiful volume, our friend, Hon. Thomas Spooner, of Ohio, has preserved the simple annals of the family and carefully illustrated them, by diligent research among the records of Plymouth Colony and elsewhere; and, in an elaborate *Appendix*, he has also recorded the annals of the Lewis, Leonard, Fiske, Foster, and Emmons families, with whom the Spooners have, respectively, become connected by matrimonial alliances.

It is a well-arranged, carefully-written, and beautifully-printed memorial of the head of the American branch of this widely-known and respected family and of his descendants; and to all genealogists and to those students of American history who shall have occasion to make inquiries concerning members of the family—such as the pioneer printer of Vermont and him of *The Long Island Star*, at Brooklyn—this will be a very welcome accession.

2—*Bibliotheca Munselliana. A Catalogue of the Books and Pamphlets issued from the Press of Joel Munsell, from the year* 1828 *to* 1870. Albany: Privately Printed. 1872. Octavo, pp. 191.

The title-page of this remarkable volume describes its character and contents—it is a bibliographical catalogue of the various books and pamphlets which have been issued from the press of our honored friend, Joel Munsell, from the day when, a clerk in a book-store, a mere lad, he printed, with his own hands, a semi-monthly paper, *The Albany Minerva*, until 1870, when he was the recognized head of one of the largest and best printing-offices in the country, and in the enjoyment of the affectionate regards of all who knew him. As a mere bibliographical record of the product of a prolific press, during more than a third of a century, such a volume would possess a lasting importance; but to those unto whom it is also a memento of the untiring industry of a valued friend, it will be vastly more welcome than any merely bibliographical volume can be.

This volume "was not printed for circulation "in any way, but merely to be interleaved for "annotation by the printer;" and is a very handsome specimen of book-making.

3.—*A Memorial of Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D.* By Evert A. Duyckinck, Esqr. Read before the New York Historical Society, May 7th, 1867. With an Appendix of Proceedings, Etc. New York: 1871. Octavo, pp. 1-46.

The Hawks-Niblo Collection. Catalogue of Books in the Library of Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D. Presented to the New York Historical Society by William Niblo. New York: 1871. Octavo. pp. 47-166.

In this volume, we find an elaborate "Me-"morial" of Doctor Hawks, originally prepared for the Historical Society, by Mr. Duyckinck, appropriately illustrated with a portrait of the Doctor and clumsily *supplemented* by a report of the Society's "Proceedings," when that "Memorial" was presented. It is followed, also, by a Catalogue of the Books, in the "Hawks Library," which were presented to the Society by Mr. Niblo; and the whole forms a neat "Memorial" of the eloquent Divine and accomplished Scholar, whose name is precious to those who enjoyed his friendship.

There is something about this volume which we do not approve. It was prepared for the press by the employees of The New York Historical Society, at the Society's expense; and

yet it is issued by some private person—whom, we do not know—for his private benefit, at five dollars per copy. Either the Society should have issued it and reaped the benefit of its publication, or those who enjoyed the speculation should have paid for it, themselves, without levying on the Society and withdrawing its employees from pressing official duties, which have been too long neglected.

The volume is neatly, but not elegantly, printed.

4.—*A Red Rose from the Olden Time;* or, A Ramble Through The Annals of the Rose Inn, on the Barony of Nazareth, in the days of the Province: based on "The "Old Inns at Natzareth." A paper read at the Centenary of "The Nazareth Inn," June 9th, 1871. By Maurice C. Jones, of Bethlehem, Penna. Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1872. Octavo, pp. 50.

The Moravians, as a class, among other distinctive features, are more than ordinarily inclined to honor the Past and those who then occupied our places, in the drama of life.

On the ninth of June, 1871, occurred the centenary of "The Nazareth Inn;" and that event was duly celebrated, by those who lived in the vicinity, with a dinner and the usual after-dinner speeches, etc. Among these, Doctor Jones read a paper descriptive of the history of the venerable structure; and, at the request of those who heard it and for the benefit of those who did not, it has been very handsomely printed. A copy of it, now before us, has been kindly sent to us by our friend, John Jordan, Jr., Esq., of Philadelphia, for which we beg his acceptance of our thanks.

The greater portion of this paper embraces a detailed history of the old "Red Rose Inn" and its successive landlords and landladies; although "The old Inn at Nazareth," whose one-hundredth birthday called forth the paper, and its successive landlords, also received attention. The second landlord of this celebrated tavern was John Lewis Roth, the first-born white child in what is now the State of Ohio, where he was born on the fourth of July, 1773. An Appendix contains several personal sketches and a bill of items of the cost of "The Nazareth Inn."

Like all of history that proceeds from this source, this paper is remarkable for its precision of statement, even in what seems to be very unimportant matters. The perfect records of the Society enable the writers of its history to give details of men and matters which are refreshing to the student of history; and those of the Society who venture to become authors, as far as we know them, not only know the inestimable value of the material which is accessible to them, but they also know how and when to employ it.

We would that some who are more pretentious, would follow the example which the more modest but more deserving Moravians have placed before them.

5.—*A History of Manlius Village,* in a Course of Lectures read before The Manlius Association by Henry C. Van Schaack, Vice President of that Association. Revised and Enlarged. 1873. Octavo, pp. 82.

Before the advent of the Erie Canal, when the produce of the West and the merchandise of the East were interchanged by means of teams and stage-coaches had no dread of competition in the transportation of passengers, the village of Manlius, standing at the intersection of the Seneca and the Cherry-valley turnpikes, was the most important village of Onondaga and one of the most important westward from Albany. It was settled in 1792; and it rose, in importance, with unusual rapidity, until it became not only the moral and intellectual center of that entire region, but the depot of its supplies, the seat of its intelligence, and, probably, the source of much of its vice.

The opening of the Erie Canal and the stubborn shortsightedness of her monied men, however, stripped Manlius of her commercial attractions; and, with the facilities for trade which, prior to that opening, had centered at the cross-roads at Manlius, the prosperity of that village, after that event, was transferred to Syracuse and other villages, on whom the new highway of trade had, thereby, thrust the substantial evidences of its favor. Manlius continued to be respectable, but it ceased to be notable. There was a certain amount of solid, substantial comfort, there; but it was of the quiet kind—the result of past labors, long since suspended, rather than the product of present enterprise, still pushing its way among the busy crowd of anxious money-seekers. Long lines of country-wagons no longer lined its streets, exchanging "country produce" for "store-pay." Long lines of teams, transporting produce and merchandise, eastward and westward, northward and southward, no longer crowded its tavern-yards. The rattling stage-coaches, one after another, dashing into the village from all parts of the surrounding country, no longer added excitement to the bustle of its streets nor afforded gossip for its loungers, in the in-comers whom they landed on the stoops of the stage-houses. On the contrary, Manlius has become only a quiet, unobtrusive, well-to-do back-country village; peopled by respectable families whose already acquired means or modest contentment has not pushed them into the bustle of larger towns; slowly growing, if it has grown at all, without seeming to envy Syracuse or desiring to be anything else than Manlius.

It is the history of this retired village that our friend, Mr. Van Schaack, has told us of, in this volume. It is the record of the Schaeffers and Mulhollands, the Messengers and Garlocks, the Phillips and Lowers of that frontier town of Central New York, which is to be found, therein. It furnishes the evidence of alternate prosperity and adversity, of enterprise and short-sightedness, of commercial bustle and stagnation.

As Mr. Van Schaack attempted to do nothing else, in the preparation of these Lectures, than to interest his townsmen, by telling them the story of the rise and decline of Manlius, the reader must not expect anything else than the simple annals of that village; and those he will surely find, told pleasantly, and not without benefit, we hope, to those for whom they were especially intended. It is such a work as ought to be done for every village, by one of its patriarchs, while those live who can afford the requisite information and correct prevailing errors. It is such a work as the historian of Onondaga and him of Central New York, a century or two hence, will resort to, with gratitude, and bless the memory of him who wrote it.

6.—*Qvelqves Particvlaritez dv Pays des Hurons en la Novvelle France* Remarquées par le Sieur Gendron, Docteur en Medecine, qui a demeuré dans ce Pays-là for long-temps. Redigées par Iean Baptiste de Rocoles, Conseillor & Anmosnier du Roy, & Historiographe de sa Majesté. A Troyes, & a Paris, Chez Denys Bechet, au Compas d' Or et Lovis Billaine, á S. Augustin, rue S. Iacques. M.DC.LX. Small octavo, pp. 26.

Although this volume is, now, not far from five years old, its existence is unknown to many of our readers unto whom the information will be very welcome; and we notice it, therefore, among "Recent publications"—as recently heard of, by us, as it will have been to many others.

It is a re-print of a scarce French tract concerning the Hurons, which was printed in Paris, in 1660; and it is, also, a very handsome specimen of printing with old-style type, in the fashion of former days—a habit, in book-making, into which Joel Munsell has so often fallen that it has become second nature to him.

This tract is an interesting one, in itself; but we desire, especially, to call the attention of our readers to the fact that only a hundred copies of it were printed; that it is uniform, in size and style, with the Cramoisy Series of *Relations*, published, years ago, by our learned friend, John Gilmary Shea, LL.D.; and that it has been recognized, by that gentleman, as No. XXV. of that very important and very rare series of volumes—the *Epistola ad. Joan. Winthrop* of Dreuillettes, having been elevated to the dignity of No. XXIV.

Those who have the earlier volumes of the Cramoisy Series will see the propriety of adding those which have been more recently added; while those who desire only to add this volume to their collections, separately from the former issues, will not need our advice to avail themselves of an early opportunity to do so.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

7.—*The Publications of the Prince Society. Established May 26th, 1858. Sir William Alexander and American Colonization.* Boston: Printed for the Society, by John Wilson and Son. 1873.

Sir William Alexander and American Colonization. Including three Royal Charters; a tract on Colonization; a Patent of the County of Canada and of Long Island; and the Roll of the Knights Baronets of New Scotland: with annotations and a memoir by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M. Boston: Published by the Prince Society. 1873. Small quarto, pp. lx., 283.

This volume is the fifth publication of the Society, and its seventh volume; and one hundred and seventeen pages of it are occupied with Mr. Slafter's *Memoir of Sir William Alexander.*

While we have a high respect for Mr. Slafter, we must be allowed to say that if it were, at all, desirable to re-produce, in this work, the three Charters of 1621, 1625, and 1628, which had been already printed, both in the original Latin and an English translation, and were readily accessible—of the necessity for which re-publication we have grave doubts—it would have been only fair if the Charters themselves had been given *in the form in which they were written*, as they were printed by the Bannatyne Club, six years ago; and, in such case, if Mr. Slafter had shortened his memoir of Sir William, in order to have afforded the necessary room for their insertion, the readers of this volume would not have quarrel'ed with him, because of it. Indeed, we cannot account for the omission of the Charters, *in their original form*, from such a volume as this, unless the volume was intended for the especial exhibition of Mr. Slafter's peculiar abilities, as a biographer and translator, and not for that of Sir William's services, as an emigrant-agent; nor can we, from our obscure stand-point, understand why a new translation of the Charter of 1621, which had been already translated and published, was considered necessary, nor why twenty pages of the former translation of that of 1625, which was adopted in this case, was altogether omitted.

For these reasons, among others, this volume is not, at all, satisfactory to us; and it is hoped that, hereafter, when the Prince Society shall undertake to re-produce "rare works, in print "or manuscript, relating to America," it will do

so, in fact, and not allow itself to be imposed upon by those who are more ambitious to display their own productions than these "rare "works" which they shall be employed to edit.

8.—*Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the Years* 1869, 1870, 1871, *and* 1872. Volume VI. Madison: 1872. Octavo, pp. 504.

There is no Historical Society in the country which is doing as much work, and as well, at as small an outlay of money, as the State Society of Wisconsin; and there is always some comfort derived from whatever proceeds from its rooms.

In the volume before us, we find the delayed publication of four years' Reports and a great variety of papers—historical, ethnological, and biographical in their character—all of them possessing great value, as materials for history; and, in the highest degree, creditable to the Society.

The volume is very neatly printed.

9.—*Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.* Volume I. Being a Re-publication of the Original Parts Issued in 1850-51-52-53-56. St. Paul: 1872. Octavo, pp. 519.

This volume, as its title page indicates, is a re-print of the five independent tracts which, together, formed the first volume of the Society's *Collections;* and it is, certainly, highly creditable to the Society, both because of the intrinsic merits of the several papers and the handsome style and good judgment with which they have been thus re-produced.

As our readers are generally acquainted with these papers—from the pens of Messrs. E. D. Neill, H. H. Sibley, Alexander Ramsey, Rev. S. R. Riggs, Henry R. Schoolcraft, W. W. Mather, and others—we need not describe them. Their importance, as material for history, is undoubted; and, as they have become scarce, the Society has done well in re-producing them.

10.—*Historical Sketch of Poplar Tent Church.* By Wm. S. Harris, Ruling Elder of said Church, read before Concord Presbytery, April 22nd, 1872. Charlotte, N. C.: 1873. Octavo, pp. 17.

This Church, situate in Poplar Tent, Cabarrus-county, North Carolina, was the result of the preaching, under a large poplar-tree, among the Scotch-Irish emigrants who, in 1732, settled in that place; and unto whom and others, in the same Province, John Thompson, a minister licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal, had been sent by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. It was one of those results of the earlier Irish emigration to America, of which Mr. Froude has given so clear a description; and, from that day to this, it has stood in the midst of the Clarks, Alexanders, Reeses, Harrises, Blacks, Campbells, Meekses, etc., whose descendents, generally, still cluster around it and enjoy the privileges which it extends.

The tract before us is an interesting one, not only as a history of the ancient Presbyterian-church at Poplar Tent, but, incidentally, of the entire denomination in North Carolina, of the vicinity of the church, and of the families who settled there. There is no attempt at display, in it: it is nothing else than a plain, unvarnished narrative of the history and results of the venerable church; and it is, therefore, very acceptable to those who shall, hereafter, seek information concerning the Presbyterians of the Carolinas.

It is entirely without pretensions to typographical beauty.

11.—*Our Pioneers:* being biographical sketches of Capt. Elias Hughes, John Ratliff, Benjamin Green, Richard Pitzer, John Van Buskirk, Isaac and John Stadden, and Capt. Samuel Elliott; with brief notices of the Pioneers of 1801 and 1802; by Isaac Smucker. Also, a paper on the Pioneer Women of the West, by Rev. Mrs. C. Springer. Concluding with a Poem entitled *The Pioneers of Licking*, by A. B. Clark. Newark, Ohio: 1872. Octavo, pp. 33.

Among the *working*-men, in the field of American history, there are very few, if any, who are earning for themselves a greater amount of the gratitude of those who shall, hereafter, control the destinies of the Republic, than Isaac Smucker, the modest but really superior "Secretary of the Licking-county Pioneers."

It has been the purpose of Mr. Smucker to collect the simple annals of the pioneers of Ohio, in all their details; and he preserves them in such a form, inexpensive and modest, as will secure them from the ravages of Time and bestow them, hereafter, as a legacy to the future. The pioneers of the West, but for the very few who are such as Mr. Smucker is—Draper, Durrie, Williams, Walker, for instance—would descend to their graves and be forgotten, with all their heroism and all their virtues and vices; and the origin of our States, but for these, would soon become as involved in fable as is that of the empires of antiquity, and just as nonsensical. Who, then, can measure the honest, humble merit of these annalists of Western pioneer life, or too highly honor them?

In this tract—*Pioneer Pamphlet, No. 7, published by the Licking-county Pioneer Society*—we have another instalment of the results of Mr. Smucker's invaluable labors, in the record of the lives of a number of the original and very early settlers of Licking-county. There is no attempt at display, in his homely record; but

the facts are there, as he received them from the lips of those who knew of what they told him—from the lips of many of the aged pioneers, now no longer living.

As a "local" of Ohio, we know of none which will be more important to those who, hereafter, shall undertake to write Ohio's early history.

The pamphlet possesses no typographical beauty whatever.

12.—*Address to the Old Settlers' Club*, delivered by Dr. Enoch Chase, July 4th, 1872. Milwaukee: 1872. Octavo, pp. 10.

The words of a pioneer—*one of the founders of that city which is now the first wheat-market of the world*—to the remnant of those who, thirty or forty years ago, were his associates in laying the foundation of empire in what is now the mighty "West." He related, to them, his own recollections, not only of Milwaukee, in her babyhood, but of Wisconsin, generally, while Wisconsin was yet in her leading-strings; and he revived the memory of facts which, in the future, will become priceless in their interest to those who shall either study or write on the progress of Wisconsin and her lake-ports to wealth and influence.

The pamphlet before us records these important revelations of the past of Milwaukee, and of Eastern Wisconsin; and is, consequently, a "local" as important and valuable as it is understood to be rare.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

13.—1870. *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York.* John Hardy Clerk of the Common Council. Sine loco, [*New York?*] sine anno, [1872?] Octavo, pp. xiii., 926.

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is not the only historical publication which has fallen out of line, we regret to say; nor is it to be the last, we imagine. That the first of these premises is true, is evident in the fact that the *Manual* for 1870, ordered in August of that year and with the great city as a paymaster, has only recently seen daylight.

It is a very elegant volume, elaborately and very beautifully illustrated with wood-cuts, lithographic views, *fac similes*, and maps; and the statistical matter displays the handy-work of that most accomplished of Clerks, Captain Francis J. Twomey, the Deputy-Clerk of the Common Council. Indeed, the city has never issued, before, so perfect a *Manual*, in the widest sense of that term, nor one which is as perfect in its typography.

The historical portion of the *Manual*—that in which "D. T. V." was wont to be so wondrously wise—is also well done, presenting a selection of local papers, generally re-prints, which very properly finds a place in this work.

As this is, very likely, the last of the "Corporation Manuals" which, for nearly thirty years, have been so much sought and so highly prized, it possesses more than ordinary interest; and, for the same reason, inasmuch as the greater portion of the edition is said to have been burned in the celebrated Centre-street fire, a few months since, those who desire to make their sets of the work complete have no time to waste in merely thinking about the subject. *Action*, in this case, will be better than mere *intention*.

14.—*Catalogue of the New York State Library. Subject-index of the General Library.* Albany: 1872. Octavo, pp. xvii., 651.

In 1856, the Regents of the University, who are the Trustees of the State Library, published a complete Catalogue of the General Library; and in 1861, a Supplement thereto was published, which was larger than the Catalogue itself. Now, the Board has presented another complete Catalogue; but, instead of giving the full titles of the several works, it has confined itself to the short-titles, carefully classified by subjects, and made as compact as possible, without sacrificing its usefulness.

The Board has acted wisely. The Catalogue is as full, in its present brevity, as is necessary for practical purposes, while the cost to the State, for printing it, is not one-quarter what it would have been in the usual form, with extended titles.

It is refreshing to find one branch of our civil service which manifests a sympathy with the tax-payers and discharges its duty with some respect for economy.

The volume is uniform with the issues of 1856 and 1861, and very neatly printed.

15.—*The Journall of the procedure of the Governor and Councill of the Province of East New Jersey from and after the first day of December Anno Dmni*—1682 Published by Authority of the Legislature. Jersey City: Printed by John H. Lyon. 1872. Octavo, pp. 245.

Journal and Votes of the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Cesarea, or New Jersey, In their First Sessions of Assembly, began at Perth Amboy, the 10th day of November, 1703. Jersey City: Printed by John H. Lyon. 1872. Octavo, pp. 270.

Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey. Jersey City: Printed by John H. Lyon. 1872. Octavo, pp. 287.

In April, 1871, the Legislature of New Jersey authorized the Commissioners of the State Library to print the ancient records of the Col-

ony and the Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State, while the State was struggling for the establishment of her independence; and these three volumes have been printed in accordance with that authority.

The first-named of the three, contains the Minutes of the Governor and Council of the Province of East Jersey, from the appointment of the Council, in 1682, by authority of the Twenty-four Proprietors of the Province, until the termination of the authority of that body, by the surrender of the Government which had been assumed by these Proprietors, to the Queen, in 1702, and its re-organization, under her authority, by Lord Cornbury, in 1703. It is, therefore, a most important record of the ancient legislation of the Colony; and to those who are fortunate enough to own a copy of Leaming and Spicer's *Acts, Concessions, and original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey*, it will be peculiarly welcome.

The second of these volumes takes up the record of New Jersey's legislation where the first left it—at the opening of the First Session of the Assembly which was convened by Royal authority, after the Proprietors had surrendered their pretended right of Government and the Queen had assumed her legitimate authority over the Province. It extends from the tenth of November, 1703, when the first Assembly was convened, to the thirty-first of January, 1709–10; and to those who possess Nevill's and Allinson's collections of the Laws of the Province, especially, it will be peculiarly acceptable.

On the fifteenth of March, 1777—in the darkest days of her history—the Council and General Assembly of the new-formed State of New Jersey passed a temporary Act entitled *An Act for investing the Governor and a Council, consisting of twelve, with certain Powers therein mentioned, for a limited Time;* and on the twentieth of September, of the same year, and on the fourth of April and twentieth of June, 1778, that Act was re-enacted, in the same terms or with slight amendments.—*Vide Chapters XXII., XL., LXXXII., and XCI.* The powers thus delegated embraced a wide range of subjects and were both executive and judicial in their character. The first session of this extraordinary body was opened on the eighteenth of March, 1777; and the record of its proceedings, from that day until the eighth of October, 1778—occupying, in the originals, five volumes of manuscript entries—is contained in the third of these volumes.

From this brief description of the contents of these volumes, our readers will perceive how important they are to all who desire to become acquainted with the details of the history of New Jersey; and that they will, necessarily, be resorted to, as faithful copies of the original authority, in very many cases concerning subjects which are now imperfectly understood, even where anything whatever is known of them. For this reason, every student of our country's history will feel grateful for that good service which the Legislature of New Jersey has thus done, so willingly and so well; and all such will, also, look forward, hopefully and with confidence, to that further action of the same Legislature, which shall authorize the publication of, not only a continuation of the Assembly's Journal, which has been commenced in the second of these volumes, but that of the complete series of the Council's Minutes, from the earliest period of the unpublished manuscripts, and that of her State Papers, all of which possess so much importance to the world of historical and judicial knowledge.

There can be no branch of knowledge more important to Jerseymen than the history of New Jersey, faithfully presented; and the Legislature can confer no higher boon on its constituency than the promulgation of her records and her archives, in faithful copies, honestly printed, from which, rather than from untrustworthy narratives proceeding from ignorant or partisan pens, that history may be most accurately read and most clearly understood. We trust we shall be permitted to record such action, on its part, at an early day.

The volumes are well printed; and, in every respect, they are creditable to those by whom they were carried through the press.

16.—*History of the town of Whately, Mass., including a narrative of leading events from the first planting of Hatfield:* 1660–1871. By J. H. Temple, fourth Pastor of the Congregational Church. With family Genealogies. Printed for the town. 1872. Octavo, pp. 332.

In 1871, the residents of Whately determined to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the Incorporation of the town; and the former Pastor of the Church—but, at that time, residing in Framingham—who was evidently no novice in the business, was invited to deliver the Historical Address. He accepted the invitation, and proceeded to discharge the duty assigned him, under the impression that "what is worth "being done at all, is worth being done well." He delivered the Address; and he did more than that—he collected so much material, of so much value, that the town, at the annual town-meeting, in November following, by a unanimous vote, ordered it to be printed at the expense of the town. The beautiful volume before us is the result of that action.

It will not be necessary for us to describe the exact order of the contents of the work, as there is little variety in works of this class.

We content ourself, therefore, by remarking that the aborigines who originally occupied the territory, the acquirement of title to the lands therein, by the whites, the settlement on those lands and those who settled them, the manners of those settlers, their wars with the savages and with their neighbors, the gradual growth of the town in prosperity, and its present condition, all pass under the pen of the author and are graphically and very carefully noticed. The Genealogies of the families of residents close the story; and a good Index completes the volume.

The author has done his work with admirable taste, evidently great care, and great respect to detail; and we have seldom seen a volume of this class which reflected greater credit on the hand which created it.

As the volume was printed at the office of T. R. Marvin & Son, its beauty and accuracy are not to be wondered at.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

17.—*Local Law in Massachusetts and Connecticut, historically considered.* By William Chauncey Fowler, LL.D. Prepared from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, with additions. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1872. Octavo, pp. 104.

In these days of political degeneracy, when the place of honor is given to him who can most audaciously deny the truth and ingloriously remove the greatest number of the landmarks of the Republic, it is refreshing to turn from such a spectacle of political and personal depravity, to the more satisfactory one which is offered by Professor Fowler, in this volume.

There are very few who have studied the constitutional history of the several States and that of the Republic, as carefully and as honestly as Professor Fowler; and there are very few who possess as intimate a knowledge, not only of the events of which that history takes notice but of the causes, and character, and results of those events, in all their varied and important or unimportant phases.

In this volume, the author treats of the *local law*, as contrasted with *imperial law*—the law of the *town*, as distinguished from that of the *Colony* or *Commonwealth;* the law of the *Colony* or *Commonwealth*, as distinguished from that of the *Mother-country* to which the Colony is subject, or from that of the *United States* of which the Commonwealth is a constituent member. He traces the cause of the emigration of the Pilgrim-fathers—first to Amsterdam, thence to Leyden, thence to Plymouth—to their repugnance to the *imperial* law of Great Britain and to the centralized power of the Reformed Church authorities which interfered, or threatened to interfere, with their practise of *local* authority and *self*-government. He traces their rejection of proffered homes in Guiana and Zealand, and their selection of American, instead, to the same determination to establish and enjoy the *local*-law of *self*-government; and they avoided Virginia and the Manhattans, and settled in the wilderness, only because "they did not want "*English* laws, or *Dutch* laws, or *Virginia* laws, "but *their own* laws." He treats of their idea of *self*-government and disregard of all assumed governments by *others*—their recognition of the *local* and their disregard of the *imperial* law. He notices their establishment of a *local* Government; of their assumption of *local* sovereignty; of their confederation with other communities, similarly constituted and similarly governed. He examines that confederacy—the New English Confederation of 1643; he notices the provisions of its Constitution; he calls attention to the defeat of Massachusetts when, in 1644, she claimed precedence in the naming of the constituent members of the Confederacy. He tells that, even as early as 1691, it was said, sarcastically, that "all the frame of heaven moves on "*one* axis; and the whole of New England's "interest seems destined to be loaded on *one* "bottom, and her particular motions to be con-"centric to the Massachusetts tropic:" he leaves to our own observation the evidence that the spirit of imperialism, which distinguished the Bay Colony, at that early day, is quite as rampant, to-day, and quite as unscrupulous. He notices the subsequent settlement of the Massachusetts Bay, by non-conforming Episcopalians; their banishment of Ralph Smith from Salem, because that Minister was not "conformable "to the Government"—the *local* law; the transportation of the Browns, for the same reason; the re-ordination of their Pastors—who had been already ordained, agreeably to *imperial* law, in England—in order to conform to the demands of their *local self*-government. He refers to the surreptitious transfer of their Charter and Government, as a local corporation, seated in London and vested with authority to make its own By-laws, to Massachusetts, and to their equally audacious assumption of adapting to a Colony what was intended only for a private Corporation—all for the purpose of securing the privileges of the *local*-law and of escaping from a law originated at *a distance* from themselves. He tells of the origin of *towns* in Massachusetts, and their peculiar rights, "before "the law." Returning to his notice of the New English Confederacy of 1643, he contrasts the arrogance of Massachusetts, already referred to, with the "shyness" of Connecticut to become subordinate, even by inuendo, to the Bay Colony; and calls attention to her breach of covenant with her sister Colonies, in 1645, and

in 1653, as an instance of the Massachusetts idea of the supremacy of *local*-law, even over *treaty*-covenants and *imperial* parliamentary enactments. Her laws relating to coinage; her rejection of Cromwell's proposals for their migration to Ireland or Jamaica; her disregard of the King's *mandamus*, concerning the Quakers; that of the Home objection to her laws concerning Christmas and *The Book of Common Prayer;* and that of the demands made by the King's Commissioners, concerning those of her Statutes which were repugnant to the Laws of England; her attempt to bribe the King, in order to protect her local Charter, which was then imperilled; the final loss of her first Charter, on *quo warranto*, by reason of her rigid adherence to her own *local* enactments; her Act of 1722, on the local right of taxation; her continued violation of the provisions of the Charter of 1691; and other instances, are referred to as indicating her tenacious adherence to the supremacy of the *local*-law, even when the Sovereign and the Parliament of England opposed them. She resisted the Stamp-act, because she was opposed to a *centralization* of authority in "the General "Government," and insisted on the supremacy of the *local*-law. She resisted the enforcement of the tea-tax, for the same reason. She resisted the attempt of Lord Loudon, in 1757, to enforce the dogma that, "in time of War, the "rules and customs of War must govern," by insisting that "the rules and customs of War "were *not* the rules which the Civil Magistrate "was to govern himself by;" and, in 1769, the General Court declared "that the use of the "military power, to enforce the execution of the "law, is, in their opinion, inconsistent with the "spirit of a free Constitution." Even her mobs shouted defiance to the laws which were not *local*, and outraged those who paid higher honors to the *imperial*-law than to that which was home-made—hanging Stamp-master Oliver, in effigy; burning the records of the Admiralty Court; sacking the house of the Royal Governor of the Colony; pelting the officers of the Customs, with stones; tarring and feathering informers under the parliamentary *Acts of Trade;* picking quarrels with the King's soldiers; and throwing overboard the tea which was subject to the parliamentary tax. All these, Professor Fowler instances, as evidence of the prevailing doctrine, within Colonial Massachusetts, concerning the supremacy of her *local*-law and her unceasing opposition to even a theoretical centralization of authority, in a *distant* power—not, however, without as constant a disposition to arrogate to herself a supremacy over others and to concentrate, within herself, an authority to make laws for the government of others which she would not concede to others, for making laws for the government of herself. He instances her assumption of sovereign authority, in the place of the King, whom she deposed, under her Act of the first of May—not *April*, as supposed by him—1776, and her subsequent exercise of sovereign authority, in making War, coining money, establishing Peace, requiring allegiance, defining treason, etc. He refers to her assent to the *Articles of Confederation*, becoming thereby a member of the "firm league of "friendship," thus organized, which still exists under the title of *The United States of America;* and to her unwillingness to meet in Convention, even for the formation of "a more "perfect Union" than had been, previously, created. He notices her subsequent appointment of Delegates to the Federal Convention of 1787, but with limited powers; her conduct in that Convention, concerning *State's* rights; her shyness in ratifying "the new system," and then only accompanied by proposed Amendments which limited the authority of the Congress and guaranteed that of the State; and her special legislation, subsequent to that ratification, including her statute prohibiting negroes from taking up their residence in that State; and he finds, in all these, a complete chain of evidence, as far as Massachusetts is concerned, to establish the fact, legal and historical, that Massachusetts is a perfect Commonwealth, a "nation," a "re-"public;" that the compacts which she entered into, in 1781 and 1788, were made with similar bodies politic—Commonwealths, nations, republics—and that, in consequence, the United States are nothing more nor less than, what the *Articles of Confederation* declared them to be, "a firm "*league of friendship*"—subsequently made "more perfect," but not less a "league" than it had been before it was thus tinkered. He next refers to Chief-justice Parson's declarations, and Samuel Adams's, and John Hancock's, and James Sullivan's, and Alden Bradford's, on this definition of the character of the Republic; draws a parallel between Colonial Rights and the Rights of the States; to her disposition to dissolve the Union, as early as 1803; to her denunciation of the action of Congress and her threats of secession, because of the Embargo Act of 1807 and of the War of 1812; to the animus which prompted the Convention at Hartford, in 1814, its objects, and its action; to her refusal to allow the jails of the Commonwealth to be used for the confinement of prisoners of War; and to her official "refusal to acknowledge the "Act of the Government of the United States, "authorizing the admission of Texas, as a legal "Act, in any way binding her from her using "her utmost exertions, in co-operation with her "sister States, by every lawful and constitution-"al measure, to annul its condition and defeat

"its accomplishment"—she, herself, being the sole judge of what would be and what would not be "lawful and constitutional," in that opposition. He quotes Mr. Webster's Speech, at Annapolis, in 1851, on "*the original principle* "upon which these Colonies were united," and the Personal Liberty Bill of 1855. He refers to the removal from office of Judge Loring, in 1857; to the Report of her General Court, on the proposition to repeal the Personal Liberty Bill; to the Resolutions of her General Court on, respectively, the assault on Senator Sumner by Representative Brooks of South Carolina, on the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott; and on the affairs in Kansas. He then discusses, on the testimony, thus adduced, and from the undeviating practise of the Colony and the State, in adhering to its *local*-law and in asserting its own individual and separate sovereignty, the relations between the State, as such, and the United States, as a Confederacy—that Massachusetts has regarded herself as an independent sovereignty; that she formed a *union* with other States of like character, thereby constituting a federal Union; that that Union was formed by a compact "between the States;" that that compact is a *Constitution;* that, as a party to the compact, Massachusetts claims the right to judge of the acts of the "Government" of the United States; that when any of her citizens are oppressed by the Federal authorities, Massachusetts is bound to interpose, for their protection and relief; that she is ready to contend, with the Federal authorities, for the same rights for which she contended with the mother-country; that the Confederacy can be preserved only by a free communication of their grievances, by suffering States, and a prompt attention to those grievances; that she possesses original sovereignty, and having delegated authority to the Federal authorities, can resume that power, at her pleasure; that her citizens owe *allegiance* to the Commonwealth; that she possesses competent authority to punish a violation of their allegiance, as *treason* against her sovereignty; and that she has steadily maintained and exercised her right to *nullify* a law of the United States, whenever, in *her* judgment, the Federal Constitution has been infringed or her conscience outraged. He introduces extracts from the Constitution of the State; defines the terms "State" and "State rights;" and closes with an analyses of the *local*-law of Massachusetts, its several spheres of action, and its results.

Our readers will perceive, from this survey of the contents of this portion of the volume, just what its character and aim are. There are some portions of the Professor's conclusions to which we cannot give our approval. His facts, as far as we have seen them, are perfectly trustworthy; and the greater portion of his conclusions, thereon, do not differ a particle from those declared, on the same subject, by Massachusetts' leading statesmen.

The second part, relating to the local-law of Connecticut, applies the same rigid test to the local-laws of Connecticut which, in the first portion, as we have seen, he applied to those of Massachusetts. As we have fully noticed his line of argument and illustrations, in the former case, we need not repeat it.

The volume is very neatly printed; and, both as a "local" of peculiar interest and as copies of papers read before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, at Boston, and the New Haven Colony Historical Society, at New Haven, it will not be overlooked by those who collect on those subjects.

18.—*Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania, with the incidental history of the State, from 1609 to 1872.* By William C. Amor. Philadelphia: James K. Simon. 1872. Octavo, pp. 528.

We are pleased to invite the attention of our readers to this collection of the memoirs of all those who have held the chief place in the local Government of what is now Pennsylvania, from the days of Cornelis Jacobsen May, Director of the Colony of New Netherland, in 1624, to those of John W. Geary, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in 1872—a collection which possesses unusual interest, and will be very acceptable to all who have occasion to learn any thing of Pennsylvanian history or Pennsylvanian biography, from the days of the Dutch to those of our own children and to all who are interested in the knowledge of the part which Pennsylvania has taken, in the history of America or in that of the world.

In the preparation of these memoirs, Major Amor enjoyed and evidently made use of all the facilities which his official connection with the Executive Department of the State afforded; and he was also diligent in searching, beyond the limits of the capital, for material to make his work as full and as accurate as it could be made. The result of that care and that research is the general accuracy and thoroughness of his sketches; but, here and there, we have seen instances where a little more detail would have improved the narratives, and have helped to make the work more acceptable. For instance, in the memoir of President Reed, allusion is made to the charges against his fidelity to his country, in her hour of deep distress, in the Fall and Winter of 1776: it would have been better if more of that story had been told and its falsity exposed, as it could have been, very readily, by reference to the back volumes of

this work. In the memoir of Vice-president Bryan, no allusion is made to his masterly opposition to the *Constitution for the United States*, as that instrument was origially proposed. Benjamin Franklin's part in the discoveries in electricity which have been attributed to him should have been made less prominent; and, if those discoveries must be referred to, Professor Kinnersley should have been mentioned, as well as Franklin, in connection with them. The Whiskey Insurrection, too, might, usefully have received a more carefully-prepared and more extended notice; and other instances might be referred to, were it necessary.

We noticed, also, inaccuracies in the spelling of several proper names—Christopher Marshall, for instance, is spelled "Christopher Martial," and the Count d' Estaing is uniformly spelled "d' Estang."

We mention these defects with no intention of impairing the general character of the work, as reliable and useful. They are such defects as are generally seen in the work of those who write in country places, away from the libraries and other facilities which the larger cities afford to those who care to enjoy them and, very often, in those of the more favored ones, residing in the cities; and they are pointed out, in this place, in order that those who read the work for instruction may not be misled, and that the errors themselves may be corrected, should a new edition of the work be hereafter called for.

The volume is very neatly printed by Ashmead of Philadelphia, and is liberally illustrated with portraits of the greater number of the "Gov-"ernors of Pennsylvania."

19.—*History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River; their Origin, Manners and Customs; Tribal and Sub-tribal Organizations; Wars, Treaties, etc., etc.* By E. M. Ruttenber. Albany, N. Y.: J. Munsell. Octavo, pp. 415.

This volume is devoted to a very interesting subject; and it has evidently been prepared with great labor.

Opening with Hudson's advent in the waters of the river which bears his name, the intercourse of that early navigator with the Indians is described; and that is followed by inquiries concerning the origin, manners and customs, etc., of the aborigines, in general, and of those on Hudson's river, in particular. Chapters are also devoted to descriptions of their tribal and sub-tribal organizations and other political relations, to the designation of tribes and their respective territories, to the relations of the Indians and the Dutch and English—including their several wars—and to the War of the Revolution. A very elaborate *Appendix* follows; and an excellent Index closes the volume.

As we said, the author has expended very much labor on this volume; and, to a certain extent, it will be found as useful as it is, unquestionably, interesting. It would have been more useful, however, if the author had more strictly confined himself to the particular subject of the work, and let other subjects remain for other occasions; and careful readers would have read it with far greater confidence had the author sustained his narrative, more frequently, by references, at the foot, to unimpeachable and recognized authorities. There is, also, too frequent a disregard of that careful reading of the authorities which is necessary to ensure accuracy in the minutiæ of the subject; and we have seen, here and there, what looks very like a disposition, in the author, to jump at conclusions, sometimes, without seeming to wait for any authority worth noticing, to sustain that portion of the narrative.

Mr. Ruttenber has done good service, in other fields of historic labor; and, while we cheerfully accord to him due credit for his good intentions and, generally, his successful execution of his work, in this instance, we regret that, sometimes, he has relied on incompetent testimony and been misled by unworthy authorities.

The volume is very neatly printed.

20.—*An historical account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford in 1782 with Biographical Sketches, Personal Reminiscences, and Descriptions of interesting localities including, also, details of the disastrous retreat, the barbarities of the savages, and the awful death of Crawford by torture* by C. W. Butterfield. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. x., 403.

The campaign, against the Western Indians, which was conducted by Colonel Crawford and resulted in so much disaster, as Mr. Butterfield truly says, "was one of the most notable of the "distinct military enterprises of the Western Bor-"der-War of the Revolution;" and it is, therefore, a remarkable fact that it has been so seldom noticed and then so imperfectly. Had it occurred to the eastward of the Alleghanies, instead of to the westward of them, every detail would have been written about, over and over again, and every man concerned in it would have been regarded as a hero: as it is, the expedition has has been overlooked and those who participated in it, with few exceptions, are never alluded to in the annals of the Republic.

It is well, therefore, that one has come forward, from the listless West, to record the sad story of the expedition; and it is creditable to Mr. Butterfield that he has now done so well, what has been so long neglected. With few published authorities before him, he has been

dependent on unpublished material, to an unusual extent; and the disadvantage of being compelled to dig his material from the quarry, even after the quarry has been found, offers an obstacle to every historical student, in every instance, which very few, even when favored with the best facilities, have entirely overcome. We have been pleased, therefore, with the unexpected success of Mr. Butterfield's authorial labors: we had hardly dared to hope that, at the distance from the large cities at which he lives, he would have so admirably performed the long-deferred duty which he imposed upon himself.

Tracing the history of the War, on the Western borders, which was conducted under the command, successively, of Neville, Hand, Mc Intosh, Brodhead, Clark, Gibson, and William Irvine, Mr. Butterfield has laid the foundation for his narrative with unusually good judgment; and, then, he has portrayed the expedition which is the recognized subject of the work, in all its persons and movements, with great particularity and the utmost care. We do not always concur with him, in his conclusions, of course; but we have pleasure in recognizing his unusual accuracy, in his statements of facts, and his great caution in presenting his authorities. As a contribution to the local history of the West, this volume is entitled to high respect.

The usual good taste of Robert Clarke & Co., is displayed in the typography of this volume; and it will be welcomed for its beauty as well as for its historical importance.

21.—*Meister Karl's Sketch-Book.* By Charles G. Leland. (Hans Breitmann.) Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Sine anno. Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 19–287. Price $2.50.

During the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, the *Knickerbocker Magazine* contained a series of papers, from Mr. Leland's pen, which was so well received that, in 1855, they were collected into a volume under the title of *Meister Karl's Sketch-Book.* In their new form, they were widely welcomed; and, we believe, their merit was recognized in Europe, even when it seemed to be doubted, in some parts of the Old World, if anybody read an "American book." Among our own writers, Mr. Irving was especially pleased with the work; and one of his letters, on that subject, is introduced into the Preface of the volume before us, with that honest pride which becomes the author who was thus honored by that great and good man.

A new edition having been called for, the author availed himself of the opportunity, thus afforded, to "cast off" sundry of Meister Karl's "old garments," and to add "new ones" to his wardrobe—in other words, he has revised and improved the work; and it is presented to the reading-world of to-day, with the Author's latest improvements.

In the words of Mr. Irving, which we shall not attempt to paraphrase, "it merits a wide "circulation, by its raciness, its quaint erudi-"tion, its graphic delineations, its veins of gen-"uine poetry and true Rabelais humour. To "me, it is a choice book to have at hand for a "refreshing morsel, occasionally, like a Stilton "cheese or a *paté de foie gras.*" With such an endorsement, from such a pen, what need is there for any other?

Topographically, this is a very beautiful volume. It is printed on a very fine, tinted, plate paper; with type of great beauty of face; and is bound, very tastily, in morocco cloth, with beveled boards and the top edge gilded. Altogether, it is worthy a place on any centertable.

22.—*Collections on the History of Albany, from its discovery to the present time, with Notices of its Public Institutions, and Biographical Sketches of Citizens deceased.* Vol. IV. Albany: J. Munsell. 1871. Octavo, pp. iv., 576.

As we do not know at what time *Albany* was *discovered*, we are unable to state exactly what period this beautiful volume is intended to take notice of; but we suppose our friend, Joel Munsell, knows, and that is sufficient, for all practical purposes.

The volume before us is a continuation of the series of *Annals* and *Collections* which, year after year, Albany has been favored with, by this modern disciple of Aldus, in Albany; and its importance, beyond the bounds of that ancient city, will be seen in its table of *Contents*—First: *Notes from the Newspapers, 1808-9*, covering eighty-three pages; Second: *A Key to the names of Persons occurring in the Early Dutch Records of Albany and Vicinity*, a most important paper to genealogists and all who shall undertake to trace the names of Dutch settlers, covering eight pages; Third: *Contributions for the Genealogies of the First Settlers of Albany*, a most exhaustive dictionary of Dutch genealogy, embracing all the christenings which occurred in the ancient Dutch church, in Albany, from 1664 to 1800, covering one hundred and nineteen pages of fine print; Fourth: *Diagrams of the Home Lots of the Village of Beverwyck*, a most laborious resurrection of old Albany, by Professor Pierson of Union-college; covering forty-one pages; Fifth: copies of the *Albany County Records*, from the thirtieth of March, 1655, to the third of March, 1679, cov-

ering two hundred and eighty-six pages; and, Sixth: an elaborate *Index* of names and subjects mentioned in the work.

There can be only one opinion concerning the peculiar merit of such a volume, containing such a collection of historical material—it is of the highest importance to every historical student; and, to every one who is interested in the family records of the early settlers of that portion of this State which is near the capital, it is absolutely indispensable.

The beauty of the typography is in keeping with the high character of its contents.

23.—*Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland, delivered in Edinburgh, in* 1872. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. xiv., 207.

The well-established reputation of Dean Stanley furnishes a passport for this volume into every well-arranged library which professes to be general in its character and respectable in its pretensions. It is composed of an introductory Sermon, on "the eleventh Commandment"—"Love one another"—and of a series of four Lectures on, respectively, "the Celtic, the Me-"diæval, and the Episcopal Churches;" "the "Church of Scotland, the Covenant, and the "Seceding Churches;" "the moderation of the "Church of Scotland," and "the present and "the future of the Church of Scotland."

These Lectures were not designed to give anything like a competent account of the Scotch church; and, while those men and those events which are most widely known receive the least attention, the author only proposed and only attempted to call the attention of his hearers and readers to such leading features as may properly be regarded as landmarks for the whole.

The volume before us, therefore, will be found useful, to a greater extent than usual, to those who are not very thoroughly versed in Scottish history and yet, without proposing to drink deep in that spring, desire to learn enough of the subject to understand its leading features. To such we commend it.

It is from the Riverside Press; and very handsome.

24.—*Historical Address on the Early Exploration and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley.* By C. C. Parry, M.D. Delivered in Davenport, Iowa, January 21st, 1873. Davenport, Iowa: Day, Egbert, and Fidlar. 1873. Octavo, pp. 36.

In this tract, the author has brought together, in chronological order, some of the principal events in the early exploration and settlement of the Mississippi-valley; and, without presenting anything which will not be recognized, as an old acquaintance, by those who are well-read on that branch of American history, it will serve a good purpose for general circulation among those who have been less favored.

It is neatly printed.

25.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students.* By John Peter Lange, D.D., in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions, by Philip Schaff, D. D., in connection with American Scholars of various Evangelical denominations. Vol. VI. of the Old Testament: containing the First and Second Books of Kings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872.

The Books of the Kings. By Karl Chr. W. F. Bähr, D.D. Translated, enlarged, and edited, Part I., by Edwin Harwood, D.D. Book II., by W. G. Sumner, B.A. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. vi., 260, 312. Price $5.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to this elaborate *Commentary on the Scriptures*, that we need not again describe its peculiar character and purposes. It is sufficient for us to say, in that connection, that the same laborious display of scholarship which the preceding volumes have exhibited are to be found on every page of this; and that it will be found quite as serviceable to the scholarly student of the merely literary structure of the Bible, as any which has preceded it. It is edited with care and commendable independence, as we are pleased to see; and American scholars will find it a very useful accession to the biblical apparatus already on their bookshelves.

26.—*The Dark Side of New York Life and its Criminal Classes, from Fifth Avenue down to the Five Points.* A complete narrative of the Mysteries of New York. New York: Fred'k Gerhard, Ag't. 1873. Parts I., II. Octavo, pp. 1–64.

We opened the first of these Parts with misgivings, supposing it was one of those sensational publications, which, every few weeks, appeal to those who feast on sensation; but we closed it, agreeably disappointed; and the second number fully sustains the first. The work is a calmly-expressed description of "the "dark side of New York"—her paupers, street-children, police, detectives, thieves, gamblers, counterfeiters, pawn-brokers, etc.—and, as far as it has been published, it has carefully and usefully filled the place, in the local history of

the great city, which other histories have left unnoticed.

We shall notice the subsequent issues, as they shall appear, meanwhile inviting the attention of our readers to its forbidding revelations, as not unworthy of their serious consideration.

27.—*The Heiress of Sweetwater.* By J. Thornton Randolph. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. 1873. Sine anno. Octavo, pp. 2, 21–356.

A novel of the moderately sensational school, filled with narratives of startling adventures, graphically told; and ending, of course, with the discovery of a lost relative and a wedding. There is nothing in it, however, which is obnoxious to good morals or apologetic of bad manners; and it may be read by all, old or young, without disturbing their nerves or impairing their integrity.

It is handsomely printed, with large type, on thick paper of good quality; and it is very neatly bound.

28.—*History of Barnstead, from its settlement in* 1727 *to* 1872. By Jeremiah P. Jewett, M.D. Since his Decease Revised, Enlarged, and Published by Robert B. Caverly, of the Middlesex Bar. Lowell, Mass.: 1872. Octavo, pp. 264.

This beautiful volume is evidently the product of a pen which is not often employed in writing history; and, while its general appearance and the style in which it is written indicate that, in other departments, its author is no novice, it hardly fills the measure of a history of the first class. Very many details of the history of the town and of the memoirs of its inhabitants have been omitted to make room for other matter—elegantly written, it is true, but yet not such as need have sought places, in such a volume as this—and the result is, the history of Barnstead is yet unwritten.

As an elegant specimen of book-making, this volume is worthy of high praise.

29.—*Palmetto-leaves.* By Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. Small octavo, pp. iv., 321.

Whatever proceeds from Mrs. Stowe's pen is entitled to notice and a respectful reading, whether we agree or disagree with her, on the subject matter of the work; and the volume before us, because of its subject and of her treatment of it, is peculiarly so.

Opening with a touching narrative of the adventures of a stray dog, at sea; Mrs. Stowe next describes January, in Florida—January, with the singing of birds, the out-burst of flowers, the glittering of the golden oranges, the out-door labor of the black washerwoman—glancing, too, as she writes, at abuses of the free-school system. She then dissects the ordinary tourist, in Florida, giving her version of the subject and presenting both the "right-side" and the "wrong side" of that State—comparing it with New-England; describing its "cold-snaps"; instructing the visitor what to wear and what to expect; and cautioning him against expecting too much. A trip, in a yacht, on the St. John's-river, is next described; and so on, to the end.

Without being a formal description of Florida-life, among northern sojourners in that Paradise of the South, this volume, nevertheless, conveys to the reader an admirable picture of it, garnished with pleasant gossip and laughable descriptions of local adventures, real or imaginary; and we have not found the task an easy one which required us to lay down the book and extend our enquiries in other directions. As an accession to the "local" literature of Florida, it is very welcome: as a readable volume, over which we may very pleasantly spend an hour, now and then, it is equally welcome.

As a specimen of book-making, it reflects credit on Rand and Avery, of whose ability, in that line, the book-reading world is already well-informed.

30.—*Seven Decades of the Union.* The Humanities and Materialism, illustrated by a Memoir of John Tyler, with Reminiscences of some of his Great Cotemporaries. The Transition state of this nation—its dangers and their remedy. By Henry A. Wise. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co. 1872. Small octavo, pp. 320.

Under this forbidding title and obscured by other peculiarities of its peculiar author, we find, nevertheless, one of the most important volumes on the later political history of the Republic—say from 1830 to 1860—that the Press has yet produced. It is, in great part, a recital, in detail, of circumstances with which the public is only imperfectly acquainted; and, scattered throughout the volume, are outbursts of secret history which throw new light on men and measures, and serve to revolutionize our written histories and render justice to those from whom justice has hitherto been withheld.

It is, indeed, true that Mr. Wise has encumbered and, sometimes, obscured his narrative by his erratic wanderings into fields which he is not cultivating; but, as we have said, he has rendered a service to all who shall study the history of the United States, during the period of 1830 to 1860, for which they will not cease to be grateful.

The volume is a very neat one.

31.—*Shoshie, the Hindoo Zenana Teacher.* By Miss Harriette G. Brittan. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Sine anno. Small octavo, pp. 222. Price $1.25.

This volume purports to be an autobiography of a young Hindoo convert, addressed to the young people of other countries, describing the incidents of her life, as one of the lowest caste of her nation; and, incidentally, describing the manners and customs, the religious faith and practises, the prejudices and passions, of that distant people.

It is a very interesting volume, whether considered as an autobiography or a description of the Hindoos; and the style of the work, addressed, as it is, to young people, commends it, especially, to them, without unfitting it for the attentive perusal of those, of an older growth, who are interested in such matters.

It is very neatly illustrated with full-page wood-cuts, and as neatly printed.

32.—*Margaret Maitland.* By Mrs. Olyphant. Complete in one volume. Philadelphia: T. R. Peterson & Bros. Sine anno, Small octavo, pp. 239. Price $1.75.

We have found time to read this work with more care than we can ordinarily devote to works of mere fiction; and that fact will clearly indicate that it offered attractions to us which we have seldom found in such works. It is one of the best-told stories, least extravagant, and most elevated in tone which we have ever encountered in a work of this class; and when the London *Athenæum* said it was "a "work which will stand out, amid the fictional issues of the present season, like a pure "diamond in the midst of paltry paste," that great authority in English literature expressed an opinion of its peculiar merits which we fully endorse, after having read it for ourself.

It is neatly printed, on heavy paper, and as neatly bound in muslin.

33.—*Life Lessons from the Book of Proverbs.* By William Stevens Perry, D.D. New York: T. Whittaker. Sine anno. Small octavo, pp. 361. Price $1.75.

The excellent author of this volume needs no introduction to the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE: he is already well known to them from his exhaustive papers, scattered throughout that work, on different historical subjects, and from the unpublished papers, on the same general subject, which he has communicated for publication, therein.

The "lessons" contained in this volume were, originally, discourses delivered to successive congregations under the author's pastoral charge; and while he affects, for them, no exegetical merit or startling originality, it is only justice to him to say that they are entirely worthy of his pen and of the purpose for which they were originally written.

Based on the wise sayings of Israel's wisest monarch, Doctor Perry successively notices the leading subjects of every-day life and morals, referred to by him—experience, home-life, friendship, industry, purity, wisdom, counsel, trade, temperance, restraint, integrity, holiness, and politics—and, in a style which is at once elegant and vigorous, happily impresses on the mind of the reader the "lessons of life" which were therein inculcated. Nowhere, within our range of information, can be found a more attractive, and yet more manly, presentation of those vital lessons which Solomon so wisely suggested; and if they could be read, and studied, and regarded, more widely, better men and a better state of society would be produced—the lesson on home-life, alone, appeals to every parent and to every house-holder; and, earnestly regarded, would, in its results, revolutionize, advantageously, the society of these our days. This volume, therefore, commends itself to both old and young, as both old and young may learn from it what their duty is and what the advantages to be derived from discharging it.

It is very handsomely printed, on tinted paper, and very neatly bound.

34.—*High Life in New York.* By Jonathan Slick, Esq., of Weathersfield, Connecticut. A series of letters to Mr. Zephariah Slick, Justice of the Peace and Deacon of the Church over to Weathersfield in the State of Connecticut. Embellished with illustrative engravings. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Sine anno. Small octavo, pp. 299. Price $1.75.

This series of letters describes the "high "life," in New York, as it was seen and wondered at, some years ago, by a verdant "green-"horn," from Weathersfield; and, for downright drollery and, very often, telling sarcasm, we have seen few to surpass it. It has not that political tone which made Jack Downing's letters so notable; nor is Sam Slick's quiet humor equaled, in all respects, in this more recent outgrowth. But the social peculiarities—not merely the follies but the features which were strange to the author—of New York "high "life" are subjected to the review of an observing countryman, who, then, for the first time, had seen these unusual objects and undertaken to tell "his folks" about them; and those who are better acquainted with those peculiarities will laugh, heartily, over the quaintness of the descriptions and the drollery of the blunders into which poor Jonathan has fallen. We have seen nothing in it which will offend, by its coarseness, the taste of any one.

It is printed on heavy paper, of fair quality; but the press-work might have been improved.

35.—*Unity in Variety:* a series of arguments based on the divine workmanship in our planet; the constitution of the human mind; and the inspired history of religion. By George Warburton Weldon, A. M. New York: T. Whittaker. 1872. Small octavo, pp. 230. Price $1.50.

Based on the grand old truth that "there are "differences of administrations but the same "Lord," and on the reasonable conclusion that "an eye for what is good in other forms of faith "is not unconsistent with the most zealous at-"tachment for our own," the argument of this volume urges the catholicity of true Religion and pleads for that common brotherhood, in the Christian world, which laughs at Toleration Acts and defies persecution. It reprobates "that con-"flict of opinion, between rival parties, which "leads to spiritual anarchy and confusion;" but it recognizes, lovingly, that multiform assembly, each portion in its own manner and under its own leader, uniformly pressing forward to the same goal, having the same purposes, and controlled by a common desire.

We have seldom opened a volume, in this department of literature, which we have laid down so unwillingly. The spirit which prompted the author of it is, evidently, of the broadest school of genuine Christianity; the argument by which the proposition is supported is well sustained, in all its parts; and, the style in which it is written is, at once, vigorous and dignified, carrying the evidence of its fidelity to the truth on the front of every paragraph and commending itself to all who read it.

It is very neatly printed.

36.—*Lady Betty's Governess; or, the Corbet Chronicles.* By Lucy Ellen Guernsey. New York: T. Whittaker. Sine anno. Small octavo, pp. 369. Price $1.50.

This is a religious novel, the scene of which is laid in the rural districts of England, during the reign of Charles I.; and it is intended to illustrate the contest, *within the Established Church of that period*, between those ultra churchmen who seemed to approach Rome in their creed and practises and those other church men, called Puritans, who were then turning toward America, with anxious eyes as the place where they, too, could rule and persecute us, in England, they were ruled and persecuted.

It is carried out with considerable skill; and it may be read, with profit, by those anxious souls, everywhere, who are not willing that any others than themselves shall enjoy an opinion of their own or have a word to say about it.

The volume is well printed, and very neatly bound.

37.—*Historical Sketches of Plymouth, Luzerne Co., Penna.* By Hendrick B. Wright, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. With twenty-five Photographs of some of the Early Settlers and Present Residents of the Town of Plymouth; Old Landmarks; Family Residences; and Places of Special Note. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Sine anno. [1873?] Duodecimo, pp., title-page and verso, 16 419. Price $4.

These sketches were published, originally, in the Plymouth *Star;* and, with some additions, they are spread out, on large type and small pages, to the extent of four hundred duodecimo pages, evidently not for the advantage of the purchaser.

Like most other "sketches" written for newspapers, these possess very little value, as history. They are chiefly hashes from Chapman's and Miner's histories of Wyoming and Pearce's *Annals of Luzerne;* repeating most of the old, exploded stories of the Wyoming valley; and perfectly guiltless of any employment of the *Archives of Pennsylvania*, officially published by the Commonwealth, or the writings of any of those modern scholars who have thrown new light on the history of those early times. In short, they are gossipy, unsupported by authorities, and unreliable as history; their reference to the older families of the town are only general in their character, without any attempt at genealogical services; and, without an index to assist the reader—without even a full table of contents—as a book of reference, even concerning Plymouth and Plymouth-men, it is sadly deficient.

Typographically, the volume is a handsome one. The type is large and clear; the paper is heavy and of good quality; and the workmanship, both of the text and the illustrations, very good.

38.—*Who burnt Columbia?* Part 1st. Official Depositions of Wm. Tecumseh Sherman, "General of the Army "of the United States," and Gen. O. O. Howard, U.S.A., for the Defence: and extracts from some of the Depositions for the Claimants. Filed in certain Claims vs. United States, pending before "The Mixed Commission "on British and American Claims," in Washington, D. C. Charleston, S. C.: 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 121.

We are indebted, we suppose, to Captain C. H. Simonton, one of the Counsel for Claimants, in the cases referred to for the copy of this exceedingly important volume—important, as evidence, both to the Court and to those who shall desire to learn just "who burnt Columbia," in February, 1865.

We are not ignorant of the result, on the inhabitants and industrial resources of Carolina, of General Sherman's much talked-of "march "to the sea;" nor are we wholly ignorant of the outrages which, unchecked by the commanding General, were inflicted by the army

which he commanded. One of the most graphic descriptions of these was furnished in a private letter which was written to us, immediately after the War closed, by our friend, the late William Gillmore Simms, of Midway, South Carolina, in which that distinguished scholar—with one volume of Shakspeare's Works, and that with its top edge burned, as the sole remains of his once magnificent private library—told us, mournfully but indignantly, of the sweeping desolation which the army, under General Sherman, had imposed on the country through which it had passed, sparing nothing which could be destroyed or carried away. We are not surprised, therefore, at anything which this volume has described; and we are filled with shame when we read what those who profess to be Christians, as well as soldiers, can either do or permit others to do, when they put on the shoulder-straps of office and are surrounded with power enough to enforce their decrees. It rather enforces on us the superior propriety of the mode of warfare employed by the Jews and the Indians, which made no pretensions to forbearance and practised none—neither giving nor taking quarter, and utterly destroying whatever was brought within their reach. There was no pretence of legal restraints which no one regarded: there was no cant of Christian virtues which no one practised: there was no affectation of gentility where nothing existed except the veriest barbarism. There was no false pretence: there was no false colors: there was nothing but naked monstrosities.

39.—*An Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill.* Compiled from Authentic Sources. By David Pulsifer, A. M., with General Burgoyne's account of the battle. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 75.

From those who have much, much is expected; and those who, from much, when they send anything, send out only little, ought to be condemned. Those who remain silent, may avoid censure: those who can do, and pretend to do, but do not, are fit subjects for reproof, at all times.

There are few men who are better acquainted with the duties of those who profess to write history than Mr. Pulsifer: there are few men who enjoy greater facilities for doing creditably and usefully whatever they may undertake to do, in that line, than he enjoys: there has seldom been seen so complete an abortion, on any historical subject, as this last "account of the Battle of Bunker Hill." It is written without any of the precision which we have been accustomed to find in Mr. Pulsifer's writings—he goes so far as to lead his readers to suppose that "Bridge's Regiment" was engaged in "the "Battle of Lexington," and that the "attack "on Bunker Hill was *led* by General Howe"—without any reference to the peculiar services of Colonel Stark, on the bank of the Mystic; and with especial reference to glorify General Putnam for what he *did not* do and to remain silent concerning Colonel Prescott and what he *did* do. As a whole, it is unworthy of Mr. Pulsifer; and we wonder that he should have allowed himself to appear as the author of so imperfect and inaccurate an *Account of the Battle of Bunker's Hill.*

The little book is neatly printed by Wilson, and is illustrated with a plan of the battle and a map of Boston, as it was, in 1775.

40.—*Year-book of Nature and Popular Science for* 1872. Edited by John C. Draper, M. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xxiii., 333.

This volume presents a brief record of those investigations, in Nature and Science, in 1872, which possess a general interest; and, without pretending to afford such a record as scholars would especially delight in, it affords to the great body of readers as complete a description of the more important results obtained and opinions advanced, during the year, as will ordinarily be desired.

The scope of the work embraces Mathematical and Physical Science, Chemistry, Geology, Social Science, General Biology, and Mechanical Science; and eight hundred and forty-five different subjects, in these several classes, are presented to the notice of the reader. An admirable Index closes the volume; and, as a whole, the volume is one of rare interest and importance, to thinking men, of all classes.

41.—*A Chapter of the History of the War of* 1812 *in the Northwest.* Embracing the Surrender of the Northwestern Army and Fort, at Detroit, August 16, 1812; with a Description and Biographical Sketch of the celebrated Indian Chief, Tecumseh. By Colonel William Stanley Hatch. Cincinnati: Miami Printing and Publishing Company. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 2, 6–156. Price $1.25.

A new chapter of an old history. An old man's story, told while fighting his battles over again, concerning the operations of the Northwestern Army, between the third of July and the thirtieth of August, 1812, and including the movement into Canada, the retreat therefrom, and the surrender of Detroit.

As the author was the Acting Assistant Adjutant-general of the Army and in close communion with the various officers in command, his narrative possesses more than ordinary interest; but there is much in it which is not well-founded, and some things which are only the off-

spring of his own prejudice. Had he seen the papers of General Hull and, from them or elsewhere, learned just what the truth was, he would have toned down some of his criticism and transferred to others a good deal of the denunciation which, uninformed, he has heaped only on the head of General Hull.

It is about time for writers of the history of those events to turn over a new leaf and ascertain, from the records, if those things of which earlier writers have been so profuse in their condemnation were really so. We are not insensible of the fact that this is one of the tender-spots of the War Department; that the memory of General Hull is one of those governmental cess-pools into which every thing of that period that is nasty is conveniently thrown; and that, consequently, the name of that officer has become a stench in the nostrils of the people. But that tender-spot should be examined and the cause of it exposed; that cess-pool should be cleared and its contents noticed, for their true value; and General Hull should be made to carry no more blame than properly belongs to him. We shall welcome such a laborer in this field as can and will, fearlessly and impartially, give us the exact truth of these events.

Nearly one-half of this volume is occupied with an elaborate memoir of Tecumseh, evidently prepared with unusual advantages for securing accuracy of information and with great care; and this is not, in our estimation, the least important portion of the volume.

There has been no attempt, in this instance, to present a handsome book to its readers; but, nevertheless, it is neatly printed, on heavy paper, and very coarsely bound.

42.—*Round the World;* including a residence in Victoria, and a journey by rail across North America. By a Boy. Edited by Samuel Smiles. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 289. Price $1.50

A lad of sixteen, a son of the Editor, was taken sick and compelled to seek relief in a sea-voyage and more genial climate. He went to Melbourne; remained in Victoria more than a year; and returned to Europe by way of New Zealand, Honolulu, San Francisco, Chicago, Niagara, and New York. His letters to his father and his diary were so full of observations, such as a young man would likely offer, that it was considered advisable to print them; and his father, whose ready pen is well known, arranged the matter for the press, without materially disturbing the youngster's language, and we have the result before us.

We have glanced over its pages; and that part relating to our own country has been carefully examined. It is a narrative which would do honor to any one; and the criticisms of men and manners, of buildings and of society, are such as reflect the highest credit on the young man who wrote them. No more attractive book for a boy can be found.

43.—*Illustrated Library of Travel and Adventure*, edited by Bayard Taylor. Charles Scribner & Co New York.

Japan, in our day. Compiled and Arranged by Bayard Taylor. New York: Charles Scribner & Co 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xv., 280. Price $1.50.

Wild Men and Wild Beasts; or, Scenes in Camp and Jungle. By Lt. Col. Gordon Cumming. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xv. Price $1.50.

Travels in Arabia. Compiled and Arranged by Bayard Taylor. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. v., 325. Price $1.50.

Travels in South Africa. Compiled and arranged by Bayard Taylor. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. v., 336. Price $1.50.

Wonders of the Yellowstone. Edited by James Richardson. Illustrated with Seventeen Engravings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xiii., 256. Price $1.50.

The great success which has attended the *Library of Wonders*, with which our readers are acquainted, has induced its publishers to undertake the publication of another series devoted to Travel, Exploration, and Adventure, under the editorial supervision of Bayard Taylor. Of this series, the publishers say that it "is "designed to furnish a clear, picturesque, and "tolerably complete survey of our knowledge "of lands and races, as it is supplied by the "narratives of travelers and explorers, especi- "ally those of our own times. Owing to the "great richness and attractiveness of the mate- "rial, it has been found advisable to devote "each volume separately, to a special country "or region, rather than to give a connected "compilation, extending through many vol- "umes." Each volume, therefore, will be perfect in itself and treat of a particular people; although the series will be uniform in size and style, and form, when complete, a harmonious whole.

The first of the volumes before us relates to Japan, its history, domestic life therein, her Court, her bridges, her police, her art and industrial features, her literature, her recreations, festivals, and theaters, her gymnasts, etc., etc.; and as it is compiled from the latest and best writers on the subject, it unquestionably presents the best picture of that strange people, as it now is.

The second is devoted to a narrative of adventures in the East Indies, wherein tiger-hunt-

ing, wild-hog chases, and bear-hunting afforded hair-breadth escapes enough to satisfy the most daring and the most ambitious of sportsmen; and it is told in that style which will charm those whose tastes lead them in that direction.

The third of the series contains a description of Arabia, including its geography and ancient history; and this is followed by sketches of the various travellers in that country, from the earliest explorers to Mr. Palgrave, including Nieburh, Burckhardt, Wellsted, Burton, etc.; the whole being illustrated with a neat map of the peninsula, and appropriate and fairly executed wood-cuts.

The fourth describes the discovery and settlement of South Africa; a description of its tribes; and descriptions of the several journies, therein, of Moffat, Livingstone, Anderson, and Magyar, with all their remarkable surroundings.

The fifth describes the wonders of our western wilderness, with its cascades, volcanoes, and geysers, elaborately illustrated with cuts.

These volumes are really elegant specimens of book-making; and they are profusely illustrated with engravings and maps most appropriate for the illustration of the text.

44.—*Meditations for Passion Week.* By Rev. E. Greenwald, D.D. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Bookstore. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 146.

This volume contains a series of Lectures delivered, day by day, by the author, in the regular discharge of his pastoral duty, during Passion Week, in 1868.

The basis of these Lectures is the *Order for Passion Services* prescribed in the Liturgy of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania; and the Prayers, in many cases, have been translated from Dieffenbach's *Haus Agende.*

Although especially adapted to the peculiarity of Lutheran worship, the admirable grouping of the several narratives of the four Evangelists—the one supplying what the others omitted—and the deductions drawn therefrom, by the learned author, will be found peculiarly acceptable to all, of other denominations, at any time, who shall resort to them; and they will serve to strengthen the faith, to enkindle the love, and to develop, more completely, the practical religous life of the reader.

The little volume is very neatly printed.

45.—*Illustrated Library of Wonders.* Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., New York.

The Wonders of Water. From the French of Gaston Tissandier. Edited, with numerous additions, by Schele De Vere, LL.D. With sixty-four Illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. x., 350. Price $1 50

The Wonders of Vegetation. From the French of Fulgence Marion. Edited, with numerous additions, by Schele de Vere, D.D., LL.D. With Sixty-one Illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. Duodecimo, pp. 283. Price $1.50.

Wonders of Electricity. Translated from the French of J. Baile. Edited, with numerous additions, by Dr. John W. Armstrong. With Sixty-five Illustrations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. ix., 335. Price $1.50.

Wonders of the Moon. Translated from the French of Amedee Guillemin, by Miss M. G. Mead. Edited, with additions, by Maria Mitchell, of Vassar-college, N. Y. Illustrated with Forty-three Engravings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp 241. Price $1.50.

Wonders of Sculpture. By Louis Viardot. Illustrated with sixty-two engravings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xii., 403. Price $1.50.

We have referred to this *Library of Wonders* so often that our readers are already well acquainted with its character and objects.

The first of the volumes before us is the opening volume of a second series, larger in size than the first; bound in a different style; and more carefully adapted to the wants of American readers. It is devoted to the wonders of water, in all its associations and uses; and it is appropriately and plentifully illustrated with wood-cuts.

The second is devoted to the wonders of vegetation—that fruitful repository of wonders to all who have cared to watch the progress of any plant, no matter which, from its sprouting to its decay.

The third is devoted to the wonders of electricity, the wonders of telegraphy especially receiving ample notice; and it will be welcomed, widely, by all who have been hitherto delighted and instructed by the volumes of the series previously issued.

The fourth relates to the Moon, and the "wonders" which cluster around and on it—her mountains and hills, her volcanos and her craters, her bands and her clefts—all of them so wonderful and so little understood.

As a popular work, on this interesting theme, with all the advantages of Miss Mitchell's revision and extension, this is a volume which commends itself to both the young and the aged; while its profusion of illustrations, its beauty of typography, and its showy binding, will make it welcome, everywhere.

The fifth is devoted to the wonders of sculpture, ancient and modern; and is illustrated with well-executed wood-cuts.

It is a sad mistake in the publishers to allow so useful a volume as this to be sent to press without due revision on matters, therein referred

to, which relate to America. For instance, Houdon's statute of Washington is said, on page 328, to have been "made for *Philadelphia*," whereas it was, in truth, made for the State of Virginia, was never in Philadelphia, and stands, where it has always stood, in the Capitol, at Richmond. So, too, is the introduction of Houdon—a Frenchman who was in America long enough only to make a cast of Washington, in order to make the statute of that celebrated man to which we have just alluded—and Giuseppe Ceracchi—an Italian adventurer, unto whom American never afforded any other than a temporary abiding-place—among *American* sculptors; and Gevelot, Capellano, and Causici have no more right to be considered in that capacity than we would have. So, too, the author of such a work should have been able to relate the facts concerning Houdon's visit to Washington correctly or have kept entirely silent concerning it—Houdon took *moulds* from the General's entire body, instead of "measurements;" and he carried the *moulds* of the head with him, instead of a completed bust, as stated on page 339, and left the remaining portions of the mould to be sent after him, in another vessel. So, too, the remark concerning the alleged accuracy, as a likeness, of Stuart's portrait of Washington, on page 339, was uncalled for in a work on sculpture and is unfounded in fact—La Fayette wholly rejected it; and the family of the General preferred Trumbull's. Besides, Joseph Story was not "Chief Justice," as he is herein represented, pages 368, 369; and other matters referred to should have been stated differently, if stated at all.

This series, as well as the first, may usefully find a place on the book-shelf of every family who aspires to become well-informed on the subjects to which it relates; and the beauty of the several volumes, both in their letter press and their illustrations and binding, will make them welcome, both in the parlor and in the sitting-room. They are patterns of typographical neatness, eminently worthy of the well-known house which publishes them.

46.—*Among the Isles of Shoals.* By Celia Thaxter. With Illustrations. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1873. 16mo., pp. 184.

Nine miles outside of Portsmouth Harbor, at sea, lies the group of rocky islets which are known, in the aggregate, as "The Isles of "Shoals." They are six in number, except when the tide is high, when they number nine. Appledore, Smutty-nose, Cedar, Malaga, Star, White, Seavey's, Londoner's, and Duck's, by name—Shag, Mingo, Square, Old Harry, Anderson's, and the Devil's rocks not being entitled to the appellation of islands. They are little better than rocks, the soil being scarce and the vegetation scanty; and, as we shall see, until recently, the inhabitants have been of that questionable character which may reasonably be found in a small body of fishermen, cut off from the wide world, by nine miles of salt water, and uncontrolled by any influences other than their own sweet wills.

These islets were vastly more important before the War of the Revolution, however, than they have been since that period; and the ruined cottages and half-filled cellars, the tumble-down walls and crumbling grave-stones—to say nothing of the written memorials and the well-told traditions of the past—tell of by-gone generations, resident on these rocks, who were vastly more intelligent and moral in their character and conduct, if not much more numerous, than those which, since that great event in the world's history, has distinguished the inhabitants of the Shoals. For more than a century before the opening of that War, the Isles of Shoals were populated with an intelligent and prosperous community, duly organized in their municipal and ecclesiastical relations, and noted for the educational advantages which they offered to those, on the main, who desired both safety and instruction for their children. There, William Pepperrell, the father of Sir William, lived: there, Messrs. Hull, Brock, Belcher, Moody, Tucke, and Shaw—good and faithful men—successively preached: there, lived and died a people not less intelligent nor less moral than those on the main, nine miles distant. But the War of the Revolution—that great panacea of the quacks of that day—laid the foundation for a disastrous change, in these islands; and New England rum has, subsequently, continued the work of desolation, producing a wilderness which only modern dissipation can displace by the introduction, instead, of another form of extravagance, not less destructive to health and morals, notwithstanding it is vastly more fashionable.

The little volume before us is the work of one who, as the light-keeper's daughter, on White-island, was a resident on the Shoals, for many years, while the Shoals and Shoalers were untouched by modern pleasure-seekers, and who knows every corner and rock on the islands; and we have never laid down a book, descriptive of a locality and its population and recounting its traditions and its history, which has greater charms of style or more apparent sincerity and truthfulness in the narrative, than this. Without seeming to know that she has done so, the author has managed to weave into the web of her descriptions of the Shoals and

the Shoalers, very much of their history and many of their traditions; while every bush and every flower, every rock and every nook, every fish and every sea-bird, every wave and every breeze which are to be found on or around the islands, are described with all the easy, intelligent precision of one who is perfectly and personally acquainted with them and with all the affectionate consideration of an old and loving friend. One can almost see the quaint old neighborhood and hear the rough conversation of the fishermen of which we read, so graphically has the author described them; and the charming description of the bright-colored flowers which she presents and the quiet which she describes almost tempt those of us who are wearied with the world's unrest to wish that we, too, could become, in their seclusion, a Shoaler, on the coast of New Hampshire.

The little volume is as dainty a specimen of book-making as it is of authorship; and it will offend the taste of no one, in either respect.

47.—*Methodism forty years ago and now:* embracing many interesting reminiscences and incidents. Also, the responsibilities, present and prospective, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. Newell Culver. With an Introduction by Rev. Lorenzo D. Burrows, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873. 16mo., pp. 309.

Forty years ago, and what was "Methodism" compared with what it is now? We knew it, then; and we know it, now. It is now nearly forty years since we first saw it, in old Bedford street; and, more than thirty years since, we saw it, in its out-croppings of greater gentility, in Vestry-street. We remember, too, the Methodism of the country-places, more than thirty years ago, when homely, honest, seven-day-in-the-week Christians took off their coats, in their earnest zeal, in order that they might sing with the greater joy and pray with the greater fervor. That was the time when "Hallelujahs" were shouted in honest, out-spoken sincerity; when Class-leaders could rely on their members; when Stewards received, from the scanty means of the givers, their humble contributions from what God had given them, without expecting or desiring a puff of it to be published in the next week's *Christian Advocate and Journal*. We remember, too, when Vestry-street, with its pews, was repudiated, as un-Methodistical, by such *good* men as Peter E. Coon, and William and John McLean, and John Green; and when the poor were preached to—not in chapels of inferior grade, as matter of mere grace, but in Methodist churches of the highest grade, by preachers of the highest ability, as a matter of duty, most willingly discharged. Well may Mr. Culver write of "Methodism, forty years ago," as something different from the Methodism of to-day.

We do not incline to Methodism, nor did we then; but we respected, then, and we respect, now, the earnest zeal, the undeviating sincerity, the patent unselfishness of the Methodism of that day, toiling in the discharge of accepted duties and passing no one—no matter how poor or how ragged—who possessed a soul to be saved. It would be ungracious in us to arraign the Methodism of to-day, by contrasting it with the Methodism of forty years ago—by its fruits, to-day, compared with its fruits, then, it may be known of all men.

We have read this little volume with unalloyed pleasure; and, if for nothing else than the record which it presents of the Methodism of forty years ago—of the inner life of one of the great denominations of our country, before it became corrupted by modern extravagances—it ought to find a place in every historical collection.

It is very neatly printed.

48.—*The Offertory. A Lost Act of Worship.* By Hugh Miller Thompson. New York: T. Whittaker. Sine anno. [1873?] 16mo., pp. 12. Price 5 cents.

A very "admirable presentation of the great "truth that the offering of a portion of our "substance is a part of the act of Christian "worship," as its object has been well described by Rev. Doctor Smith.

We have seldom read so good a tract, on any subject; and if it could be circulated *and read*, it would be very useful, both within and without the churches.

It is very neatly printed.

Scrap.—Mr. John Howard Payne, the author of *Home, Sweet Home*, was born in New York city, in 1792, and lived, for several years, in Brooklyn. He died in poverty, at Tunis, Africa, in 1852. He attained a degree of popularity by his plays and other writings; and his name is surely worth honoring by some monument. With the exception of the stone placed over his grave, in Tunis, by the United States Government, there is no memorial of the poet in existence. It is the intention of the Faust Club—a Society of journalists and professional men, in Brooklyn—to erect a suitable monument in Prospect Park and, if possible, to bring the remains from Tunis to Greenwood Cemetery. It is a worthy movement, and deserves success.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. New Series.] JULY, 1872. [Extra Numb

WHAT OUR NEIGHBORS SAY OF US.

With the liveliest satisfaction, we have the pleasure of presenting to our readers the following testimonials of the intrinsic merits of The Historical Magazine, as a repository of important materials concerning "the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America."

It will be perceived that we have not hesitated to present, also, in their proper places, the outpourings of a very few who have found nothing in The Historical Magazine that is worthy of their commendation or approval. We have done so because the great body of our readers will not fail to perceive, from the judgment of the greater number and the stronger minds, the country over, that either ignorance, or bigotry, or some private grief, rather than intelligence and integrity, untrammelled, has controlled the adverse judgments; and because we have been taught that ignorance, and falsehood, and self-interest, even in their worst forms, are harmless while Knowledge and the Truth are free to combat them.

I.—Extract from the Records of the Maine Historical Society, at the Annual Meeting, August, 1867.

"The following resolutions were proposed by the Rev. Mr. "Dyke, and, on motion, were adopted.

"Resolved. That The Historical Society of Maine appreciates the value of 'The Historical Magazine,' published in New York, and desires to bear testimony to the "zeal and ability of its present Editor, in collecting and "preserving the materials for History, and the frankness "with which historical questions are discussed and considered in its pages.

"Resolved. That the interests of history will be promoted by the wider circulation of 'The Historical Magazine' in our State."

A true extract.

Attest,

Edward Ballard,
Recording Secretary.

Brunswick,
Aug. 16th, 1867.

II.—*From the* Hon. E. E. Bourne, *President of the Maine Historical Society.*

I have been a subscriber to The Historical Magazine from its commencement, and have found it a very efficient aid in my Historical pursuits.

Some have objected to the spirit of the later numbers. But it is only by the warmth and zeal of those who are endeavoring to ferret out the truth or to maintain conclusions to which their own researches have led them, that the real facts of History are to be established. A magazine which is spiritless is of little value and will do little for the object for which it is set on foot. In this monthly there is nothing exclusive. Its management is of the most Liberal character. Every one disposed to contribute to its pages or reply to its editorials, may infuse as much spirit into his work as he thinks proper. No replication will be rejected on that account. This I understand to be the position of The Historical Magazine; and I believe that no historical student will fail to find in the numbers for a year much which will help him in his pursuits.

E. E. Bourne.

Kennebunk, Me.,
August, 1867.

III.—*From* Rev. Edward Ballard, D. D., *Secretary of the Maine Historical Society.*

I fully concur in the expressions of commendation of The Historical Magazine, as given by Hon. Mr. Bourne; and believing it to be a valuable repository of the ungathered facts of American History, and open for free discussion of controverted points. I wish it may have a wide circulation.

Edward Ballard.

Brunswick, Me.

IV.—*From* Hon. William Willis, *formerly President of the Maine Historical Society, and Author of* The History of Portland, etc.

Portland, July [illegible], 1867.

.

I do not lose sight of the Magazine, [illegible] an original subscriber and an occasional [illegible]. I can truly say that it has not been more [illegible] filled with varied and valuable [illegible] taken it into your hands. But I [illegible] ant manner of treating New [illegible] Massachusetts, has given offence to many persons in this quarter, among whom are [illegible] the work.

Your historical [illegible] are varied and comprehensive, and your criticisms are honest, very often just, although as often sarcastic and severe. They give life and character to the Magazine, but make enemies.

I am examining, as I have leisure, old MSS. relating to New York and Pennsylvania, and if I find anything that will be likely to interest your readers I shall not fail to communicate it.

I am truly,
Your obedient servant,

William Willis.

V.—*From Rev.* N. Bouton, D. D., *Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society; Author of* The History of Concord, *etc.; and Editor of* The Collections of the N. H. Historical Society.*

Concord, N. H., August 13, 1867.

Henry B. Dawson, Esq.

Dear Sir,

• • • I trust you will pardon me for saying, with all frankness and sincerity, that heretofore the criticisms in the *Magazine*, on New England, New England Institutions, and especially on Massachusetts men and books, have been so severe, and in my judgment, so unjust that I cannot endorse it for the future. I think a work of such a character as The Historical Magazine, should be emenently imparteal and true.

Very respectfully,
I am Yours, etc.,
N. Bouton,
Cor. Sec. N. H. Hist. Soc.

VI.—*From Captain* W. F. Goodwin, *U. S. A. Librarian of the New Hampshire Historical Society.*

This valuable monthly, the only one of the kind published in America, has recently passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, N. Y., whose reputation as a historical writer and author is too well known to need mention. The Magazine has entered upon its tenth year, and has an established reputation among the best scholars of the world, sufficient to find a place in their libraries.

I can cordialy recommend this Magazine to the favorable consideration of the members of our New Hampshire Historical Society, and hope that they will, one and all, subscribe for it. (*From* The Statesman, *Concord, Sept.* 28, 1866.)

VII. *From Rev.* Pliny H. White, D.D., *President of the Vermont Historical Society.*

The undersigned having been a reader of the The Historical Magazine from its beginning until now, takes pleasure in attesting to its great value as a repository of American History and Biography, in which is contained much that cannot be found elsewhere, as well as much that can only elsewhere be found in sources quite inaccessible to the great majority of the students of History.

Pliny H. White,

Coventry, Vt., 12th August, 1867.

VIII. *From Hon.* Hiland Hall, *late President of the Vermont Historical Society, and formerly Governor of the State.*

I have been a subscriber to the Historical Magazine for nine years past, and concur in the above statement of the Rev. Pliny H. White.

Hiland Hall.

North Bennington, Vt.,
August 22, 1867.

IX. *From* Samuel G. Drake, *Esq., late President of The New England Historic Genealogical Society; Author of* The History and Antiquities of the City of Boston, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, *etc.; and Editor of* The Old Indian Chronicle, The N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, *etc.*

Boston, 12th August, 1867,

Henry B. Dawson, Esq.

My Dear Sir:

Respecting the Historical Magazine, its great value and usefulness, there can be but one opinion among students in American History; and of your ability to conduct such a periodical, I do not think there has ever been a question. That there are those who express disapprobation of some of the statements and opinions is true; and I must confess I am among that number. Yet, at the same time, such statements (by some termed "sectional aspersions") and opinions, have not sufficient influence upon me to cause me to undervalue any historical facts, nor to underrate the ability of an Editor who has shown an acumen in intricate historical investigations seldom equalled, and rarely surpassed.

With my best wishes for your health and prosperity,
I remain truly yours,
Samuel G. Drake.

X. *From* John Ward Dean, *Esq., late Secretary of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, etc.*

Boston, August 1st, 1867.

I cheerfully recommend the Historical Magazine to the patronage of the public. Its present editor, Henry B. Dawson, Esq., possesses rare qualifications for that position, being a gentleman of extensive historical reading and great industry in research, while, at the same time, he possesses a clear and vigorous style. Though differing from him in some of his opinions, and disapproving the manner in which he has presented them to his readers, I believe him to be a conscientious writer, who, while bold in promulgating his own views, is always ready to open his pages to the communications of his opponents.

John Ward Dean.

XI. *From* William F. Poole, Esq., *Librarian of* The Boston Athenæum, *and Author of* An Index to Periodical Literature, *etc.—the celebrated* "P" *of* The Evening Transcript.

Nov. 9, [1866.]

Mr. Dawson,

Dear Sir: I have received several times a Circular from you on the supposition that this Library did not take The Historical Magazine. This Library has taken the Magazine from its commencement, and we value it very highly. We do not propose to do without it.

W. F. Poole, *Librarian.*

P.S. I have written the above that you might not think we were so stupid at "the Hub" as not to be aware of the merits of your Magazine.

W. F. P.

XII. *From* J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., *Author of* Landing at Cape Ann, *etc.*

20 Court Street, Boston,
Sept. 14th, 1867.

My dear Dawson:

I assure you that no more welcome page comes to my table than that of The Historical Magazine, with its rich an-varied miscellany of historical lore and monthly record of and tiquarian learning.

You rescue from oblivion original papers illustrative of every portion of our Republic, from the very beginning even until now. The existence of such masses of unused materials shows with what discrimination, if not skepticism, "histo-"ries," mere compendiums as they must be, should be received; and no writer can prudently omit an examination of the pages of the *Magazine*. Of course a *thorough* index of names of places, persons, and things, is indispensable; and the omission of this, in some of the earlier volumes, seriously impairs their usefulness.

Your Book notices are admirable; *they are honest;* and though sometimes a dissent may be entered, you always give "a reason for the faith that is in you," if not always conclusive.

That the editorial pen is not *nibbed* in Boston, nor the editorial spectacles furnished by Boston opticians, is *very* apparent; but why Boston nibs and lenses—not all alike—may not be quite as true and trusty as those of New York, is not apparent.

Your harsh words to us in the East are useless, more than useless, and cannot be classed under what Disraeli calls the "Amenities of Literature."

Wishing you the full success which exact and thorough learning, untiring diligence, historical acumen, and honest conviction, may rightly challenge,

I am, yours sincerely,

J. Wingate Thornton.

* *Vide, Historical Magazine* I, x, Supplement. 88, 89.

XIII.—*From Hon.* J. Russell Bartlett, *Secretary of the State of Rhode Island, Author of* The Progress of Ethnology; Dictionary of Americanisms, Report on the Mexican Boundary Line, *etc.*

The editorship of this periodical has again passed into the hands of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, a gentleman better qualified for the task than any of whom we have knowledge. Mr. Dawson has written and edited a large number of books and pamphlets upon American History, in which he has elucidated points which had previously been involved in obscurity; indeed, he seems to have a taste for those subjects of historical and antiquarian research which most writers avoid.—*From* The Providence Journal, *September 19th*, 1866.

XIV.—*From Professor* George Washington Greene, *Author of* Life of Gen. Nathaniel Greene, *etc.*

East Greenwich, R. I. 18th Sept. 1867.

My dear Dawe o:

You ask me for my opinion of The Historical Magazine. I give it without hesitation or reserve.

I think that the impulsiveness of your nature leads you at times into forms of expression which irritate without convincing, and awaken opposition where your real object is to invite impartial research. This is particularly apparent whenever you speak of New England or New England men. I feel it as a New Englander; and I deeply regret it as a student of History and your friend. The bitterness of opinions is a dangerous element in the discussion of historical truth.

I have told you candidly what I disapprove in the Magazine. I will tell you with equal candor what I admire. I admire your vigor, your industr , the depth and the range of your inquiries. I think that you have succeeded in bringing together a large number of important documents which might otherwise have been lost—or what is equivalent to lost—have remained buried in private collections. I think that as a medium of enquiry upon historical questions your work is of inestimable value; and I should regard the suspension of it as a literary calamity.

Very truly yours,

G. W. Greene.

Mr. H. B. Dawson.

XV.—*From the late* William L. Weaver, *Esq., the Genealogist of Windham County, Conn.*

The Magazine contains articles of real historical value, *From* The Willimantic Journal, *Sept.* 20, 1866.

The improved character of the work under the new management noticed in the August number, is continued. They contain much curious and valuable historical information. *From the same paper*, Nov. 1, 1866.

XVI.—*From Officers and Members of* The Long Island Historical Society.

The Historical Magazine, now in its tenth volume, has always had a special interest for me, and I therefore most willingly recommend that the members of the Long Island Historical Society should give it their support, particularly as the Editor proposes to report the meetings of our Society.

J. Carson Brevoort.

Brooklyn, October 13, 1866.

Hon. C. Murphy,
Geo. S. Stephenson,
Joshua M. Van Cott,
A. Cooke Hull,
E. S. Mills,
Chas. E. West,
J. Greenwood,
Alden J. Spooner,
R. S. Stores, Jr.,
John Blunt,
Charles Congdon,
A. M. Wood,
Thos. W. Field

From the testimony of the gentlemen signing above, I feel free to commend the Magazine.

H. W. Beecher.

XVII.—*From Officers and Members of* The New York Historical Society.

The undersigned have great pleasure in recommending to the favor and support of the public, The Historical Magazine, which, under its present management, promises to surpass its former high reputation and which, by reason of its Reports of Meetings, will be especially interesting to the members of The New York Historical Society.

New York, September, 1866.

Frederic de Peyster,
Benj. R. Winthrop,
Andrew Warner,
George H. Moore,
Charles P. Kirkland,
Thomas De Witt, D. D.,
John Romeyn Brodhead,
Benj. H. Field,
Isaac Ferris, D. D.,
E. C. Benedict,
James Lenox.

XVIII.—*From Officers and Members of* The American Ethnological Society.

The undersigned cheerfully concur with the [illegible] members of The Long Island and The New York Historical Societies, in the [illegible] opinions of The Historical Magazine, and in their commendation of it to the favorable support of every scholar in the country.

Thos. E. Davies,
L. H. Dewey, M. D.,
Henry C. Deane,
H. R. Schoolcraft, M. D.

XIX.—*From* The Clergy, *in the City of New York.*

The Historical Magazine, under the [illegible] Mr. Dawson has been enlarged and greatly improved in value. It is a periodical [illegible] and the publication of materials for History which [illegible] are manifested. It has deserved [illegible] and increased patronage in our community.

Thomas De Witt,

[*Senior Pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, N. Y.*]

I concur in the foregoing recommendation of The Historical Magazine, considering it to be a very valuable and important work, and deserving of a [illegible]

Morgan Dix,

[*Rector of Trinity Church, New York.*]

We concur with the foregoing [illegible]

E. H. Chapin,

[*Pastor of the Fourth Universalist Church, New York.*]

Thomas E. Hastings,

[*Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.*]

Samuel Osgood,

[*Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York.*]

Howard Crosby,

[*Pastor of Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church.*]

John C. Lowrie,

[*Secretary of Board of Foreign Missions.*]

Thos. E. Vermilye,

[*Pastor of First Reformed Church.*]

XX.—*From well-known Gentlemen residing in the city of New York.*

New York, Aug. 29, 1866.

I have for some years been a subscriber to The Historical Magazine.

It contains a great amount [illegible] historical information, and may be consulted with advantage by all students of History, especially of the History of the City and State of New York.

Its present Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is fully qualified by his tastes, acquirements [illegible] to render the Magazine hereafter, as it has been heretofore, a valuable acquisition to the student and the lover of [illegible] History.

Charles P. Kirkland.

We fully concur in the expression of opinion of Mr. Kirkland, both as to the merits of The Historical Magazine, and of its present Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson.

John Cochrane,

[*Late Attorney-General of New York.*]

George Opdyke,

[*Late Mayor of the City of New York.*]

Hamilton Fish,

[*President of the N. Y. Historical Society, late Governor of the State and Senator in Congress.*]

New York, Sept. 30, 1867.

My Dear Sir:

I have been a subscriber to The Historical Magazine from its beginning; and regard it as a most useful and val-

nable publication. As a permanent record of facts in respect to the early history of this City and State, which, if not now collected and preserved, would be liable to be lost forever, it supplies a necessity which no other journal fulfils; and deserves the encouragement and support of all who take an interest in historical researches, or feel a patriotic pride in the great Commonwealth or in the great Continental Metropolis to which we belong.

With much respect, and with cordial regard,

I remain, very truly yours, etc.,

HENRY. B. DAWSON, Esq. S. J. TILDEN.

I concur in the above. JOHN T. HOFFMAN,

[*Mayor of the City of New York.*]

I also concur. The Magazine has greatly improved under the management of Mr. Dawson, and in addition to being a vehicle for the publication of valuable papers and historical documents, it seems destined to become the substitute in this country for *Notes and Queries*.

CHAS P. DALY,

[*First Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.*]

I fully concur with Judge Daly in the above recommendation.

G. C. VERPLANCK.

XXI.—*From Hon.* JOHN V. L. PRUYN, *Chancellor of the Regents of the University of the State of New York.*

ALBANY, August 19th, 1867.

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is a publication of great interest to all who are desirous to acquaint themselves with the History of our Country, and especially that of the State of New York. Great research is evinced in many of its articles, and its tone is manly and independent.

I hope that it will receive a liberal support from the public.

JOHN V. L. PRUYN.

XXII.—*From* BENSON J. LOSSING, *Esq., Author of* The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, History of the United States, *etc.*

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Feb. 18, 1867.

FRIEND DAWSON:

It will give me great pleasure, I assure you, to contribute any way that I may to the columns and the support of the Magazine. You are doing a great public service in saving from possible annihilation valuable papers relating to the early History of our State. Fire might strike those documents out of existence in MS. state: it would take many fires to annihilate them in your printed form.

As ever, your sincere friend,

BENSON J. LOSSING.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Aug. 17, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.:

I have been a careful reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its commencement in 1857 until now, and I regard it as one of the most useful publications of the day, for it is a repository and safe custodian of some of the rarest treasures of American History. But for its service these might be lost or remain forever unknown.

I heartily concur in the commendatory words of the officers and several distinguished members of The New York Historical Society, saying that "under its present management THE "HISTORICAL MAGAZINE promises to surpass its former high "reputation, and which, by its reports of meetings, will be "especially interesting to the New York Historical Society." I will add that it is equally interesting to every student of American History.

BENSON J. LOSSING.

XXIII.—*From* EVERT A. DUYCKINCK, *Esq., Author of* Cyclopædia of American Literature, *late Editor of* The Literary World, *etc.*

20 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, August 13, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I learn with pleasure that you are continuing your efforts for the improvement and permanent establishment of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I have always regarded it as an important enterprise, and heartily wish for its success. The series has already much valuable matter, which will in vain be looked for elsewhere. You have recently added to it many features of interest, in Reports, Reviews, the publication of original Essays and rare Documents. Such results challenge the support of all interested in American History and Literature. The value of the volumes must increase with time. A subscription, in fact, will be in more senses than one a sound investment.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

XXIV.—*From* DAVID T. VALENTINE, *Esq., the well known Antiquary; Author of* The History of the City of New York; *and Editor of the series of* The Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, *etc.*

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE COMMON COUNCIL,
8 CITY HALL, NEW YORK, Sept. 11, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., *Editor of Historical Magazine.*

DEAR SIR:

I have been a subscriber for, and a careful reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for many years, and have been highly gratified to witness the display of talent, energy and industry exhibited in each successive number by its Editor. I sincerely trust the research, ability and impartiality manifested in the conduct of the work, meet with just appreciation from a discerning public, and that the pecuniary reward is fully commensurate with the value of the Magazine as a standard work of reference to the students and admirers of authentic American History.

Wishing you success, and a brilliant future for your valuable publication,

I am, dear Sir,

Truly yours,

D. T. VALENTINE.

XXV.—*From* JAMES PARTON, *Esq., the distinguished Biographer of* Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Benjamin Franklin, *etc.*

NEW YORK, 303 E. 18th Street, Sept. 17, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

My opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE can not be of very much value, for the reason that I am an interested party. Not one number has appeared in five years which did not contain at least one thing of use to me in my vocation. You might as well ask a carpenter what his candid opinion of the hammer is. All he could say would be, that he could not do without it.

Of all the persons connected with literature whom I have ever known, you are by far the most industrious and persevering. Often you say things in the Magazine from which I most vehemently dissent, but I like it all the better for that. It is always a comfort to find any one who *has* an opinion—whether wrong or right—and this is a solace which you afford your readers every month. I do not see how any one occupied with historical pursuits, either as writer, student or collector, can afford to do without the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Very truly yours,

JAS. PARTON.

XXVI.—*From* JAMES RIKER, *Esq., Author of* Annals of Newtown, Queen's Co., N. Y.

HEEKIMER, N. Y., August 24, 1867.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

Your favor of August 10th was delivered at my residence after I had left the city for a tour in the country, and has finally reached me at this place. I beg you to accept this apology for my delay in answering it.

I fancy THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has gained a reputation in the field of choice historical literature which cannot be essentially affected by anything which I may say in its behalf. But if my humble testimony to its permanent excellence be worth anything, I can give it very cheerfully and very honestly, too. Having taken the Magazine from its first issue, I have learned to appreciate it as an invaluable repository of rare facts relating to American History, culled with care and discrimination, and, I may be permitted to add, never more so, nor with more editorial ability, than under the present management. Its articles are uniformly interesting and of marked intrinsic worth, and its faithful reproduction of our early Records adds a feature to the

Magazine of inestimable value to the student and lover of ancient historical lore.

I trust the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE may ever enjoy a generous patronage, and its worthy and accomplished Editor be abundantly rewarded for his painstaking labors in the cause of historic truth.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

JAMES RIKER.

XXVII.—*From Rev.* E. H. GILLETT, D.D., *Author of* The Life and Times of John Huss, History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, *etc.*

HARLEM, N. Y. CITY, August 12, 1867.

MY DEAR DAWSON:

My heart is with you in your enterprise for extending the circulation of the Magazine. I regard it as indispensable to all historical students, and many a single article like that of Mr. Moore in the June number is worth, to persons investigating the facts of our Colonial History, ten times the amount of a year's subscription to the Magazine.

I do not know that I can say anything worth your using. But if a stranger asked me for my opinion, my reply would be something like this :

Mr. Dawson is an enthusiast in historical studies, with clear and definite opinions of his own, not by any means always accordant with those of perhaps the mass of his readers, and yet withal resolutely and boldly honest, disposed to give every one a fair hearing, and let the facts of History cut their way right or left, as Truth demands. THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, under his management, has become a valuable repository of curious and important matters, bearing upon the various phases of our Civil and Ecclesiastical History. No one who wishes to keep pace with the progress of historical investigation in this country, can afford to do without it. He has enlisted as collaborators in his work a large number of the ablest of our historical writers, and his enterprise should receive a hearty support and large patronage throughout the entire country.

Very truly yours,

E. H. GILLETT.

XXVIII.—*From* FRIEDRICH KAPP, *Esq., Author of* Life of the Baron Steuben, The Life of General De Kalb, *etc.*

4 WALL STREET, N. Y., Aug. 24, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

I have always considered it my duty, and much more considered it so since your accession to the editorship, to do all in my power for increasing the number of the subscribers to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

I am sorry that you are thus bound to look out for new subscribers, as your able and energetic efforts ought to have secured to you the sympathy and coöperation of all students of American History.

Even in Germany, where they buy less books than in this country, almost every Province has its Historical Magazine, and besides, there is published an excellent Historical Quarterly—Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*—which outshines all similar publications known to me, by the brilliancy of its Essays and Reviews, and by the completeness of its criticisms and materials.

It ought to be the aim of every student to join you, and to make your paper, which is the only medium of historical reference in this country, still more interesting—more perfect—and an absolute necessity to every lover of History.

I thank you for your past services and trust that the future will bring you a greater success than the past.

Yours truly,

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

XXIX.—*From* CHARLES H. HUNT, *Esq., the Biographer of Edward Livingston.*

MORRISTOWN, N. J., August 15, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR :

I trust the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is prospering in a business sense. Surely there are enough scholars and students in the country to give it good support; and what student or scholar can dispense with it? There is no other man who could fill your place as its Editor; and I am therefore anxious to hear that you are so satisfied with its prospects that there is no doubt of your perseverance in its publication.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES H. HUNT.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

XXX.—*From* JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D., *Author of* Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, History of the Catholic Missions, *etc.; Editor of the series of* American Linguistics, the Cramoisey series of Jesuit Relations, CHARLEVOIX's History of New France, *etc.*

NEW YORK, Sept., 1867.

The successful manner in which Mr. Henry B. Dawson has not only sustained, but enlarged THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, demands the hearty support of all who take an interest in the History of the country; and who will say that the subject is indifferent to him? The increased amount of matter is not the only service rendered by the present Editor. He brings to the examination of historic questions a fearless, pertinacious research, that must tend to bring up the real facts of History, and in his pursuit of Truth knows no partiality or bias.

Yours truly,

J. G. SHEA.

XXXI.—*From* FREDERIC S. COZZENS, *Esq., Author of* The Sparrowgrass Papers, *etc.*

CHESTNUT COTTAGE, YONKERS, Aug. 15, 1867.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,
Editor of Historical Magazine:

MY DEAR SIR:—I have not yet received the July and August numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Will you please forward them to me? I take a peculiar pleasure in reading this peculiarly American book. Although its criticisms are sometimes severe, yet one cannot help but admire its candor and courage. The old Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers, when they hewed down some of the most magnificent sculptures of the Romish Church, managed to let in some chinks of light through the crevices of their destruction, and that light has illuminated the world, from their time down to ours. If you have broken down some of our American idols, with a little too zealous severity, yet on the whole, the air has become purer, and the totterling steps of American History are not a little firmer placed upon the eternal foundations of TRUTH! None of us like to accept unpalatable facts, especially those that contravene long-cherished opinions as to men and events of former days. But the mind of mankind finally adopts them, if urged with sincerity and supported by undeniable proofs.

Truly yours,

FREDERIC S. COZZENS.

XXXII.—*From* H. R. STILES, M.D., *Author of* History of Ancient Windsor, History of the City of Brooklyn, *etc.*

NEW YORK, Aug. 12, 1867.

FRIEND DAWSON:

* * * I am especially pleased with your new department in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS, which you have so happily inaugurated with a pleasant biography of the late David Dudley Field, D. D., Annalist and Historian. There is, as you know, much of interest and of profit in the lives of these humble laborers, who deal with the dry bones of Genealogy, and who wander, at will, among the byways and hedges of Local History unknown to the public at large—but happy in their work, and in their modest thought that their toil is appreciated by a chosen few, and that it may, perchance, smooth the path of some braver and more famous scholar. I must confess no page of your Magazine will have so keen a relish for me, as those in which, from time to time, you enshrine the memories of the "rank and file" of our historic Brotherhood.

I must take this occasion, also, to say, that I am well pleased with the Magazine since you took charge of it, a year ago. Its old friends, many of whom, like myself, have read it constantly since its initial number, and I who have known of all its ups and downs, have drawn pleasant auguries from the past year's pages, of its future success in your hands. You know we *workers* in historic matters cannot

well dispense with its monthly visits—its eleven volumes are among the best thumbed volumes upon our shelves—we look to its past with confidence, and we "hanker" after its editodical visits as one waits impatiently for a chosen friend. This, *I know*, is the feeling with which it is regarded by many others. Success to you in your endeavors to make it what you propose.

Yours truly,

H. R. Stiles, M. D.

XXXIII.—*From* Jeptha R. Simms, *Esq.*, *Author of* Trappers of New York, History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York, *etc.*

Fort Plain, N. Y., August 14, 1867.

My dear Sir:

Permit me to say that any necessity that should compel you to discontinue the publication of The Historical Magazine, I should look upon as a public misfortune. Under your able and fearless management of it, it is becoming invaluable to the historical student; and almost any late number is worth a year's subscription. The Magazine seems to supply a long-needed repository of historical questions and answers, memoranda of increasing interest, etc., and not a few of them, indispensable to the American writer, will of necessity find their way into it.

The inquiry arises in the mind—who should aid in sustaining the Magazine? I answer, every individual who would garner up the odds and ends of historic lore; every newspaper Editor; every Historical Society; every collegiate and classic School; as also every literary institute in the land; for they all will derive more or less benefit from its perusal. Indeed, every antiqurian needs it: besides, all who can afford to do it, should feel morally bound to aid in promoting so laudable an enterprise, and one calculated so liberally to benefit posterity.

Trusting that your ability, untiring industry, and devotion to the service of your country may meet with the recompense it deserves, I remain,

Your friend,

J. R. Simms.

XXXIV.—*From* Frank Moore, *Esq.*, *Editor of* Specimens of American Eloquence, The Diary of the American Revolution, The Rebellion Record, *etc.*

Office of the "Rebellion Record,"
New York, Sept. 27, 1867.

H. B. Dawson, Esq.:

Sir: I congratulate yon upon the success of The Historical Magazine, since you assumed the editorial chair of that periodical, and hope you will meet with that further success which it really deserves. The material you are now garnering up is of the highest importance to those who desire to know the truths of History, not its special pleadings, and your associates in historical study must ever give you not only substantial encouragement but most earnest wishes.

Your friend,

Frank Moore.

XXXV.—*From* Henry O'Reilly, *Esq.*, *the celebrated Pioneer Telegraphist, and Author of* Sketches of Rochester, *etc.*

24 Pine Street, New York, Oct. 17, 1867.

Henry B. Dawson, Esq.,

Editor of The Historical Magazine:

My dear Sir: Many of your friends, as well as myself, are highly gratified with the arrangements you are making for increasing the usefulness and circulation of your valuable Magazine. The new Departments of Antiquities and Biography cannot fail to awaken additional interest in historical research. The frankness and fearlessness with which you discuss all relevant questions, indicate so plainly a desire that nothing but the truth and the whole truth shall be allowed to pass under your imprint, that all minor differences of opinion should be merged in the respect due to your Magazine as a trusty repository of historical data.

With great regard, yours truly,

Henry O'Reilly.

XXXVI.—*From* William Swinton, *Esq.*, *Author of* The History of the Army of the Potomac, The Seven Decisive Battles, *etc.*

New York City, September 28, 1867.

H. B. Dawson, Esq.

My Dear Sir: I have been an attentive reader of The Historical Magazine ever since you took its management, and have derived so much pleasure and instruction from its perusal that I cannot refrain from expressing to you my satisfaction. You have the conrage, without fear or favor, to give a hospitable reception to whatever bears the impress of historical *truth*; while your bold, incisive editorial comments are of a character to shame our milk-and-water literature. Though it must need be that offence come to some of the weaker sort from your outspoken utterances, I know well that your course gives a lively gratification to all independent minds. I trust the *Magazine* will prove a permanent success, for it deserves to be. I have in my possession a large number of original papers relating to the late war, and if there are among them any that you would like to republish, it would afford me much pleasure to furnish you with copies of them.

With respect and esteem, yours truly,

Wm. Swinton.

XXXVII.—*From* Charles Edwards, *Esq.*, *Author of* History of Finger-Rings, Pleasantries of the New York Bar, *etc.*

New York, October, 1867.

My dear Mr. Dawson:

The Historical Magazine really requires no recommendation at the hands of its readers. Still, I can understand how its excellence may not have reached many who, on knowing of its worth, would eagerly take it.

I most readily, as follows, give my own certificate by way of encouraging its circulation: It is edited and got together with great fearlessness, truth, tact and historical knowledge. There is always in it enough for present useful and interesting reading; while it lays down lines of matter which will, in future time, make it eagerly sought after—in the same way as is the *Gentleman's Magazine* of England—by antiquarian and historian. Old volumes must become valuable.

I, unhesitatingly, say all this; and with my best wishes for and belief in the continued success of The Historical Magazine while in your hands,

I remain, your friend,

Charles Edwards.

XXXVIII.—*From* E. B. O'Callaghan, LL.D., *Author of* History of New Netherlands, *etc.*; *and Editor of* Documentary History of New York, Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, *etc.*

Department of Historical Records,
Albany, 14th October, 1867.

Henry B. Dawson, Esq.

Dear Sir: I have been a subscriber to The Historical Magazine from its birth; and have so continued through all its vicissitudes.

England has its *Notes and Queries*; France, her *Intermediare*; Holland, its *Navorscher*; and even Spain supports a similar periodical at Madrid.

The United States can and ought to support respectably a like publication, which has hitherto usefully served those engaged in Historical researches as a means of intercommunication; supplying, at the same time, Historical Documents not otherwise easy of access; and furnishing to all a neutral ground where they can meet for mutual enlightenment and instruction, free from the acerbities of Politics and Polemics.

As the merits of The Historical Magazine improve, so I am satisfied will your industry and perseverance be rewarded by a large subscription list, which is the sincere wish,

Dear sir, of
yours, most truly,

E. B. O'Callaghan.

XXXIX.—*From* WILLIAM L. STONE, *Esq., Author of* The Life of Sir William Johnson, *and Editor of* The Letters and Journals of the Baroness de Riedesel, *etc.*

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 30, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

I have your favor of the 28th asking my opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. You say you wish me to answer frankly; and frankly I will try to reply.

I consider that it is, as at present conducted, an invaluable aid to every one of Literary and Historical tastes; one that no person who desires to form correct opinions upon the historical events of the past and present days can safely be without.

I have thought, at times, that its tone has been, perhaps, one of too much acerbity, and that the ink with which the Editor's pen has been filled, has contained too great a proportion of gall. Still, in this age, which seems to be, *par excellence*, one of fulsome eulogy and flattery, this very characteristic may serve as a timely balance-wheel, or, to change the metaphor, as a wholesome correction to a false public sentiment.

Wishing you success in your laudable endeavors, believe me, Cordially yours,

WM. L. STONE.

XL.—*From Hon.* THOMAS EWBANK, *First Vice-President of the American Ethnological Society, formerly Commissioner of Patents of the United States.*

NEW YORK, October 7, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

It gives me pleasure to hear of the continued encouragement THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE receives under your management. Your industry, learning, and acumen are shown in every number. The work increases in interest; and I trust the support of those engaged in Historical studies will enable you to prosecute your plans with every advantage of success.

Yours truly,

THOS. EWBANK.

HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.

XLI.—*From Hon.* MILLARD FILLMORE, *President of the Buffalo Historical Society, late President of the United States.*

BUFFALO, Oct. 8, 1867.

MR. HENRY B. DAWSON:

DEAR SIR: I have your note of yesterday requesting my opinion of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and I take great pleasure in stating that I have the work from its commencement, and although I take several periodicals, there is none that I read with more pleasure and satisfaction than this. I regard it as a very useful publication, and should be happy to see its circulation extended.

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

XLII.—*From Doctor* D. G. BRINTON, *the celebrated Ethnologist.*

With the number for July commences the twelfth annual volume of this most interesting and valuable periodical. We doubt not many of our readers are familiar with it, and those who are not, and who take any interest in the History or Antiquities of their country, we earnestly counsel them to become so at once by sending in their names as subscribers. For many years it has been the chief and only repository of American Historical and Antiquarian knowledge. Bancroft, Everett, Sparks, Parkman, Shea, Schoolcraft, and nigh all the other distinguished writers on such topics have been contributors to previous volumes; and we venture nothing in saying that now no one can claim to be acquainted with the past of our country, who has not long and closely consulted its pages. Its present Editor is well known for his uncompromising impartiality and minute accuracy in the search for historical truth, and we need not fear for its continued excellence in his hands. (In the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, for June 29, 1867.

XLIII.—*From Rev.* HOWARD MALCOM, *D.D., President of* The American Baptist Historical Society.

AMERICAN BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., [illegible] 16, 1867.

DEAR SIR:

No other periodical which [illegible] any matter can be relied on for honest notice of [illegible]. I rejoice that you dare to be singular.

Your [illegible],

HOWARD MALCOM.

XLIV.—*From* HORATIO GATES JONES, *Esq., Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, etc.*

PHILADELPHIA, August, 1867.

I have been a subscriber to and a constant reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its [illegible], and regard its continuance as of great value [illegible] in the History of America. As a means of [illegible] on, it is of the highest importance to [illegible].

HORATIO GATES JONES.

XLV.—*From Hon.* BRANTZ MAYER, *President of the Maryland Historical Society.*

BALTIMORE, 19th August, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have been a subscriber to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE since its commencement, and prize the whole series very much, though a part of it was not equal to the promise of the beginning. But I must especially thank you not only for the revival of the Magazine's high character, but for the additional interest and permanent value of the papers you are now rescuing from destruction. The original articles contributed by yourself and your industrious correspondents, by your brave and candid criticisms, have given force and authority to the Magazine; and I cannot doubt that it will continue to receive a prompt and remunerative support from the students of local and national History, who are so greatly your debtors.

Most respectfully, your obt.,

BRANTZ MAYER,
President of Maryland Historical Society.

XLVI.—*From* GEORGE GIBBS, *Esq., the well-known Ethnologist, Author of* Memoirs of the Administration of Washington and John Adams, *etc.*

WASHINGTON, 24th Aug. 1867.

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR:

I am very glad to hear that you are about to push vigorously your periodical. It has always been a valuable one: it may be made invaluable. Very few even of [illegible] and literary students, comparatively speaking, are, I imagine, aware of the facilities that it affords for an extensive correspondence; that in a few brief lines of inquiry one can readily thousands of persons, some of whom can [illegible] throw light on the desired point; or that it is an admirable receptacle where may be preserved [illegible].

It often occurs to every student to stumble upon important statements or incidents, not in themselves warranting an essay, or perhaps himself indifferent to the prosecution of one, but none the less valuable to have preserved somewhere. In these two respects, independent of its record, it has no competitor in this country, and for these alone it deserves support.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE GIBBS.

XLVII.—*From Rev.* WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, Clerk of the House of Clerical and Lay Delegates of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

LITCHFIELD, Ct., Oct. 21 '67

MY DEAR MR. DAWSON:

Yours of the 7th came during my absence from home, and I take great pleasure in acknowledging its receipt at the earliest possible moment.

For the variety and value of its articles, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE deserves the hearty and united support of all interested in historical studies. Under its present management, each number adds to the permanent value of the series, and no one who would keep up with the progress of historical investigation can afford to be without it.

With the assurance of my hearty regard and sympathy, I am Very truly Yours,

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,
MORRISANIA, NEW YORK.

XLVIII.—*From* B. H. HALL, *Esq., Author of* The History of Eastern Vermont.

TROY, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am in receipt of yours of the 7th inst. and at my earliest leisure have much pleasure in returning a reply. I have been a subscriber for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE since its begining, and have received more general satisfaction from its perusal than from any periodical I have taken in, during its life.

The necessity for such a Magazine was very apparent to my mind when the HISTORICAL was undertaken, and that necessity not only continues but has increased ten fold.

When the January number appeared, in 1857, we as a nation had made, comparatively, but very little history. Since that time, in ten years, we have filled a page in the History of the World, which will be forever turned and read by all mankind. The little incidents, which are the unintentional but certain manifestation of men's motives, and which, strewn along the pathway of this rebellion, lie all ungathered, are in the future to be collected, and in this work THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE should properly take the foremost place.

In the treatment and discussion of Historical matters, fairness of statement, and a regard to the time, the circumstances, and to reason, in reaching a conclusion, are absolutely necessary. During the greater portion of its career such a course has prevailed in the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and a continuation in this course cannot but be rewarded with abundant success.

If I can be of service to you in increasing the circulation of the Magazine, I shall be glad to assist in this particular, and am Very respectfully yours,

B. H. HALL.

XLIX.—*From* S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., Superintendent of Public Instruction in the City of New York.

NEW YORK, Oct., 21, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me, as a subscriber and constant reader of your Magazine, to express my high appreciation of the ability with which it has uniformly been conducted while under your editorial supervision; and of the value and importance of its contributions to the past and present history of our Country. Yours very truly,

S. S. RANDALL.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

L.—*From Major-general* JOHN E. WOOL, U. S. A.

TROY, 11th November, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Some time since I received the back numbers of your HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. These I have perused with great interest. They prove it what has been freqnently asserted, that, it requires many years to arrive at the truth of history. The many reminiscences and letters which your HISTORICAL MAGAZINE contains, relating to those who occupied positions and rendered important services during the period of our revolutionary struggle, prove conclusively that we have yet much to learn of those who offerd "their lives, their fortunes, and "their sacred honor," to secure freedom and independence to the people of the United States.

A periodical, the object of which is to maintain and secure the truth of history, deserves to be encouraged by all who desire the correction of historical errors and the interstices of history to be filled, and, above all else, the history of the causes which led to the recent bloody rebellion——the end of which is not yet. The pillars of our once prosperous Union are crumbling. Ten States have been declared out of the Union and placed under Military rule. How long will it be before the thirty-six States are placed in a similar position? Very Truly Yours

JOHN E. WOOL.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,
Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

LI.—*From Hon.* WILLIAM B. REED, *Author of* The Life of President Reed, etc., *and recently Minister of the United States to China.*

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 8, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

Permit me to add my testimony to that of many better witnesses to the value of your Magazine. You know very well how highly I estimate it. As an editor and historiographer you are honest and more than that, brave. Social influences do not control you: and even in your Anti-New-England tendencies, which I admit should not be carried too far, and of which some of your friends complain, you show courage. I sincerely wish you all manner of success.

Very truly yours.

WILLIAM B. REED.

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.

LII.—*From Professor* WILLIAM C. FOWLER, LL. D., *Author of* History of Durham, Sectional Controversy, *etc.*

DURHAM CENTER, CONN.
Oct. 19, 1867.

H. B. DAWSON Esq.

DEAR FRIEND:

* * * * * * * * *

The periodical arrival of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is always welcomed, freighted as it is with facts which would be lost, many of them, if not recorded in your bill of lading. In your own reasoning, speculations, and descriptions, you furnish proof that the muse of History is your muse, inspiring you with her own love of truth.

Very sincerely, yours,

W. C. FOWLER.

LIII.—*Fom Doctor* THOMAS H. WYNNE, *Editor of* The Wendover Papers, *etc.*

RICHMOND, VA., Nov 3. 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have read every number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE which has been issued since the war, with an amount of satisfaction and pleasure which I do not enjoy in the perusal of any other Journal. So far as it is possible, it seems to be edited with a degree of fairness towards all persons and parties of whom it treats, and evidently aims to assist those who are in search of the truth in regard to disputed points in our country's history.

Wishing you and it all possible success, I am

Very truly

THOMAS H. WYNNE.

LIV.—*From the Right Reverend* J. ROOSEVELT BAYLEY, *Bishop of Newark. N. J.*

NEWARK, March 15, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR:

If I had leisure, and the state of my eyes permitted me, I would most cheerfully write out for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, such notes as I have made in regard to the Catholic Church in this State.

I can confidently recommend your Magazine to such Catholics as are interested in such studies.

With sincere regard, very truly yours,

J. ROOSEVELT BAYLEY, Bp. of Newark.

HN. B. DAWSON. Esq., MORRISANIA, New York.

LV.—*From Rev.* ISAAC JENNINGS, *Pastor of the Congregational Church at Bennington, and author of the early history of the Town, entitled* Memorials of a Century.

BENNINGTON CENTRE, VT., May 3, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR:

I highly esteem THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, as a medium for the distribution of rare, original, and antiquarian material pertaining to our general and local history, and for the discussion of current historical beliefs.

The succeeding numbers are replete with interest. If any judge antiquarian labors to be necessarily dry, let them consult these pages and they will find out their mistake.

With regard to the peculiar way in which our learned Editor pays his respects to New England, I may suggest that we Yankees *have an opinion* that New England is even yet able to stand a very considerable amount of adverse criticism.

No one, however, can fail to admire the acumen and vigor of your pen and the unstinted liberality of time, expense, and exertion with which you prosecute research and make up your valuable publications.

Very Truly, Yours,
ISAAC JENNINGS.

LVI.—*From Hon.* GEORGE F. HOUGHTON, *one of the founders and President of the Vermont Historical Society.*

ST. ALBANS, VT., May 6th, 1869.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.:

In answer to your note of a recent date, I beg to say that I have been familiar with THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from its start and can commend it to the favorable consideration of the members of the Vermont Historical Society and others engaged in historical pursuits. Your researches are comprehensive and indicate unusual industry and acumen. While some of your criticisms upon New England and New England institutions have been severe, they have added life and attracted attention to your magazine. You must be aware, however, that in some instances they have given offense.

As your monthly is the only one of the kind in this country, I hope it will meet with a generous patronage.

Yours, Truly,
GEORGE F. HOUGHTON.

LVII.—*From Hon.* HENRY CLARK, *Corresponding Secretary of the Vermont Historical Society, Secretary of the Senate, etc.*

RUTLAND, VT., May 3, 1869.

DEAR SIR:

Allow me to thank you for the labors you are performing for American History in the publication of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Its value is untold, and a future generation will seek for its pages as for hidden treasures, to elaborate and perfect the connecting links of our history. While the general outline of American History is read, yet every intelligent reader is conscious that there are missing links he cannot account for, and yet feels confident there must have been some written or traditional evidence, that would have made it plain. THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, from month to month, is rapidly supplying these broken links in the chain of history which no reader should fail to have in his possession. Therefore every professional man should read its pages to illustrate his profession; every legislator and statesman should possess its volumes to learn the spirit of the times and of the men who founded the institutions under which we live and for which they legislate; in fact, every reader, whether in the farm-house or in the mechanic shop, should subscribe to it, for its value to them will be fully appreciated by its constant perusal. No Public Library can afford to be without it; and if they are, they cannot supply the demand of the times, for correct and useful knowledge.

We cheerfully and earnestly commend THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE to every citizen of Vermont and to every Vermonter who has made his home elsewhere, for Vermont has a rich and fertile history which is being constantly illustrated and made perfect through the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. A thousand copies at the lowest estimate should find [illegible] readers among the people of the Green Mountain State.

HENRY CLARK,
Corresponding Secretary of Vt. Hist. Society.

LVIII.—*From the leading Members of the New York Bar.*

NEW YORK, November 16, 1868.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BAR.

Desirous to secure your patronage to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, edited by my friend, Mr HENRY B. DAWSON, of Morrisania, I beg to say, in that connection, that I have been a subscriber thereto for several years; that I have found in it a great amount of interesting and useful historical information; and that it may be consulted, with advantage, by all who are interested in the History of our Country, especially in that of the State of New York.

Its Editor is fully qualified by his tastes, acquirements, and studies, to render the Magazine, hereafter as it has been, heretofore, a valuable acquisition to the lover of our History; and I take great pleasure in commending it to your particular favor and generous support.

Very Truly, Yours,
CHARLES P. KIRKLAND

We concur,

CHARLES O'CONOR,
HENRY NICOLL.

I most cheerfully concur in all that is said by Mr. KIRKLAND, being myself a subscriber to the Magazine, and feel that it is worthy a more liberal support than has yet been extended to it, especially since it has been edited by Mr DAWSON.

CHAS. P. DALY.

We, also, are subscribers to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, edited by Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, and cheerfully concur in all that has been said of it and its Editor, by Messrs. KIRKLAND, O'CONOR, NICOLL, and Judge DALY. We heartily commend the work to the favor of the Bar, and hope it will receive a generous support.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD,
RICHARD H. BOWNE,
ISAIAH T. WILLIAMS,
EDWARD DE WITT,
EDGAR KETCHUM,
R. C. BENEDICT,
S. L. M. BARLOW,
JOHN COCHRANE,
RICHARD O'GORMAN
A. R. LAWRENCE, Jr.,
N. JARVIS, JR., *Clerk Common Pleas, New York.*
G. J. TUCKER, *Surrogate, New York.*
ROBT. COCHRANE, *County Judge, Westchester-county.*
A. B. TAPPAN, *Judge Supreme Court.*

LIX.—*From* HORACE WEBSTER, LL.D., *President of the College of the City of New York.*

I have regularly read for some years THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, published by Henry B. Dawson, Esq. It is a most interesting periodical. Its object, which commends itself to every patriotic American, is to correct the errors that may have crept into our annals, by design or otherwise, and, by exhuming from the past, documents, both public and private, to enlarge our knowledge and create an interest in all that concerns our early history.

HORACE WEBSTER,
President C. C. N. Y.

LX.—*From* JOHN H. CHAMBERS, *Esq., Librarian and Registrar of the College of the City of New York.*

College of the City of New York,
Cor. Lexington Ave. and 23rd St.
NEW YORK, June 12, 1869.

DEAR SIR:

The Historical Magazine, as you are aware, has been regularly received by this institution, for many years; and its files are carefully preserved in its Library.

The great merit of the papers which appear in the Magazine is so generally recognized that I need not repeat what has been so often said on that subject; but I cannot forbear alluding to the great care which you exercise in noticing the new publications of the day.

The perfect independence which you display in reviewing these works, as they appear, has justly attracted the attention of librarians and collectors, throughout the country: and I know of no publication in which there is so much information concerning new books, especially con-

6.—It is full of very interesting matter relative to our earlier history.—*The same*, Feb. 19, 1867.

7.—Of the usual interest to delvers into old historical matters.—*The same*, Mar. 28, 1867.

8.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, brings together a great deal that is curious and interesting to historical students. The Notes and Queries are the most entertaining part of the Magazine.—*Evening Press* (Republican), Hartford, Oct. 31, 1866.

9.—*The Historical Magazine* for December is a readable number, filled with matter that will attract the attention of all historical students, with very much in it of popular interest.—*The same*, Jan. 24, 1866.

10.—The industrious Editor of *The Historical Magazine* constantly digs up interesting material and makes each number lively and readable.—*The same*, Mar. 8, 1867.

11.—The contents of *The Historical Magazine* for March will interest and "stir up"as many people as its issue usually does. * * * The Magazine shows continued industry.—*The same*, Mar. 26, 1867.

12.—Its Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America are always interesting and valuable for future reference, and show a large amount of able and patient research.—*Daily Courant* (Republican), Hartford, November 24, 1866.

VI.—*From* THE PRESS *of New York.*

1.—*The Historical Magazine*, under its new Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, shows unwonted vitality. The August number, which has just appeared, is especially interesting and valuable.—*N. Y. Daily Tribune* (Radical), Sept. 18, 1866.

2.—*The Historical Magazine* for July contains numerous articles of antiquarian and historical interest, combined with frequent incidental political discussions and allusions, strongly reflecting the personality of the Editor, who is a zealous advocate of the theory of State Sovereignty.*—*The same paper*, Aug. 24, 1867.

3.—Full of matter that will be regarded as valuable by antiquarians and historical students.—*Evening Post* (Republican), New York, Sept. 18, 1866.

4.—*The Historical Magazine* has for its second title "Notes "and Queries," but in its general character has more merits than the English journal of that name, dealing less in trivial matters, and giving better considered and more important papers. It is an excellent Magazine, and is necessary to the student of history.—*Day Book* [Ultra-Democratic], New York. Oct. 6, 1866.

5.—*The Historical Magazine* is a serial of much value and little pretence, and is an absolute necessity for the literary table.—*The same*, Dec. 22, 1866.

6.—The January number is beyond doubt a "golden number."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Following Brodhead's article, we have a reply by the Editor to some strictures of *The Boston Transcript*, which is less a dissection than a flaying of the subject—a flaying in which a considerable portion of the flesh is taken from the bones of the victim, leaving him writhing *in terrorem*.—*The same*, Mar. 23, 1867.

7.—Mr. Dawson's Magazine is worthy of the support and confidence of students of American history. There is no substitute for it.—*The same*, June 15, 1867.

8.—A more useful, interesting, and truly valuable Magazine is not to be found either in Europe or America. Its editor is Henry B. Dawson, Esq. so long, well, and favorably known to his fellow-citizens of this town and to the public at large, as a gentleman and scholar. * * *We cordially recommend it so the patronage of an enlightened and discriminating public.—*Westchester Journal* [Democratic], Morrisania, Feb. 16th 1867.

9.—Mr. Dawson is an indefatigable worker in the department of history to which he has devoted so large a share of his life; and we cannot doubt the readers of the early history of our country—and all should be readers and students of it—will find this Magazine a mine of most valuable information.—*Peekskill Messenger* [Republican], Feb. 2d, 1867.

10.—The *Boston Transcript* is not pleased with Mr. Dawson's *Historical Magazine*. * * * The trouble with the Magazine seems to be that it has mistaken the object of history, and conceived it to be to throw dirt at Massachusetts—a Commonwealth that can stand the operation BETTER THAN ANY OTHER STATE ON THE GLOBE, and much better than the Editor of the Magazine.—*Daily Union* [Radical], Brooklyn, Feb. 25th, 1867.

11.—The *Historical Magazine*, under the editorial direction of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is filling an important place in periodical literature.—*Daily Eagle* [Democratic], Brooklyn, July 16th, 1867.

12.—Its great *forte* is the correction of History and the furnishing of Documentary evidence elucidating historical statements. Mr. Dawson is a careful writer, and is well "post-"ed," as the phrase goes, in American History.—*Daily City Press*, Newburgh, Aug. 7, 1866.

13.—It contains matter very important to all who would have correct knowledge of the History of our Country.—*Troy Press*, Aug. 11, 1866.

14.—We advise all who are interested in Antiquities to take it.—*Journal*, Fishkill, Oct. 18, 1866.

15.—*The Historical Magazine*, under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, increases in interest with every number. Mr. Dawson is perfectly at home in historical matters, and considers anything in that line as a labor of love. He could not fail, therefore, to infuse new life into *The Historical Magazine*. The first number issued under his superintendence, evinced the presence of a new and experienced hand in the chair editorial, and in each succeeding number the interest has been kept up. *The Historical Magazine* should have a place in every library.—*Yonkers Gazette* [Democratic], Nov. 3, 1866.

16.—This Magazine is now edited by Mr. Henry B. Dawson, who has made this particular line of literature his study for years, and has gained a high reputation for his historical researches. * * The Magazine deserves success, and should be in every scholar's library.—*Yonkers Statesman* [Republican], Nov. 22, 1866.

17.—It shows the industry and research for which the Editor is remarkable. * * The number altogether recommends itself to the student of American History.—*The same*, Jan. 31, 1867,

18.—There are few if any persons living better qualified in every way for the compilation and editorship of such a magazine, than is Mr. Dawson. The subject of History has been his study for years, and he has consequently become perfectly conversant with everything in connection therewith. In his own article he fearlessly tells the truth about men and their acts, though to do so may to some seem irreverent.

The Magazine itself is worthy the support of all lovers of History; and we believe that none of this numerous class would be without it if they could peruse the number before us.—*Westchester Times* (Republican), Morrisania, Feb. 15, 1867.

19.—No student of History should be without this work. Its researches are truly wonderful.—*The same*, Aug. 23, 1867,

20.—From the appearance and contents of the July number, which is before us, we have formed a high opinion of its character and value.—*Christian Enquirer* (Unitarian), New York, Sept. 6th, 1866,

21.—This Magazine contains a great deal of curious, valuable, and interesting matter; and in the rich but almost neglected field of American Antiquities is a gleaner whose monthly sheaf is more than welcome.—*The same*, Sept. 20th, 1866.

22.—The *Historical Magazine* is now under the editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson, than whom no one is more competent for such a task. It appears in the handsomest typography, and its contents, which are exactly the sort for which their is never any place in a daily newspaper, are in their kind, fresh and interesting to a degree never reached in former numbers of that old and valuable periodical.—*Daily World* (Democratic), New York Nov. 3d. 1866.

23.—Bancroft is skinned alive and likewise grilled in the June number of *The Historical Magazine*, which periodical Mr. Dawson makes as readable as a daily newspaper, by

* Vide *Revised Statutes*, Part I, Chap. I, Title II, Sec. 1, 2, 3—Fourth Edition, 1 77.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

treating the dead as if they had once lived, and were of flesh and blood and human passions, and by treating the living, who ought to be dead, in a way that must assist them in the discharge of that duty.—*The same*, New York. July 23d, 1867.

24.—Under Mr. Dawson's judicious management this publication has greatly increased in interest.—*Journal of Commerce*, (Commercial), New York, Oct. 30th, 1866.

25.—It is a well-conducted monthly periodical, devoted to the exposition of the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America. It lately passed back under the control of Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania. With him are associated many writers of eminence, who have the ability to render this magazine very useful to the progress of historic research. It is handsomely gotten up, and each number contains a large amount of curious and interesting matter.—*Christian Intelligencer*, (Ref. Dutch) New York, Nov. 1st 1866.

26.—*The Historical Magazine* edited by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., has a peculiar value, and is entitled to the particular patronage of that large public which is interested in historical inquiries.—*The Same*, Aug. 1st, 1867.

27.—It is full of interest and variety.—*Episcopalian.*

28.—This is a very interesting and valuable periodical, and one which must find an entrance to every library.—*The Sunday Mercury*, New York, Feb. 3d. 1867.

29.—This important periodical, which is devoted to the collection and preservation of the Antiquities, History, and Biography of our country, has recently passed into the hands of Henry B. Dawson, Esq., who is devoting himself to its interests with all the enthusiasm of a genuine antiquary. The volume which was closed with the December number, has many original historical papers of great importance, which but for this channel would probably have perished. The Magazine is one which, for the general interests of National Literature and History, should be sustained by the pens and the subscriptions of men of letters.—*Observer*, (Presbyterian) New York, Feb. 7th, 1867.

30.—The publication now commences its eleventh year with a new series; and the lovers of true History and valuable Antiquities will do well to subscribe at once.—*American Baptist*, New York, Feb. 19th, 1867.

31.—It is a valuable publication, and shows great research. —*Turf, Field and Farm.* (Sporting), New York, March 30, 1867.

32.—A very useful, and, we are glad to learn, pecuniarily successful work.—*Daily Times*, (Republican), Jan. 21st, 1867.

33.—The [illegible]r of *The Historical Magazine*. Mr. Dawson, of *Federalist* [illegible]ory, is displaying a good deal of enterprise in making that publication a repository of things rare and curious. He is exhuming from their archives ancient documents which throw new light on the history of the past.—*Evangelist*, (Presbyterian) New York, May 23d, 1867.

34.—The Magazine is well worthy of an extended patronage. The Editor has some theories not very generally shared by the community, but he gives every party a fair hearing, and succeeds in bringing together a large mass of curious and valuable historical material from a great variety of sources.—*The same paper*, Sept. 5, 1867.

35.—This Magazine contains much curious and valuable information.—*Protestant Churchman*, (Episcopalian), New York, July 18, 1867.

36.—It shows the careful and enterprising editorship of Mr. Henry B. Dawson. The number contains many very valuable papers, and a mass of interesting facts.—*Commercial Advertiser*, (Republican), New York City, Aug. 23, 1867.

37.—This Magazine very faithfully adheres to its own speciality, which, however, is a subject of such extent and variety that there is no danger of necessary sameness in its matter. The Editor is not at all deficient of positive opinions nor of the courage to assert and maintain them. It is a publication that evinces real ability. * * * Altogether the Magazine is a work that no one who is interested in American History can afford to do without.—*The Christian Advocate*, (Methodist Episcopal), Aug. 29, 1867.

38.—It is difficult to estimate [illegible] historical value of many of the original documents [illegible]d up from unexpected quarters and preserved from [illegible] in the pages of this Magazine. To those who desire to acquire a correct knowledge of facts relative to the early history of the country without taking the trouble of consulting old authorities and musty volumes, to those who find amusement in contrasting the homely dwelling-places and familiar haunts of their forefathers with the changed aspects wrought in these localities by wealth and civilization, and to others whose pride of family leads them to find gratification in seeing the names of their progenitors honorably mentioned in records dating back two centuries ago, the present work will prove an interesting repertory, which will become every year more valuable. * * * The [illegible] are carefully made, and there is a mass of information collected in this work which may be referred to in after times by all who seek for archæological information about persons, places, and things belonging to New York.—*The Round Table* (Bibliographical), New York City, Aug. 31, 1867.

33.—It is now a valuable repository of many original papers, printed for the first time, and of articles and notes relating to disputed points in the history of this country that find no place so proper elsewhere.—*The Nation*, (Republican), New York, January 31st, 1867.

40.—The contents will compare favorably with those of any other publication of its class in the country.—*Daily Register*, Hudson, Aug. 6 1866.

VII.—*From the* Philadelphian Press.

1.—It especially recommends itself to those who take an interest in our own country's past history.—*Philadelphia Inquirer, August* 13, 1866.

2.—One of the most useful of American publications. * * It contains a large amount of most interesting, curious, and rare information. It is a Magazine which should be subscribed for by every scholar and gentleman of literary attainments.—*Sunday Dispatch*, (Literary) edited by Thompson Wescott, Esq., the Historian, February 17, 1867.

3.—It is one of the best, most useful, and instructive periodicals issued in this country.—*The same paper*, Sept. 21, 1867.

4.—We are glad to call the attention of those of our readers, who take an interest in such matters, to this valuable periodical. It is, by all odds, the best publication of the kind that has appeared in this country, more nearly resembling, in a single department, the English *Notes and Queries*, than any other. It appears monthly. Its Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson of Morrisania, is a thorough master of the details of American History, and entirely free from those social and political influences which have twisted the judgment of many a student. If he encounters a stubborn, well-attested fact, he gives it. He is entirely catholic in his judgment; and, best of all, he is absolutely free from the wretched New England influence which has done so much, and will, if not checked, do more, to poison the wells of historic Truth.—*The Age* (Democratic), Philadelphia, March 16, 1867.

5.—One of the most interesting publications of the day is The Historical Magazine. * It is a handsome square octavo, of sixty-four pages, and the typography [illegible] that could be desired by the most fastidious. Henry B. Dawson is the Editor, and strives with his utmost power to make the Magazine acceptable to its patrons. Such a work cannot be too widely extended, when the small price of the annual subscription—five dollars—is considered. We commend it to all who have any interest in American History.—*The Daily Press*, edited by Col. J. W. Forney (Republican). Philadelphia, March 26th, 1867.

VIII. *From the* Southern Press.

1.—This monthly is specially valuable as discussing and settling questionable statements that may have become current as History. While dealing with subjects that may not attract popular attention, it must, if it fulfils its peculiar mission, be regarded as a valuable Periodical among literary persons. It is very difficult to make such a Magazine what it ought to be. We wish it abundant success in its [illegible] labors in behalf of Truth. *Christian Advocate*, (Methodist) Richmond, August 23d, 1866.

2.—The December number is on our table, so beautifully printed that the very types seem to say, "Read," "Read." * * * The other articles have interest; and there is many a dainty morsel for bookworms scattered through its pages.—*The same*, January 31st, 1867.

3.—It is indispensable to all historical students.—*The same*, August 12th, 1867.

4.—We have no hesitation in strongly recommending this Magazine to our readers. It is always full of information that cannot be got elsewhere, and it is of an impartial and honest tone that is wholly relieved of sectionalism and prejudice. We know of no Northern publication more fair towards all parts of the country than this. It is a high ascription of praise to say this in these days of partisan and sectional malignity.—*Daily Examiner*, (Democratic), Richmond, September 18th, 1866.

5.—This Journal being National in its character and patriotic in its spirit, and with an eye single to Truth in all its investigations, is entitled to the patronage of all who desire to see the scattered fragments of our History garnered up and preserved.—*The same paper*, February 19th, 1867.

6.—In the notices of new publications the Editor deals severely but justly and fearlessly. This sterling Magazine is admirably conducted, and it should be patronized by every one who feels the least interest in his country's history.—*The same*, June 12th, 1867,

7.—An admirable periodical. We with pleasure recommend it to the Public, and to Southern readers in particular. * * The design and scope of the work are admirable; and it seems to be edited with industry and discriminating ability.—*Daily Enquirer*, (Democratic), Richmond, September 20th, 1866.

8.—It pleases us. We like its style of getting up. Many of its papers are selected and prepared from rare historical volumes and manuscripts, and evince care and research. * * The design of this Magazine is good. Its numbers are not only worth reading as they are issued, but valuable to file—*Field and Fireside* (Literary), Raleigh, N. C., September 29th, 1866.

9.—An able and highly valuable periodical. * * The American public owes to Mr. Moore and to Mr. Dawson, the trenchant and most vigilant Editor of this Magazine, its most grateful acknowledgments for their good services in the cause of Justice, History, and Truth.—*The Mercury*, Charleston, February, 1867.

10.—It is worthy of the support of all who are interested in historical truth; and the Editor, Mr. Henry B. Dawson, is in every way admirably well qualified for his position.—*The same paper*, Sept. 4th, 1867.

11.—It makes valuable contributions to the historical literature of the age. It is not the organ of any party or clique, and deserves, we think, the most generous support. * * * The Book Notices also are particularly clever, generally discriminating, and therefore a valuable feature of the Magazine.—*Daily Enquirer and Examiner*, Richmond, Va., August 26th, 1867,

12.—We have watched this periodical with great interest, and have to express our high appreciation of the eminent judgment and general ability with which it is conducted. It deserves the warm support of all the friends of American historical and antiquarian research; and no person claiming special interest in this department of knowledge can afford to do without it. It seems to be managed with the greatest independence, every subject entertained in its pages receiving that calmness and carefulness of consideration which belongs to historical research. We commend this Magazine to the attention of all historical scholars in an especial manner; and to all the cultivated public as well.—*National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C., September 16th, 1867.

13.—The Historical Magazine comes to us freighted with its usual sterling variety of American History and Biography.

Mr. Dawson, the Editor, is as indefatigable as he is judicious and penetrating in his analysis. There are in the present issue no less than eighteen different captions, representing as many different topics, and these, in their turn, representing almost as many different sections of country, all of which appeal, in interest, more or less to the nation at large. We repeat our recommendations to the students of American history, by all means to possess themselves of this valuable periodical.—*Charleston (S. C.) Courier.*

14.—The Historical Magazine, conducted by Henry B. Dawson, of New York, is a monthly, comprising notes and queries concerning the antiquities, history and biography of America. This book is essential to the statesman, the politician, and the historical student. Its collection, already made, of American materials, ancient records, documents, correspondence, etc., is of singular value. Its editor, Mr. Dawson, has greatly distinguished himself as an antiquarian and historical critic, and, with a dissecting process wholly his own, not forbearing the scalping-knife and tomahawk, has served up a goodly host of the humbugs in our history, who, under false pretenses and by the trickeries of certain sections, have acquired a celebrity and a reputation for good performances of which they were wholly innocent. It is delightful to see how deftly he can strip the barn door fowl of all its peacock feathers.—*Southern Society*, Baltimore, Md.

Addenda.

1.—The good opinions that have greeted The Historical Magazine from learned societies and scholars all over the country, are familiar to all who have taken even a moderate interest in the details of American history. The nation's history is crowded with events from its earliest days: it has run through a period so marked by strong opinions, free intelligent criticism of men and ideas, and with these such novel governmental problems have been in process of solution, that the documents illustrative of this history deserve most careful preservation. The collation of these documents, so as to display conflicting opinions with fairness, is the chief duty of an Historical Magazine. Mr. Henry B. Dawson, of Morrisania, who assumed the charge of the Magazine with the new series, is a gentleman whose scholarly acquirements and candor are unquestioned.—*East Brooklyn Gazette*, November. 1867.

2.—We have read a large majority of the articles and find them of exceeding interest, discussing, as do their authors, subjects not only of the past but of the present. Such a magazine is of great value, not only in bringing to light the occurrences of days gone by, but in setting right many controverted points. Historical students are great workers and great controversalists as well.—*Brunswick* (Me.) *Telegraph*, October 4th, 1867.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING THE

ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY, AND BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.

EDITED BY HENRY B. DAWSON.

The twenty-first volume—the first of the Third Series—of this widely known work will be commenced with the number for January, 1872; and the well established reputation which it has secured, among those who are interested in the history of our own country, will be fully sustained, therein.

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HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America.

THIS Magazine was commenced in January, 1857, for the purpose of furnishing a medium of intercommunication between Historical Societies, Authors, and Students of History, and supplying an interesting and valuable journal—a miscellany of American History. On the first of July, 1866, it passed into the hands of the undersigned, by whom it is still conducted, with the support and aid of a large body of intelligent readers and the assistance of the foremost historical writers in the country.

Among the contributors to the past volumes are Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. George Bancroft, Jared Sparks, LL.D., Hon. Peter Force, Hon. James Savage, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Wm. Gilmore Simms, Esq., Henry R. Stiles, M.D., Geo. Gibbs, Esq., Hon. John R. Brodhead, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., Benson J. Lossing, Esq., Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Samuel G. Drake, Esq., Sebastian F. Streeter, Esq., Alfred B. Street, Esq., E. B. O'Callaghan, LL.D., Prof. W. W. Turner, Buckingham Smith, Esq., Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., Brantz Mayer, Esq., Hon. John R. Bartlett, Samuel F. Haven, Esq., Dr. R. W. Gibbs, John W. Francis, M.D., D. G. Brinton, M.D., George H. Moore, Esq., John G. Shea, LL.D., Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., John Ward Dean, Esq., Henry O'Reilly, Esq., Rev. Pliny H. White, Hon. E. E. Bourne, and Hon. Thomas Ewbank.

The volumes already published contain an immense mass of matter relating to American History and kindred studies, such as cannot be found collected elsewhere, rendering it a work absolutely necessary in all libraries. Few historical works now appear that do no acknowledge indebtedness to it.

The Contents of the Historical Magazine may be generally classed under the following heads:

I. Original Papers, involving points of research in historical studies, presenting new facts, or the discussion of Federal and Local topics of interest, in Essays, by writers versed in American History.

II. Collection of Original Letters, Correspondence, Diaries, &c., hitherto unpublished, of Americans of Eminence.

III. Biographical and Obituary Notices of persons distinguished in the service of the country, whether in office, political life, literature, or science.

IV. Accurate reports of the proceedings of the numerous American Historical, Antiquarian, Geographical, Numismatic, and other kindred Societies.

V. Notes and Queries of curious and important topics, new and old, with replies, by a large body of contributors.

VI. Reprints of rare and interesting Tracts, old Poems out of print, &c., &c.

VII. Miscellany and Anecdotes.

VIII. Carefully prepared and impartial Notices of New Books and Engravings, especially those relating to the History, Antiquities, or Biography of America.

IX. Historical and Literary Intelligence, Announcements, &c.

The Historical Magazine is printed on fine quality of paper, similar in form and size to this sheet, and published in monthly numbers, of sixty-four pages each, at FIVE DOLLARS A YEAR. Single numbers SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Morrisania, N. Y.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. Third Series.] AUGUST, 1873. [No. 2.

I.—*REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.*—Continued from Page 12.

From the papers of the late David B. Douglass, LL.D., formerly Captain of Engineers, U. S. A.; communicated by his children, for publication in The Historical Magazine.

LECTURE SECOND.

In the Lecture of last evening, I attempted to give a brief outline of the military operations of the two Campaigns of 1812 and 1813.

My chief object in doing this was to indicate, precisely, the circumstances which gave rise to the Niagara Campaign of 1814, and to show how intimately it was connected with a general plan for the systematic prosecution of the War, in Canada; for there is, probably, no question connected with the military policy of the War, which has been so greatly mystified and misrepresented as this. The reason can easily be made apparent. The disappointments and failures of the preceding Campaign naturally led to great changes in the *personnel* of the Northern Army; and the old officers, who were displaced, scarcely agreeing in anything else, were unanimous in *this*, that those who succeeded them were incapable of doing anything which would reflect the least honor on themselves or their country. The leaven of this ill-feeling was chiefly collected in the large cities; and, symbolizing with political biases of the time, the newspapers, during the Campaign and for a long time after, were busily engaged in disparaging every thing connected with the Army operations, on the northern frontier. The Niagara Campaign, standing conspicuously among these operations, had, of course, its full share in these detractions. It was said to have no motive or plan, consistent with sound military policy: nay, it was diametrically opposed to such a policy—an absurdity in design, only less monstrous than in execution. The allegation to which I alluded, in my former Lecture—that the whole Campaign was the result of a mistake, in the construction of his Orders, on the part of General Brown—is of a piece with these slanders; the whole of which, collectively, it was my intention to expose by the narrative then given. If I have been successful in conveying, to the minds of my audience, a just conception of the facts, as they actually transpired, it will be seen that the Campaign, so memorable, as all admit, for its hard-fought battles, was no mistake; on the contrary, that it was a natural sequence to the operations of 1813; maturely planned, with a wise and judicious reference, not only to the particular object, but to the ulterior prosecution and termination of the War.

The official character in which the speaker is introduced to you demands a word of explanation, as to the relative military duties of the Corps of Engineers.

All military service is distributed under the two general heads of executive and administrative. To the executive, belong all the active, specific military operations—all offensive and defensive movements, manœuvres, battles, and the like, of which the results are given in ordinary military dispatches; and the aggregate force by which these are performed is called the Line of the Army. To the administrative, belong the supply of all the various wants and exigencies of the operative force, their munitions, provisions, means of transport, clothing and pay, their drill, discipline, and inspection, and, generally, whatever is necessary to prepare them for service and keep them in an active, healthy, and efficient condition, as an operative body. The officers assigned to these duties, from the Line of the Army, having a superior responsibility, were generally designated, in the French service, by the word "Major;" and the aggregate of officers, so assigned, was called the "Etat Major"—from which word "Etat," by a slight corruption, is derived our word "Staff." The proper executive and military services of the Army, then, are performed by "the Line" of the Army: the subsidiary, though all important, duties of administration, by "the "Staff."

"The Line" is composed of four different descriptions of troops, called, severally, "arms "of service"—Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery, and

Engineers—differing from each other in their weapons and mode of warfare. The first three need no explanation, in these respects, except as they all differ from the fourth: viz, that, while *their* appropriate weapons are, in every instance, transportable, from place to place, those of the Corps of Engineers are strictly local and fixed. They consist of Intrenchments, Breastworks, Batteries, Ramparts, and the like, erected on the ground where they are to be used, either in the attack or defence of positions. Its *material* is thus the result of its own invention, applied to the circumstances of each particular case, with a knowledge of the powers of all other arms, as well as of its own. In European service, this Corps is generally termed the "*Corps du genie;*" and, in our own *Rules and Articles of War*, its functions are spoken of as connected with the highest branch of military science.

But, besides these executive functions, the duties of the Corps of Engineers are also intimately connected with the military administration, or General Staff, of the Army. In all questions, in which the local facilities and capabilities of ground are concerned—such as the formation of Orders of Battle, the disposition of camps, the attack and defence of positions, the forcible passage of rivers, and, frequently, orders of march—in these and other like questions, the chief agent and counsellor of a Commander is his Corps of Engineers.

Such were the relations in which, more than on any previous occasion of the War, this Corps was recognized and employed in the Campaign of which I am speaking. The two Colonels, McRee and Wood, enjoyed, in a high degree, the confidence of the Commander-in-chief, and were in the councils of every movement and plan; and, it is worthy of remark, to the honor of General Brown, that he was always prompt and explicit in acknowledging his official obligations to them. Under such circumstances, although I was probably the youngest subaltern, save one, in the Army, the department of service with which I was connected, my relations to the General Staff and Head-quarters, and, above all, my confidential intercourse with the Field officers of my Corps, gave me opportunities for the improvement of the Campaign which few officers of my grade could, in any equal degree, have enjoyed. It was my desire, on my arrival at the Quarters of the Army, to have relinquished the command of the Company of Sappers and Miners, distrusting my experience for such a command, in active service; but there was no Engineer officer intermediate in rank between Colonel Wood and myself; and the command being restricted, by law, to the Corps of Engineers, I was obliged to waive my objection. Nor had I reason to repent it, afterwards, as it increased my sphere of responsibility and afforded me many valuable opportunities which I could not otherwise have enjoyed.

The Strait of Niagara, on which the Campaign was fought, demands a momentary notice, before I proceed with my narrative. Its length—from Lake Erie, of which it is the outlet, to Lake Ontario, into which it empties—is about thirty miles; the first seventeen above the Falls being navigable, in connection with Lake Erie, and the last five, below Queenston, in connection with Lake Ontario; the intermediate distance, embracing the Falls and the upper and lower Rapids, is, of course, not navigable. Beginning at the foot of Lake Erie, about a mile and a half above where the Lake is considered as passing into the river, we have, on our side, Buffalo, the place of rendezvous of the Army, before the opening of the Campaign; and, nearly opposite to it, on the Canada side, about three miles distant, Fort Erie. Two miles below Buffalo, on the American side, is the present village of Black Rock; and, about fifteen miles further down, at the head of the Rapids, immediately above the Falls, is the position of the old French trading-post of Fort Schlosser, on our side, and, opposite to it, the little village of Chippewa, at the mouth of the Chippewa-creek, in Canada. From Lake Erie to this point, the river is generally deep and rapid, varying in width from half a mile, at Black Rock, to two miles, at Chippewa; and containing several islands, one of which, called "Grand-island," embraced between two widely diverging channels, contains nearly thirty square miles of surface. From the village of Chippewa to the Falls, following the road, on the Canada side, is about two and a half miles; and half a mile further to Lundy's-lane, the site of the battle. The heights of Queenston, on the Canada side, and of Lewiston, on ours, are about five miles still further down, with the villages of the same names, respectively, immediately below. And, finally, at the confluence of the river with Lake Ontario, five miles below Queenston, are situated Fort George and an outwork called Fort Massisauga, both on the Canada side, and Fort Niagara, on ours.

At the opening of the Campaign, on the third of July, Fort Erie was a small unfinished work, occupied by a garrison of about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty men, commanded by a Major. The American Army, in crossing, was organized in two Divisions, one of which landed above the Fort and the other below, while it was yet dark, on the morning of the third; and having sent a light force of Indians and Volunteers, through the woods, in rear of the work, its pickets were

all driven in, and the Fort itself, after a slight show of resistance, surrendered. An American garrison was then placed in it; and, on the following morning, the advance of the Army, under General Scott, moved down the Niagara and took position, at Street's-creek, about a mile and a half above Chippewa—his front protected by the creek, and his right flank, supported by artillery, resting upon the Niagara—and in this position, he was joined, the same evening, by the Commander-in-chief, with the main body of the Army. General Riall, with a British force, was, at the same time, posted behind a heavy line of intrenchments, below the Chippewa-creek. The situation of the two Armies, then, on the morning of the fifth of July, may be easily apprehended—Chippewa-creek being in front of the British; Street's-creek in front of the Americans; and a level plain, a little more than a mile wide, between the two; bounded by the Niagara-river, on one side, and woods, with occasional patches of low ground, on the other.

The early part of the day passed without any particular hostile movement, on either side. A firing of pickets and scouts occurred, in the woods, on our left, which, a little after noon, became rather spirited; and General Porter was detached, with his Volunteers, about four o'clock, with directions to move, in a circuit, beyond the skirmishing parties, and compel them to retire or, if possible, to intercept them. This he did, as to the movement; but the enemy having obtained notice of his approach, drew back, without his being able to cut them off; and, being strongly reinforced by a corps of embodied Militia and light troops, they presently became, in turn, the attacking party; and the General was compelled to retire.

It soon appeared that the troops, which had thus been thrown forward for the dislodgment of our Volunteers, were a part of the enemy's advance, intended to cover a regular sortie; and that he was now already in motion, across the plain, with his entire force, in order for battle. To receive them, in a becoming manner, General Scott was immediately thrown across Street's-creek, with the First Brigade, consisting of the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-second, and Twenty-fifth Regiments of Infantry and Towson's Artillery—the latter taking post near the river, and the former displaying, in order of battle, to the left, with the extreme left thrown forward. It was all done with the promptness and accuracy of a grand review; and the instant the line was displayed, it was engaged with the enemy. The latter was allowed, however, to deliver his fire, several times, and approach to short point-blank distance, without any return. A tremendous fire was then opened, from the whole of our line, firing with deliberate aim, by word of command—the left, under Colonel Jessup, bearing upon the enemy's right—and, as the enemy were seen to be thrown in some confusion by it, the word was passed to "Cease firing!" "Recover "arms!" and "Charge with the bayonet!"—all which was done with admirable coolness and promptitude, and with an effect which, considering the nature of the troops opposed, it was hardly possible to realize. The columns which had been in full march upon us, but a few moments before, were now, in another brief minute, routed and flying, in uncontrollable disorder, towards the Chippewa.

The coolness and deliberation with which the enemy were received, in this, the first conflict of the Campaign, was a new event for both parties. From ourselves, owing to the circumstances I have mentioned, it has scarcely ever received the commendation to which it was entitled; while British officers, who were in the battle, speak of it in the most enthusiastic terms. "We had "never seen those grey-jackets before," they said. "We supposed it was only a line of Mili-"tia-men; and wondered why you did not run, "at the first fire. We began to doubt, when "we found you stood, firmly, three or four "rounds; and when, at length, in the midst of "our hottest blaze, we saw you 'Port arms' "and advance upon us, we were utterly amazed. "It was clear enough we had something besides "Militia-men to deal with."

General Riall, in his official Report, speaking of the critical point of the action, says, "I im-"mediately moved up the King's Regiment to "the right, while the Royal Scots and the One "hundredth Regiment were directed to charge "the enemy, in front, for which they advanced, "with the greatest gallantry, under a most de-"structive fire. I am sorry to say, however, "in this attempt, they suffered so severely that "I was obliged to withdraw them, finding their "further efforts against the superior numbers of "the enemy would be unavailing." And what was the superiority in numbers? In another part of his Report, he represents the aggregate force, on our side, at six thousand men; having been augmented, he says, by a very large body of troops, immediately before the commencement of the action; whilst his own force, exclusive of Militia and Indians, is stated at fifteen hundred. Before noticing the battle, in any other respect, let us correct these numbers and present the case as it actually occurred. Our entire aggregate force, in Canada, on the day of the battle, was less than three thousand five hundred men. Of these, the Volunteers were engaged in the woods, with about an equal number of the same description of troops, on the part of the enemy; and these, therefore, may be paired off against each

other. A large part of the Artillery was wholly unengaged. General Ripley's Brigade was put in motion, to act on the flank of the enemy, through the woods, and made praiseworthy exertions to do this; but, in point of fact, it did not reach its ground in season, and did not, therefore, take any part in the action. The main battle on *our* part, was fought, then, entirely by General Scott's Brigade and Towson's Artillery, amounting to about one thousand men against one thousand. five hundred. It was a fair trial of nerve and discipline, between these forces; on plain, open ground; without any local advantage or any adventitious circumstance, on either side; and the result was the entire *repulse*, to use no harsher phrase, of the more numerous party.

We claim this result, then, without illiberality, as a fair triumph, on our side; the more signal, as we estimate, highly, the gallantry of the veteran troops opposed to us and the peculiar circumstances under which we met them. Our one thousand, it will be observed, were many of them new in service, and most of them now meeting, for the first time, a disciplined enemy, in the open field. They were hastily displayed, on ground not before occupied by them, with all the moral disadvantage of feeling themselves on the defensive. On the other hand, one thousand, five hundred veteran soldiers, in the highest possible state of discipline—being composed of the Eighth, or King's, Regiment, of the line, the One Hundredth of the line, and the Royal Scots—unsurpassed by any troops in the British Army for bravery or loyalty; the ground chosen, at the option of the British Commander, and with which he was perfectly familiar; and *they*, the assailants. If it had been an appointed combat for trial of strength, between equal parties, what advantage could have been asked, on the adverse side, which was not enjoyed? Yet, with a disparity in the ratio of two to three against us, we were eminently victorious.

The Battle of Chippewa may be called a small affair, and certainly was not, as to the numbers engaged, entitled to the rank of a great battle. It required less generalship, on that account; but the conduct of the troops was, in no respect, inferior; and it is but fair to conclude that the same elements multiplied in any ratio, and as well marshalled, would, with the corresponding disparity of force, have accomplished a similar result. Such was the view taken of it by British officers as well as ourselves. During all the previous Campaigns, no opportunity had occurred so favorable for a trial of strength, in which the victory had not been decidedly on their side, or questionably, at least, on ours. Here there was no room for doubt; the victory against great odds had been fairly won by us, and now, for the first time, during the War, was it felt that the *esprit du corps* of real service and real discipline had been attained.

The Battle of Chippewa was not more remarkable as the exponent of discipline than as the beginning of a new era, in the mutual confidence and esteem of the opposing forces. They greatly mistake who imagine that such encounters provoke anything like personal animosity or vindictiveness, between the parties concerned. Quite the contrary! The sentiment excited in every generous mind is that of respect and esteem for a brave and loyal enemy—the more decided, as those qualities are more distinctly characterized; and, probably, no persons interested in a state of War are so free from every sentiment of personal hostility as the very combatants themselves. The result of this battle, then, was to awaken a new and far more generous intimacy between the two services, if not between the two Nations, than had ever existed before.

The two days following the battle were employed in opening roads and providing the means for crossing the Chippewa, above the village. The British General, seeing the vigor with which these works were advanced, in spite of his attempts to prevent it, and alarmed for his safety, in flank and rear, as soon as the end should be accomplished, hastily broke up his camp, on the seventh, and retreated down the river. On the ninth of the month, General Brown moved forward, with the main body of the Army, and occupied the camp on the plains of Queenston, where I joined, on the tenth, and where, on the eleventh, he was also joined by the Volunteers having charge of the baggage and stores of the Army, who took post on Queenston-heights.

The week following my arrival in camp, though not marked by any movement of consequence, in the operations of the Army, was, to me, a period of the deepest interest. My local position, in the encampment, was designated and occupied, near Head-quarters, in the centre of a vast semi-circle, on the circumference of which were posted thirteen different Regiments, detachments, and Corps. It would be difficult to transfer, to this peaceful hour and place, an adequate impression of the military sights and sounds which gave animation to the scene. The various guards mounting; the drills and parades; the regimental beats and bugle-calls, converging from so many different points, at once; retreat-beating and parade, at sundown; tattoo, at nine o'clock; and, above all, the fine old spirit-stirring reveille of Baron Steuben, at the earliest dawn of day. These beats commenced, generally, with the Regiment on the extreme right; then

the next; the next; and so on; till the whole circumference was one grand chorus of the most thrilling martial music. To some, perhaps, these sounds may be familiar; and a reference to them, in a Lecture, may seem common-place; but few, I presume, who hear me, can have been privileged to hear them in the associations of actual War, in the presence of an enemy, and under circumstances of so much interest as in the case now referred to.

Occasionally, the scene was varied by occurrences of a more particular kind. On the thirteenth of July, a strong reconnoitering party, of several Regiments, with a detachment of Artillery, was seen, under arms, at an early hour in the morning; and, shortly after, moving off, in the direction of Fort George.* A number of officers rode to the heights, to get a view of the scene of action; but, though the smoke of the Artillery was occasionally visible, near Fort George, and a heavy firing heard, the detachment, itself, was hid by the foliage; and we were left in uncertainty as to the nature of the encounter, until its return, at evening. It was then ascertained that the object of the enterprise had been accomplished, the pickets and outposts of the enemy having been beaten back, and the ground examined to within a short distance of the Fort. But the morrow had a tale to tell. The booming of minute-guns, from some battery, on the heights over our heads, and the close roll of the muffled drum, announced the funeral of a General officer, in the camp of the Volunteers—General Swift of the New York Volunteers.

The little Corps of Sappers and Miners, in the mean time, had been armed with a part of the battering-train of artillery; and my own attention was now unceasingly required in distributing and training them for their new duties. From the tenth to the twentieth of the month, with very little intermission, their whole time was employed in the most laborious drills and field-exercises, for which I was fully compensated when the "Marching Order" came out, on the day last mentioned, in contemplating my little Corps, with its long cavalcade, armed, and in complete order, the first in readiness to move.†

The Orders for marching came out on the evening of the eighteenth, but were countermanded, on the following morning. But, on the twentieth, however, the whole force was in motion, at an early hour, in the direction of Fort George; and, at mid-day, we were in position about a mile from the Fort, having our right on the river, and our left thrown back. The distance was so small, that our picket guards, on the right, were nearly in contact with those of the enemy; and, almost immediately after they were posted, a running fire commenced, between the first two and their opponents, which continued, without any long interval, while we lay in that position.*

The day after our arrival, when this firing was more than ordinarily brisk, I was invited by my friend, Colonel Wood, to join him, in a personal reconnoisance, towards the Fort, as a military exercise, for my own benefit; and, having obtained the permission of the Chief Engineer, we mounted and rode towards the outpost. We passed down the high road, leading to the Fort, under cover of an intervening piece of woods,

* The object of a reconnoisance, is to obtain information as to the enemy's position, and force, and disposition, and intentions, and the local resources of the country. This may be accomplished, with sufficient accuracy, under certain circumstances, by only one or two individuals. But, at other times, the object of the reconnoisance can only be obtained by using a heavy detachment, like the one mentioned above.—*Major Douglass.*

† "The whole Army was put under marching orders, "last evening, to move, very early, this morning; and the "Bombardiers had the honor to be the first in readiness, "being ready to strike their tents before reveille. The "tents were struck about seven o'clock, throughout the "camp. I had all my drivers mounted and every man at "his post, from that time till near eleven, when an Order "came to re-encamp. The marching order is renewed, "this evening; and the same scene is to be acted over "again, to-morrow morning, only with a different catas-"trophe."—*Letter, by Lieutenant Douglass, dated July 19th*, 1814.

July 20th. "It is morning, and one Brigade has just "moved off. It was a glorious sight. The Heavy Artil-"lery will probably move in the course of an hour, and, "with it, of course, my own Corps, and then follows the "remainder of the Army. I wish you could see my pres-"ent line of march. It consists of two very long and "heavy eighteen-pounders, drawn by six horses each; "two caissons, drawn by four horses each; two shot-"wagons, drawn by four horses each; and two two-horse "wagons, loaded with implements and camp equipage. "I have also a good horse for myself."—*Letter from Lieutenant Douglass, July* 20, 1814.

* In the arrangements of a camp, in the vicinity of an enemy, small detachments of Infantry or Cavalry, called "Pickets," are thrown out, at various points, beyond the line of the camp sentinels. These pickets are often again divided into small parties, which are thrown still further forward, and which may again be sub-divided into individual guards. In this method, the whole range of country, for one, two, or three miles, in every direction, may be completely under the surveillance of a military encampment. Desertions are prevented; the enemy's reconnoitering parties are intercepted; and, should the enemy appear in force, timely notice is given for his proper reception, while, at the same time, various annoyances may be employed for his obstruction. In the case of a forced reconnoisance, a very strong detachment is sometimes required to beat in these pickets.—*Major Douglass.*

near which our picket No. 1 was posted. As we approached this, we discovered that the firing was chiefly at the second picket, about two hundred yards to the left; and, crossing the fences, we came out into the open fields, in rear of that position, having no longer the cover of woods but the Fort, in full view, before us, at the distance of about half a mile. The field in which we were was full of stumps and trunks of trees, behind which, on the side nearest the Fort, our picket-guard was sheltered; and the next field, in the direction of the Fort, of the same character, was similarly occupied by the picket of the enemy. They were pretty closely engaged, and, of course, our appearance, on horseback, gave increased animation to the fire, on both sides—our picket endeavoring to drive their opponents and divert their attention from us; while the British, on their side, were equally endeavoring to get the best positions and the best aim for hitting us. We, ourselves, kept apart and in motion, moving irregularly, with our eyes chiefly directed upon the Fort; and, though the balls whistled around us, in great numbers, it so happened, miraculously, as I then thought, that neither of us was hit.*

My attention was presently diverted by my companion calling to me, in a hurried manner, to "*Keep back!*" as they were manœuvering a gun upon us. "Don't let them take us in range," he said; and, raising my eyes to the Fort, it was easy to see that they were preparing to fire. They did not do so, however, probably thinking it not worth while to waste a shot upon either of us, singly; and, after a few moments further delay, we returned to picket No. 1. Here, it was our intention to reconnoitre through the woods; and a couple of videttes having crept cautiously forward, with guns cocked, to see that no lurking foe was secreted in the bushes, we were enabled to penetrate nearly through the coppice. We then betook ourselves to the trees, climbing till we could just see the Fort, at the distance of about seven hundred yards, over the foliage; and, having completed our observations, in about twenty minutes, without interruption, we returned quietly to camp.

An attempt was made by the enemy, in the course of the same day, to reconnoitre us, from the tops of a small schooner which stood a little way up the river, for that purpose. A battery being formed to open upon them, and a fire kindled for heating shot in rear, they became alarmed and immediately dropped down again to their ordinary anchorage. A slight alarm, raised on one of the pickets, on the following morning, brought us to our feet in apprehension of an attack. It amounted to nothing, in fact; but, as it was near daylight, when it occurred, we continued under arms till morning.

On the morning of the twenty-second, we broke up our camp, at Fort George, and moved back again to Queenston; occupying the heights, this time, with the village of Queenston, on the plain, below, as an outpost. My own particular position, in this case, was on the brow of the hill, precisely at the spot since occupied by Brock's monument; and, here, as the view was very commanding, the Staff-officers, particularly the two Colonels of Engineers, were in the habit of making their rendezvous and employing much of their time, during our continuance at that place, in sweeping the horizon of the lake with their glasses. It was the expectation that the fleet might make its appearance, and bring with it an additional supply of battering-guns and other ammunitions, for the attack of the Forts or, possibly, the plan of a combined attack upon Kingston, for which the time appeared not unfavorable.

I allude to this expectation, on our part, as a fact, connected with the operations of the Campaign, and far from intending any reflection as to the grounds upon which it was built or the circumstances which prevented its being realized. No two Commanders, during the War, establish-

* The passing remarks of the lecturer were, we are assured, almost literally the following: "Perhaps you "would like to know how I *felt* when, for the first time, "I heard the balls whistling about me. I have no objec- "tion to telling you. I have heard of a Spaniard who "said he never knew what fear was. Such was not "the case with me. I should like to have had a strong "stone-wall between me and the enemy, for I expected "to be either killed or wounded; and I certainly did not "want to be either. When the close *whit* of the balls "was particularly sharp and spiteful, I could hardly avoid "putting up my finger, with the impression that the tip "of my ear, at least, must have been touched.

"I may remark, by the way, that many observations "have convinced me how great a mistake it is to imagine "that courage, in a high sense, consists merely in insensi- "bility to danger. So far from this being the case, I af- "firm that true courage may be consistent, not only with "the knowledge, but even with the apprehension, of "danger. The courage, so called, which is utterly blind "to danger, is of a lower order of qualities. It is rather "of a character with the courage of a brute animal, who "does not know nor consider the extent of the opposition "which he shall meet with, and is, certainly, in this re- "spect, insensible to fear. But I am tempted to say that "the man who never knew what fear was, could neither, "on the other hand, realize the greatness of courage. "That is true courage, which advances, in the very face "of danger, even to the cannon's mouth—*not* ignorantly, "but with a full view of all the hazards and responsibili- "ties of the position; *not* because there is no sense of "peril, but because all individual and personal consider- "ations are thrown aside, for the higher claims of a man- "ly responsibility in the path of duty, where *only* true "honor lies."

ed higher claims to the esteem and gratitude of their country, than Commodore Chauncey and General Brown; for no two men, within the circle of my own personal intercourse, had I a more entire esteem and regard, while living, or to their memories a more profound respect, when dead. They differed in their views of this co-operation; and who will doubt that, in so doing, *both* of them were guided by pure and patriotic motives? *They*, at least, entertained no such doubt; and, though a temporary cloud did come over their intercourse, at the time, it was dissipated, immediately after the War, and they continued in uninterrupted intimacy and friendship, as long as they both lived.

We remained in our position, on Queenston-heights, until the morning of the twenty-fourth, at which time the expectation of the fleet and every mode of co-operation, in that quarter, was given up. In a conversation, on the preceding morning, I was apprised that the plan of our future operations was about to be changed; the attack upon Fort Niagara and Fort George to be abandoned, for the present; and an attempt made to intercept the enemy's line of communication, round the head of Lake Ontario, by an attack upon Burlington-heights: which, if once occupied by us, and the Lake *also* in our possession, would isolate General Riall's Army, with the forts, and place them, virtually, at our disposal. The execution of this plan, with due caution and effect, made it necessary for a better connection with our depot at Buffalo, to fall back, temporarily, from Queenston-heights to Chippewa; and this movement was accordingly made, on the twenty-fourth, and the ground occupied, on the South side of the Chippewa, fronting northward, with the village in advance.

Such was the state of things, when the circumstances which led to the Battle of Lundy's-lane intervened, and gave a new relation to all our affairs. After the Battle of Chippewa, and during the time we had been manœuvering on Fort George, General Riall had retired, up the lake, in the direction of Burlington-heights and, there, intrenched himself, at Twelve-mile-creek; but having recently received reinforcements, and learning, as we afterwards found out, that a large addition to his force was at hand, under the command of Lieutenant-general Drummond, he advanced from his secure position, and began, again, to hover in our neighborhood; and, on the twenty-fifth, in the morning, one of his advanced parties was discovered by our picket-guard, in the vicinity of the Falls.

It was on the afternoon of that day—a fine July day, not excessively hot—between five and six o'clock. The Sappers and Miners had just been dismissed from drill. My attention was called to a column, in the act of moving out from the encampment of the First Brigade. My own encampment was on the bank of Chippewa-creek, at the South end of the bridge, between the high-road and the river. As the column approached the bridge, my good friend, Colonel Wood, rode up to me, with a countenance of unusual animation, and gave me an opportunity of learning its object. "The Brit-"ish," he said, "are understood to be crossing "the Niagara, at Queenston, and threatening "a dash up the river, on that side. They are "also in movement, on this side. We wish to "find out what their dispositions are; and the "detachment before us, under the command of "General Scott, is ordered to make a reconnois-"ance and create a diversion, should circum-"stances require; and, if we meet the enemy, "we shall probably feel his pulse." "May I "go with you?" said I. "If McRee will let "you," he replied. Having obtained the approbation of the Chief Engineer, I mounted; and, joining him, we rode forward to the front of the vanguard.

We had proceeded nearly three-fourths of the distance from Chippewa to the Falls without any particular incident, when, in passing round a small coppice of woods, we came in sight of an old dwelling-house, the residence of Mrs. Wilson. There was a number of Cavalry-horses, in the yard, caparisoned and holstered, with one or two mounted Dragoons attending; and, almost at the instant our eyes fell upon them, eight or ten British officers stepped, hastily, from the house and mounted their horses. Some of them rode away briskly; but three or four, after mounting, faced towards us, and surveyed us with their glasses. An elderly officer, of dignified and commanding mien, stationed himself in the middle of the road, a little in advance of his companions, and coolly inspected the head of our column, as it came in sight. They waited until we had approached within perhaps two hundred and fifty yards; and then retreated, slowly, with their glasses scarcely withdrawn, until the leading officer, closing his glass, waived, with his hand, a military salute, which was promptly returned by us, as they all wheeled and rode swiftly away.

During this time, bugle signals were passed, hurriedly, in various directions, through and beyond the woods, to the distance, apparently, of about half a mile beyond the house. Colonel Wood and myself being a little in advance, were first met, at the door, by Mrs. Wilson, who exclaimed, with well-affected concern, "Oh, Sirs! if you had only come a little sooner "you would have caught them all." "Where "are they, and how many?" we asked. "It "is General Riall," she said, "with eight hun-

"dred Regulars, three hundred Militia and "Indians, and two pieces of artillery." General Scott then rode up, with his Staff, and, dismounting, the group of officers entered the house and closely interrogated the woman. When she had given all the information which could be elicited, the eye of the General ran round the circle until it rested upon the person of, perhaps, the most youthful officer present. "Would you be willing to return to camp, Sir?" said he. Not aware of the purport of these words, and doubtful, in my inexperience, whether or no the General wished to test my disposition to sustain the hazard of a conflict, I remained silent. Colonel Wood, however, noticed my embarrassment, and immediately relieved me, by introducing me and saying, "Lieutenant Douglass will, no doubt, be happy "to bear your commands to General Brown." "Very well, Mr. Douglass, return, immediately, "to camp, and tell General Brown that I have "met with a detachment of the enemy, under "General Riall, numbering eight hundred Reg- "ulars, three hundred Militia and Indians, and "two pieces of artillery, and shall engage it, in "battle." I mounted and rode off; but, before I turned the angle of the road, the troops were already beating down the fences and preparing for action.

As I spurred my wearied and foaming horse, over the bridge, at Chippewa, I heard the distant sound of the first firing; and, upon entering the camp, I found myself the object of general and anxious attention. Riding, directly, towards the quarters of the Commander-in-chief, I soon perceived General Brown and Colonel McRee listening to the reports, with very earnest attention. The General led the way to his marque, without a word; then turning—"*Well, Sir?*" "I left General Scott at "Mrs. Wilson's. He desired me to say that he "has met with a detachment of the enemy, "under General Riall, numbering eight hundred "Regulars, three hundred Militia and Indians, "and two pieces of artillery." "*And this fir-* "*ing?*" interposed the General. "General "Scott said that he should immediately engage "with the enemy," I replied. After a few words and comments, with Colonel McRee, Generals Ripley and Porter were instantly ordered to advance and support General Scott. Colonel McRee directed me to return to the field, obsreving that he would soon follow me; and, in this expectation, I resolved to put myself on the *qui vive* for him, there.

It must have been at least a quarter past eight, for it was quite dark, when I approached the field of battle, on my return from camp. A little beyond Mrs. Wilson's house—which was brilliantly lighted up, for the accommodation of wounded men—I found the road diverging strongly to the left, through a piece of woods, after passing which, it again inclined to the right; but, directly forward, in front of the opening, there could be traced the dim outline of a hill, occupied by a battery of the enemy's artillery, in full play. It was very easy to see that there were more than two pieces. Several of the shots raked through the opening of the road. They appeared, generally, to pass over my head; but, occasionally, the limbs of trees were cut off by them, and dropped in the way. Here and there, I met parties returning with wounded men. Arriving at the open ground, I discovered the principal part of General Scott's Brigade, on the left of the road, actively engaged with what appeared to be the right wing of the enemy; and I accordingly turned and rode down, in rear of the line, in that direction, nearly to its left; but, not perceiving the officers I was in quest of, and observing, at the same time, some movements on the extreme right, which I had not before noticed, I turned and rode, in that direction, in expectation of finding them, there. As I reached the road, however, one of General Brown's Aids met me, in quest of General Scott; and, soon after, Colonel McRee came up, riding alone, at speed, and it was understood that General Brown and his Staff were not far behind.

"Come," said the Colonel, "let us see what "these fellows are doing;" and, instead of riding down to the left, where the Infantry of the line were chiefly engaged, he spurred forward towards the British battery, to reconnoitre the field. It was now quite dark; but the firing of musketry indicated, plainly enough, the position and extent of the lines engaged; and, having examined these, with great animation, he drew up, at last, at the foot of the knoll on which the battery was posted. After contemplating it, for a few minutes, he turned to me, and raising his hand, he said, with his peculiar emphasis, "That hill is the key of the position, "and must be taken;" and immediately led the way, to meet General Brown.

The General was already near at hand, and rode to the field, in company with the Chief Engineer, who expressed his opinion to him, in the same terms as to me, and entered somewhat more fully into the explanation of them. In the mean time, Colonel Wood joined them, and informed me, a few minutes after, that arrangements had been made to detach the Twenty-first Regiment, under its gallant Colonel, Miller, to storm the height.

I am particular to mention all these circumstances, because the question has been mooted as to who originated the charge upon the British battery, at Lundy's-lane; and particular at-

tempts have been made to attribute the suggestion of this movement to General Ripley. It is, in my view, a subordinate question, altogether; yet, in point of fact, I believe I am correct in saying that it was first suggested to the mind of the Commander-in-chief by Colonel McRee. The storming of the height had been fully discussed and arranged before General Ripley arrived. It was probably ten minutes after all this, before the head of the Second, (General Ripley's) Brigade arrived, through the opening of the woods, on the scene of action; and the order being then taken, the Twenty-first immediately took up its position for storming the height.*

And now a word for the Twenty-first and its Colonel, Miller. Colonel Miller—now the venerable General James Miller, for I am happy to say his life is still spared to us—was a rare union of personal excellency of character with a strength and firmness of mind and body, seldom surpassed even in his own Granite State. He had been long in service, having joined the Army with the old Fourth Regiment, under Colonel Boyd, and had been seasoned in every Campaign, from Tippecanoe, downwards. His Regiment was somewhat of the same character with himself; raised, chiefly, in his native State, and devotedly attached to him; and in a fine state of discipline. A better selection, therefore, could not have been made, for the arduous duty of storming the British battery.

The reply made by him, when it was proposed, was quite characteristic. "Colonel Miller," said the officer, "will you please to form up "your Regiment and storm that height?" He raised his herculean form and fixed his eye, for an instant, intently upon the battery: then turning his bit of tobacco, with great sang froid, he replied, with a significant nod, "I'll try, Sir! "Attention—the Twenty-first!" and, immediately, led away this Regiment in the direction required.* The other Regiments of the Second Brigade filed along the road and halted, as a right wing to General Scott's Brigade; and, in this direction, the group of officers, with whom I was, moved, also, to avoid being brought in range when the assault upon the battery should take effect. Meantime, the Twenty first was moved forward, silently and cautiously, but in perfect order, to a fence on the slope of the hill, about forty or fifty yards from the battery, behind which it drew up, in line; and, after pouring one well-directed volley into the battery, they pushed the fence flat before them, and rushed forward with the bayonet. The whole was the work of an instant; the hill was completely cleared of the enemy, in almost as little time as I have been narrating it, and the battery was ours.

Our troops then moved forward, on the right and left, and formed, in Order of Battle, on precisely the ground occupied by the British, at the commencement of the action, only fronting in the opposite direction and having the captured battery in rear. This formation was completed a little after, perhaps half-past, ten. A new moon, which had given a little light, in the early part of the evening, had now gone down; and it was quite dark. Indeed, we had, at no time, after my return from camp, light enough to see the face of our enemy; but it was very evident, from his fires, that he was vastly more numerous than had been represented to us, by Mrs. Wilson; and this we shall be able to account for, presently, by the exhibition of his own Official Report. For the present, it was sufficient for us, that, whatever his numbers were, we had gained possession of his ground; and, although there was no reason to suppose that we should long enjoy it, without opposition, the successful issue of the battle, thus far, gave great animation and confidence to the troops; and enabled them to prepare, with cool-

* From the rough draft of a letter from the author to the late Hon. John Armstrong: "It will perhaps appear "strange to you that a statement bearing, as you will "perceive, in many of its particulars, upon some of the "questions touching that battle—by which the service "and the community were so much excited, in the year "1815—should have escaped all the investigations of that "period and be now, for the first time, communicated as "matter of history. I will, however, explain this circumstance. I was probably the youngest officer in service, "if not in age, in the Battle of Bridgewater; and, feeling "my position to be that of a pupil, it did not occur to "me that anything which was seen or heard by me, in "that battle, was equally, if not better, known to my "superiors in rank.

"It happened, moreover, that the particular agency assigned to me, at the eve of the battle, was not stated in "the Official Reports, either of General Scott or of General Brown. Colonel Jones was named as the officer by "whom the first intelligence from the field was brought "to the latter; and, my name not being mentioned, I was "never called upon as a witness. The omission, if it deserves to be called by so serious a name, was not, at the "time, considered as of any importance. Before it was "known, the Campaign had already furnished occasions "of higher consideration to myself, personally; and no "motive then existed for calling the attention of those "esteemed commanders to it. After the controversies to "which I have alluded, I regretted not having done so; "but it was then too late to be of use; and the subject "was again suffered to sleep."

* It is said that Colonel Miller, himself, first advanced, cautiously, up the hill, alone, to reconnoitre the ground; and, then, returning, gave the necessary directions to his Regiment.—*Major Douglass.*

ness and determination, for the terrible conflict that awaited them.

They were yet but imperfectly formed, on their new ground, when the enemy re-appeared, in great force, as the assailant; and, after a few sharp vollies, given and received, the two lines closed in a desperate conflict with the bayonet.

The bayonet, you can well conceive, is a potent weapon, on the side of high discipline and strong nerves, and, especially, when united with the characteristic determination of the British soldier. The charge of bayonet is not often used, except as a last resort; and then seldom goes beyond the mere crossing of the weapons—one or the other party then breaks or retires. But it was not so, in this instance. It was maintained, on both sides, with an obstinacy of which the history of war furnishes few examples; and, finally, resulted in the second repulse of the enemy. A succession of similar charges—sometimes repelled by counter attacks, upon the flanks of the assailing party, and sometimes by the fire of musketry, in front, in volleys perfectly deafening—were continued, in rapid succession, for nearly an hour, with the same result; until the enemy, having suffered very severely, and wearied with the obstinacy of the combat and hopeless of success, abstained from further attacks, and left us in undisputed possession of the field.

In the meantime, in consequence of wounds received by General Brown and General Scott, the command had devolved upon General Ripley, who, after the termination of the battle, retained quiet possession of the field, for about an hour; and then retired, without the slightest molestation, to the encampment. In one particular only was this movement to be regretted. We had not brought off the captured artillery; and, upon this ground alone, can our antagonist, with any plausibility, dispute with us the palm of this victory.

About the time of the enemy's second attempt to dispossess us of our position, I had been directed to return to camp and prepare my command for action, in case they should be required on the following day. Before leaving the height, I rode around, for the second or third time, among those pieces, to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing and handling them. They were eight in number—brass guns, of the most beautiful model, of different calibres, from six to twenty-four pounders. Not the slightest apprehension came over my mind that I should not, on the following morning, see them all drawn up, on the Camp Parade, at Chippewa; and, even with this assurance, I parted from them not with out some reluctance. What, then, think ye, was the bitterness of my disappointment and regret, when I found, on the morning of the twenty-sixth, that the guns had been *left on the field*. Such, however, was the fact. In the absorbing interest of the strife, no one seems to have thought of providing means for getting off or destroying this artillery; and the omission was unfortunately not discovered until it became too late to remedy it.

Irrespective of this circumstance, however, the immediate issue of the battle was in the highest degree honorable and glorious to the American arms. It had been sustained by about five hours hard fighting, and against what disparity let us now examine by a reference to the British official account. It appears that, almost at the moment of commencing the action, General Riall, whose force may have been previously not far from that stated by Mrs. Wilson, had been joined by Lieutenant-general Drummond, with an addition of about one thousand veteran troops, making, with Riall's force, an aggregate of one thousand, eight hundred Regulars, besides three or four hundred Militia and Indians, which are known to have been in this part of the battle; and this was the state of the field, on the British side, from the beginning of the battle until about nine o'clock. On our side, during the same time, it was contested by General Scott's Brigade only, with a small detachment of Artillery, amounting in all to about eight hundred and fifty, say nine hundred, effective men. About nine o'clock, both armies were simultaneously reinforced—ours, by the Brigade of General Ripley, a part of Porter's Volunteers, and some Artillery, in all about thirteen hundred men; that of the enemy by the One hundred and third and One hundred and fourth Regiments, with the balance of the Royal Scots, amounting, by the statement of General Drummond, to about fourteen hundred Regulars, in all—and, as near as can be estimated, the state of the field, including the killed and wounded of the previous fighting, was then a little less than four thousand, on the part of the British, against, at the utmost, not more than twenty-five hundred, on our side; and such it continued to be, through all the subsequent strife, to the end of the battle.

Again; as to the character of the troops and the nature of the position occupied by them. Three of the British Regiments had been detailed from the Peninsular Army; and the others were, probably, not surpassed, in discipline, by any troops of the British service. Being previously on the ground, they were enabled to select their own position, and secure to themselves every local advantage; and it was in the position thus chosen and occupied, that we attacked them. Yet, under all these circumstances—superiority of numbers and position, veteran service, expe-

rience, discipline, and *esprit de corps*—his left wing was driven back, with great loss, at the first onset; his right wing only for a time saved from the same fate, by the commanding influence of his battery and the strong position of his light troops, in the woods. Finally, in the second stage of the battle, his battery, the key of his position, was stormed and taken; his whole re-inforced line driven back; his own position occupied and held by us, in spite of the most determined efforts to retake it: and still held in undisputed possession, for nearly two hours, after those efforts had ceased. Will any one say that this was not a victory?

In the darkness of the night, it is true, we lost sight of the captured artillery; but that event can, in no degree, affect the historic reality of the enemy's complete repulse. It is easily accounted for, by the peculiar circumstances under which the battle was fought and the absorbing interest of the fight. The guns would have been a gratifying evidence of the result; but they are not the only evidence. The facts, as I have stated them, are corroborated by abundant testimony; and the absence of these trophies no more invalidates such testimony, than the absence of an incidental memorandum would impair the validity of a contract or a title similarly avouched.*

The British commander, in accounting for the length and severity of the conflict, quoted the force opposed to him at five thousand men, and gave us credit for a more than ordinary share of gallantry, on that estimate. "It cannot escape "observation," says the annalist of *Dodsley's Annual Register*, in speaking of this battle, "that, although British valour and discipline "were *finally* triumphant, the improvement of "the American troops, in these qualities, was "eminently conspicuous." Such is the language of British historians, on the supposition that our force was five thousand strong. What should be the language of impartial history, when it is verified that we were, in fact, less

* The following correspodence will not be without interest in this connection. It is referred to, in a marginal note of the lecturer, and is well authenticated:

"Head Quarters Buffalo,
"July 29, 1815.

"To Brig'r Gen Porter &
"Brig'r Gen Miller,
"Gentlemen:

"Not a doubt existing on my "mind that the Enemy were defeated and driven from "the field of battle, on the 25th July last, near the Falls "of Niagara, leaving us in peaceable possession of all his "Artillery, I have, on all occasions, so stated.

"Learning that some diversity of opinion has appeared "upon this subject, so interesting to the Army, I have to "request of you, Gentlemen, to state your views regarding "it. You remained on the Field after I had left it, and "know if the Enemy did or did not appear when our "Army marched off, or if a gun was fired, for a consider-"able time before the Army moved, upon its taking up "the line of March, or on its way to Camp.

"I do not enquire of you who were the heroes of the "day, or which of the Corps particularly distinguished "themselves. But I call upon you to vindicate the fair "and honest fame of the Army which has done so much "to exalt our National character. Do not permit its rep-"utation to be tarnished by the faults or follies of its "Commanders. The victory was achieved by Americans "over the best troops of Britain; and the fact being es-"tablished is all that concerns the honor of the country or "the glory of her arms.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"Jac. Brown."

"Buffalo, 29th July, 1815.

"Sir:

"In answer to your letter of this date, we have no "hesitation in saying that, in our opinion, the character of "every incident attending the battle of Niagara Falls, "and particularly the mode of its termination, exhibits "clear and unequivocal evidence that it resulted in a de-"cided victory on the part of the American Army.

"We found the enemy in possession of a commanding "eminence, in the centre of open and extensive fields, "without any woods, ravines, or other cover sufficiently "near to favour an attack, and supported by a Battery of "9 pieces of field ordnance. From this position they "were driven at the point of the Bayonet, with the loss "of all his Artillery. After our Army had possessed itself "of their position and Artillery, the Enemy received rein-"forcements, and made not less than three deliberate, "well-arranged, and desperate charges to regain them: in "each of which he was driven back in confusion, with the "loss of many prisoners; but the darkness of the night "and the surrounding woods did not permit our Army to "avail itself, as it might, under other circumstances, of "these repeated successes. The Battle commenced a "little before sunset and terminated a little before or "near eleven o'clock. After the Enemy appeared, the last "time, they exhibited evidences of great confusion by "distant scattering firing in the woods; and our Troops "were drawn up, in great order, on the field of Battle, "forming three sides of a hollow square, with the whole "of our own and the Enemy's Artillery in the centre.

"In this situation we remained for more than an hour, "and in our opinion the Troops were in a condition to act "with more decisive effect than at any former period of "the contest. During this interval, we do not recollect to "have heard a gun, or seen any other indication of the "Enemy being near us; and at the close of it the Army "retired slowly to camp, without any molestation by, or "the appearance of, a foe. We left on the field the Ene-"emy's Artillery and other trophies of Victory, which "were, at the time of our leaving it, and had been for a "long time before, in our undisputed possession.

"We are, Sir, very respectfully
"Your obt Servants
"Peter B Porter.
"James Miller.

"To Maj Gen'l Brown."

than half that number? And yet there have not been wanting Americans!—shall I not say *recreant* Americans?—who, for the gratification of their personal malevolence, have defamed and disparaged this battle, in almost every particular.

"The darkness of the night, during this extraordinary conflict," I quote, in part, the language of General Drummond, "occasioned several uncommon incidents—gunners' implements and accoutrements were interchanged; British guns limbered up on American limbers, and vice versa." Corps sometimes intermingled friends and enemies, in the strangest confusion. In one instance, a line was seen forming up, in order of battle, supposed to be one of our own Regiments; and an American Staff-officer, riding close up, inquired "What Regiment is that?" "The Royal Scots, Sir," was the prompt reply. It was by an error similar to this, that General Riall and his whole Staff fell into the hands of the Twenty-fifth Regiment.*

A few minutes before Miller's attack upon the British battery, I was in company with a large number of Staff-officers, in the road, near his right flank, waiting the result. We were nearly in the position which had been occupied, in the early part of the battle, by the British Forty-first. A non-commissioned officer, whose badges and uniform I could not, of course, see, approached me, and with the appropriate salute, recovering his musket, said: "Lieutenant-colonel Gordon begs to have the three hundred men, who are stationed in the lane, below, sent to him, as quick as possible, for he is very much pressed." He was beyond arms-length, and I affected not to hear him distinctly; whereupon he came nearer and repeated the message. Much to his astonishment, I seized his musket and drew it over my horse's neck. The man could not comprehend the action. "And what have I done, Sir? I'm no deserter. "God save the King, and dom the Yankees."

It was past twelve o'clock, at night, when I arrived in camp, and proceeded to make the necessary preparation for the anticipated duties of the following day. To this end, my own little encampment was changed from the bank of the Niagara to a more commanding position, on the left; my guns placed regularly in battery; the furniture, equipments, and munitions inspected and arranged, for instant service; and, in this attitude, we bivouacked for the night.

The din of battle had ceased, for some time, when the troops returned from the field and, immediately, betook themselves to the rest and refreshment of which it may be supposed they stood greatly in need. In consequence of the omission to bring off the captured artillery and the deep regret universally felt, on that account, orders were presently issued, by General Brown, to return, with as little delay as possible, to the field; and, at a very early hour, therefore, part of the troops were again in motion, for this purpose.* The inevitable delays of that movement, however, were such, that the enemy were found already posted on a strong position, near the Falls, when our troops arrived in that neighborhood; and, finding from some prisoners, that further reinforcements had arrived, during the night, General Ripley, after skirmishing with the out-posts, till about eleven o'clock, returned slowly to camp.

[To be Continued.]

* General Riall, with his Staff, was captured by one of Major Jessup's flanking parties, under Captain Ketchum.

It is said that an Aid of General Riall, mistaking the Company for British soldiery, and observing that they obstructed the way, called out, "Make room there, men, for "General Riall." At which Captain Ketchum, seeing a party follow the officer, at the distance of a few horse lengths, promptly responded, "Aye, Aye, Sir;" and suffered the Aid to ride quietly on. As the General, with his Staff, approached, they found the passage intercepted by an armed force, which closed instantly upon them, with fixed bayonets; their bridles were seized; and they were politely requested to dismount. "What does all this "mean?" said the astonished General. "You are prisoners, Sir," was the answer. "But I am General Riall!" he said. "There is no doubt, on that point," replied the Captain; "and I, Sir, am Captain Ketchum, of the United "States Army."

The General, seeing that resistance was useless, quietly surrendered, remarking, in a kind of half soliloquy, "Captain Ketchum! Ketchum! Well! you *have* caught us! "sure enough!"

II.—*AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.*—

Continued from Page 32.

By Ethan Allen, Esqr.

Section IV.

Of the natural impossibility of our acting, both necessarily, and freely, in the same action, and at the same time, and of the confusion which attends our reasoning from false analogy.

From the preceeding reasonings, on the nature and agency of the human soul, we may discern, that many perplexing questions may arise, rela-

* There were upwards of seven hundred effective men in camp, whose services in the field of Lundy's lane had not been called for, and who did not even *see* the action.

tive thereto, and though our researches, and critical examinations into its essence, and manner of action, may be more or less imbarrassed, in consequence of the weakness of many, and the sophestry of a comparative few; yet it ought not to militate against the reality of our being free agents, any more than against our cogitative and conscious existence, for if a conscious intuition of the existence of the soul is to be relied on, the Intuitive knowledge of our agency is likewise to be depended on, as before argued.

In our disquisition on the subject of human agency, we have frequently made use of two words, where one (to the learned) would have done without the other, the more clearly, and unexceptionably to be intelligable to readers in general, to wit, *free agent*, or *liberty of agency*, or *power of agency*, Those who are versed in language and logic, well know, that agency implies the liberty of agency, and that agent, implies a power of agency, or action. Agency likewise implies a being, or agent, in whom it inheres, or is united, from whose power action is exerted or suspended, in short, agency (in man,) implies or includes the Idea of a power, which is compitent to act, or not act, within the circle of its capacity of action, or agency, or as applicable to the objects of it, and those of mankind only, who have such a power, are truly agents (or accountable creatures,) and if agents, free, since liberty is essential to agency, and agency to an agent, in whom it inheres or is united, so that logically speaking, the words *free agent*, or *power of agency*, does not enlarge or alter the definition of the word agent, as the Ideas of freedom, liberty, and power, are necessarily included in our complex Idea of an agent, and are the constituant parts of its being. Free agency is therefore (strictly speaking) tautology, it is the same as agency, agency. Abstract the Idea of freedom from an agent, and it would cease to be one. The point therefore in dispute, is resolved into this single question, to wit, whether we are agents or not. It is however my opinion, that in logical and close reasoning, we had better use some tautology, of both words and Ideas, than such conciseness as would not be clearly explanitory, to the majority of readers. The flowery stile of oration, would be very improper, for the investigation of the abstruce parts of Science, or to make new discoveries therein, though it is pleasing to the fancy, and accelerating to the passions like poetry or music, when it is juditiously displayed, on those kind of subjects, for which it is calculated. We will now return to our subject, which demands strong plain language and Ideas. By comparing the sensless part of the creation with the moral, we shall easily perceve that there is an obvious difference between them, the former is by nature incogitative, and the latter intelligent and conscious. The solar system does not move, but is moved, it has not the power of spontaneous motion or action, but its orbits are mechanically and involuntarily actuated, and their motions periodically regulated, by the superintending power of the universe; for they are sensless and passive, and have their being and Order, merely for the subserviency of moral beings. Omnipotent power could not govern moral agents, (or beings,) by such absolute unconditional and necessary laws, as those that actuate the stupid solar system, since agency is essential to them, as long therefore as moral beings retain their nature, they must retain their agency, and as long as inanimate and sensles beings, retain theirs, they must be incapable of it, and therefore if moved at all, it must be done by something that is not inherent in themselves, as they are void of understanding and volition, and consequently of the power of spontaneous action.

Hence it is that God could not [] that the Ideas which the generality of mankind connect with the word *plenum*, are the same which they connect with solidity, and as absolute solidity would (if true,) preclude all motion, they have therefore inferred (most commonly) the impossibility of a plenum; which if solid (as they suppose it must be,) would not only preclude motion in itself, but exclude all manner of existence but itself, whether of God, man, angel, or spirit, and render all our notions of alloy, mixture and temperature delusory and false. And it must be acknowledged, that the foregoing inference would be Just, provided a plenum and a solidity were identically the same. But a universe of inconceivable kinds and varieties of specific entity; both cogitative and incogitative, together with such sort of entity as comes within the notice of our senses, may and must needs be replete with entity of one kind or other; and consequently constitue a plenum, for this plain reason, because any premised vacuum either great or small, if it exists at all, must exist of something which is, as nonentity cannot constitute a vacuum, and if a vacuum exists of substance however imperceptible to our senses, whether cogitative or incogitative, it is a contradiction to call it a vacuum, since it is replete with real existence of one kind or other, and as nonentity or the absence of all being cannot give an existence to a vacuum, any more than it could to the Universe. Therefore we infer a Universal plenitude of being.

That God by his omnipresence pervades all nature, is a doctrine conceeded to by Philosphers and Christians, though none can comprehend the manner of such an Existence but God himself: he cannot be included in any place, or excluded from any place, for that he [] presently

possesses all places, otherwise he would be circumscribed and consequently finite, and therefore not a God. Nevertheless our organized senses are not acute enough to perceive anything of the Divine essence: nor of the essence of our own souls, or of intelligent substances in general, yet as they have an existence they must possess place, and must therefore exist of substance; wherby they are capable of occupying the same as before argued. But intelligent beings do not possess space in the same manner as dense Bodies does. Was the Divine Essence perfectly solid, it must have excluded the existence of the creation, in which case God would not have pervaded all things, but actually have been all existence himself; and on the other hand, was the creation absolutely solid, it would exclude the existence of a God. Therefore neither God nor his Creation are absoluely solid. That there is a God, creation evinces, and that there is a creation our senses evinces, therefore both God and his creation exist, but there is no such thing as real solidity in the Universe. We are apprized by our senses and by experiments that some substances are more dense than others, this comparitive Idea of solidity, is all that we can conceive of about it, for of solidity in the abstract we have no perception. Nor have we a perception of a plenum, nevertheless have from the reason and necessity of things demonstrated the impossibility of a vacuum, which necessarily infers a plenum. Thus it is from logical reasoning, and not from our External senses, that we are apprized of the reality of a plenum. For our organs of sense give us no perception at all of Intelligent substances, and but very little about those coumpounded of matter [] internal essence of things in general are not perceptible to us. We know that such bodies which we (eroniously) call solid, by reason of certain degrees of densities, with which (to us) they are mysteriously possessed cannot two of them, be in the same place at the same time, for though they are not perfectly solid, yet have such a simularity towards it, that one body would repulse the other, and make it impossible that both should occupy the same place at the same time. This we know in fact to be true, but as to the subtile ether, and other thin or rarified substances of the incogitative nature, which are not perceptible to our senses, or to senses assisted by instruments of human art, how, or in what manner they occupy space we know not, yet that they do it, somehow or other, we are certain; or at least as certain, as that they have an existence. Should we deny the existence of all substances and beings which escape the perception our external senses we should of consequence deny the existence of a God, the human soul, and other intelligences since intelligent nature is not an object of sense. Yet it may be argued that since we are conscious beings we cannot dispute the reality of our existence. Be it so, yet we have no consciousness of the existence of a God nor does he come within the notice of our senses but his existence we infer from that of our own and from external things with which we have a sensible acquaintance. Furthermore we deduce the inference of the real substance of the soul and that of its immortality from a chain of logical reasoning and not from either a sensible or conceious demonstration for our senses or immediate consciousness are inadequate to such discoveries though after we have investigated those truths by reason we are conscious that our conclusions are Just provided we reasoned with propriety but with respect to our intuitive consciousness there is no proviso about it inasmuch as it is always right. Thus it is that [] but after all that hath been argued on the plenitude of being, it may be urged that there is no such thing, or that there is not a universal plenum, for that it would preclude motion in general, not only that of the heavenly Bodies, but in man, and all other things. Should any two or more of the Planets of the Solar system, be so altered in their motion, as to strike each other the contact would be dreadfull, yet I believe there is no danger of it, since their motions were regulated by perfect wisdom, as well as moved by omnipotent power. But the question is, whether they could move in a plenum or not. If that kind of substance we call ether which is Imagined to extend through the heavenly space, were as dense as those Planetory worlds, it would have prevented their motion, though elastic, or subtile substances could not prevent their motion: nor would intelligent substances do it. A solid plenum, as has been before observed, would have precluded motion, and all other existence but itself, but a plenum consisting of an incomprehensibly diverse specific entity, may and does consist with motion, for it is not merely entity which excludes motion, but it is a hard or dense kind of substance only that does it. There may be millions of real incogitative substances in the universe, of which our senses have no apprehension, and yet are perceived by other Intelligences therein, who are, or may be endowed with senses, as diverse from ours, as those specific kinds of substances are different in nature, from those substances with which by our senses we are acquainted, all which may be as essential in constituting a plenum of universal being, as such kind of substances which come within the notice of our senses. Nor is it at all probable that those Intelligences interspersed through the Universe whose modes of sensations are very different from ours would

as specific orders of beings be able with their respective diverse senses to perceive [] not have prevented the wickedness of mankind, for that in their nature he has foreclosed himself, from any subsequent interposition of his preventing power, by makeing them (free) agents. Had it been among the number of possibles, that God could have prevented the wickedness of his creatures, by any omnipotant subsequent exertion of his power, consistent with that agency, with which he had by nature invested them, what reason can be assigned why God has not done it, and and thereby have prevented the evil of sin. That God could not have prevented moral evil, is evident from the following considerations, to wit, that of all possible systems of being and providence, Infinite wisdom must have devised the best, and in the vast scale of being, comprised in that perfect system, there must be somewhere such a rank, order, or condition of creatures as man, in order to make the universal and systematical schale of being and providence compleat, and make an Infinite display of the natural attributes, and moral perfections of the Divine nature, and as a deficiency of the creatures called man, would have rendered the system of being and providence incompleat, and consequently have negatived the perfection of God, therefore the creation and existance of man was essentially necessary, and consequently must be, as they are by nature, since no other specific kind of creatures, could have been Identically man, or filled that place and rank of being, for which the creation and existence of man was necessary, and inasmuch as man, in order to be man, must be a (free) agent, he must have it in his power to do both moral good and evil, in the agency whereof God could not have controaled him, having originally mad him free, without violating the essential powers and faculties of his nature, or annihilating him, either of which would infringe on his wisdom, and rend his system of being and providence incompleat, and abortive. That moral evil cannot be attended with the consequences of eternal damnation, has been fully evinced in the third chapter of the theology.

On the position that there is any moral evil in the conduct of mankind, it will follow of necessary consequence, that we are agents, and in a state of tryal and proficiency, since God cannot be the efficient cause of the wickedness of his creatures, for if so he would be the blaimable cause thereof, which would of consequence exempt us therefrom, as there cannot be two efficient, and blaimable causes of the same Sin, therefore if it be in God, (which is blasphemous to suppose,) it cannot be in man, which would render an atonement for us, unnecessary and preposterous; as on this thesis the efficient cause, must have been responsible for man, and the premised sufferings and atonement, of the son of God for Sin, could only apply to the efficient sinful agency of God; in the passive actions of man, which is inadmissible, since on this position, God would be the offender as well as the redeemer.

We cannot in a moral sense become good or evil, in consequence of the mere act, or efficient agency of God, since it would be the act of another, and not our own, in which we could have no consciousness of praise or blame, or of intelligent happiness or misery: nor would a premised series, or concatanation of causes from God, which controal, or necessitate the behaviour of all mankind in life, alter the foregoing argument, inasmuch as a concatenation, or order of pre-existing causes, which necessitate events, either in the natural, or moral World, render those events enevitable, and therefore if in those train of events, human conduct is included, it is also enevitable, and if so, agency would be excluded from the nature of man, and center wholly in God the efficient cause, of the order of pre-existing causes; for on this thesis, there could be but one real agent or active being, who caused the whole train of events, produced by the order of pre-existing causes, and consequently every action or event, in the concatenation of causes, would have retrospectively proceeded from God, who only has been an agent in every action or event, that has taken place among mankind, as well as in the natural World, and consequently the human race, and all other beings made use of, in bringing about those or actions, have been no more than innocently pasive, having been necessitated to motion, not action, (properly speaking,) by the superintending power of the universe, which would involve the God of nature in moral evil, or exclude it from the World, either of which is inadmissible. Therefore man is truly an agent, and more or less sinful, which Justifies the Divine Being, in his creation and providence, and lays the blame of moral evil to the vicious agency of man, where we are conscious it ought to lay.

The professors of Fatelism are divided and sub-divided, in their notions of it, some are of opinion that every action of man in life, is altogether passive in the manner as is before described, and against which we have been arguing: and there are others who hold that we act both necessary and free, in the same action and at the same time, through the course of human life. The former notion of fate, is the most consistent with it self, however repugnant to matter of fact. And as we have already

demonstrated the certainty of the agency of man, and consequentially his accountableness, we proceed nextly to inquire into the doctrine of his necessary and free agency, which is a palpable contradiction. Necessity and freedom, in the agency of beings in a state of proficiency and tryal, are incompatibe with each other. They are diametrically Opposite, and therefore cannot be united in the same personal agency. The Ideas of necessity and freedom, in the same actions or behaviour of man, are perfectly heterogeneous, and in nature incapable of an association together. Necessity relates wholly to incogitative beings, and freedom to moral ones, and the manner of the exertions of necessity and freedom, are as diverse from one another, as the nature of incogitative, and cogitative beings are different from each another. There is no more of an agreement, uniformity, or connection between necessary action, and free action, than there is between north and south, life and death. A man may as well be said to be naturally alive, and at the same time naturally dead, as to act necessarily and freely, in the same action and at the same time, or to exist and not exist at the same time. Human agency excludes necessity, and necessity excludes human agency. A necessary probationary agent is a contradiction, and both parts of a contradiction cannot be true, if they could, it would blend truth and falsehood together, and confound their distinctions, and consequently overthrow all science and knowledge, we must therefore be considered as necessary beings, or as free beings for this obvious reason, that if we are the one, we cannot at the same time, be the other, since there is an Original, and intrinsic difference between them, upon which distinction, together with the understanding of right and wrong, all other notions of moral good and evil are founded.

This doctrine of the necessary and free agency of man, is by its adherents, thought at least to be in it self possible, from the consideration of the necessary and free agency of God, in the kingdom of his providence, which they Imagine to be necessary, because that of all possible systems, infinite wisdom must have adopted the best, and free, because that God from choice adopted it. Hence they infer, that the system of providence became both necessary and free, and from hence deduce the Inference, at least, of the possibility of the necessary and free agency of man.

These are far fetched comparisons, which cannot with any propriety apply to human agency, the analogy is infinitely dissimular. It is because that God is absolutely perfect, in his natural attributes of wisdom and power, and in his moral perfections of Justice goodness and truth, that he cannot (without ceasing to be God) in the agency of his providence, deviate from the rules of eternal unerring order, and infinite reason, and it is because that man is imperfect, and capable of sinful agency, that he can do it, and considered as a weak probationary creature, accountable and dependent wholly on God, who is eternal, self existent, and unlimitedly perferfert, will render the analogy of the Divine, with the human agency, altogether inaplicable and unlike each other, and therefore foreign to, and impertinent in the solution of the question; relative to human agency. We know from experience, that we are not under any necessity of acting conformible to our reason; or to our knowledge of the moral rectitude of things. Therefore it is not with our agency, as it is with the agency, or display of the providence of God, the one is imperfect and sinful, and the other is morally fit, and absolutely uniform. Had we been under a necessity of a conformity to moral rectitude, such a conformity must have taken place, and exempted us from sin, and consequently the moral necessity of a perfect decorum, which is in God (the analogy,) cannot be in man, as the argument from the analogy would have it, for if the same kind of necessity, (arising from perfect fitness) was in man, which there is in God (the analogy,) man could not have failed of acting up to the eternal rule of right, as God has done. Therefore the arguments deduced from the necessary, and free agency of God, in his providence, to evince the necessary and free agency of man, are quite foreign to the investigation of human agency, and only serves to delude the mind, by sophistically reasoning, from an Infinitely impertinent analogy.

In our argumentations, and investigation of the reason and nature of things; we ought to be very careful and exact, in the use we make of analogy, for that they either serve to illustrate, or perplex and obscure the subject matter of inquiry; according as they are either pertinent or impertinent thereto. A just comparison of things, has a tendency to elucidate and explain our Ideas of the matter in dispute; but if we make an unjust application of the analogy, of one thing to another, or of one argument or inference from another, which in their respective natures do not, and cannot compare together, we confuse our reasonings with the impropriety of comparison, and loose sight of the point we are indeavouring to investigate. We should therefore be very circumspect, and critically nice in our analogical comparisons; for if we draw an inference or conclusion, of one argument or thing from an-

other, we must be sure that the analogy is Just, or that it agrees with the final issue of the matter or question in dispute, for if it does not we loose sight of, or are diverted from the point at Issue, by deducing our conclusion from things, arguments, and other prior inferences which are dissimular, and unlke the thing, or subject, we are indeavouring to investigate, and which are impernineut to the question under consideration; as in the instance of inferring, the necessary and free agency of man, from the necessary and free agency of God in his providence; in which case there is no Just comparison, and consequently no conclusion to be deduced from the Divine agency, which will agree to that of the human, as before argued.

To conclude that one thing is true, because another thing is so, makes such a conclusion wholly dependent on the analogy, that the one thing has to the other for its truth. If the analogical comparison of things, or arguments agree, the comparison is Just, but if they disagree it is unjust. The agreement of the analogy with the subject, point, or thing to be investigated, is therefore of the utmost importance, in all analogical reasonings, since the conclusion to be drawn thereform, is altogether predicated on the agreement, or disagreement between the analogy, and the point in question to be decided. Therefore as little use as possible, should be made of analogy in our reasonings: since in many cases it is as abstruce, as the thing to be investigated, and stands as much in need of other analogy, to illusterate the formmer, as to illusterate the subject matter of inquiry, in which cases they are useless, or worse than indifferent.

We should likewise be very accurate, in our analogical comparisons of things, which agree but in part, and disagree in part, the more so, as the degrees of agreement and disagreement, are almost or quite innumerable, and in many cases inconceivable to us, as the degrees of the simularity of things, either cogitative or incogitative, are to us in their extent incomprehensible. But in such of the comparitive Ideas of things, that come within our understanding, when rightly improved and cultivated, we should be inquisitively careful and nice, in making use of the comparitive Ideas of, or inferences from things, to things, in our argumentations on any subject, doctrine or final conclusion. It is for want of attention to such maxims as these, that we are so much confused in our problematical and religious disquisition of things. Truth is perfectly uniform, and in our progress of its investigation, we must proceed in our ratiocinations with a uniformity of reasoning; and Just comparison of Ideas, so as that our chain of reasonings is Just, which is the same as truth it self, for any error in the progress of investigation, as far as it influences the conclusion, or respective conclusions, in the chain or system of arguments, so far the renoning is inconclusive or false, the same as an error in mathematical calculations, would spoil their conclusion, or respective conclusions.

The natural World, commonly so called, is ruled by irresistable necessity, and every analogy or comparison we bring from thence, to elucidate our agency, disagrees with it, inasmuch as sensless beings are not, and can not be capable of volition, design, or agency, and consequently as far as such analogies, have a place in our reasonings, on the (nature or) agency of the soul, they confound it, with the mechanism of incogitative beings, and therefore all such analogy is inadmissible in this Investivation

The knowledge that we have of our internal power of agency, may be properly denominated Intuitive; since it is immediately perceived by the mind, without reasoning or inferring one thing from another, In this perception of things we all agree, and therefore cannot be mistaken, or deceived therein, as in the deductions of reasoning, in the scientiphical parts of learning, and consequently we may lay it down for a certain rule, that all our argumentations and conclusions, that militate against the intuitive (or conscious) knowledge, that we have of our spontaneous agency, are so many blunders, mistakes or deceptions of our own makeing, for the intuition of natural conscience, is Gods revelation to us, who cannot, and will not deceive us.

The strong and universal sense, which we intuitively have of our agency, must have established the reality of it, in the minds of mankind beyond all doubt, had not the learned Jargon of the schools, with some sectarians of Eccleciastic's, reasoning from false analogy, in some measure obscured it, and caused more or less dissension.

The uncultivated part of mankind, however obscure and exemp from science, do not distrust their conscious knowledge, this is a privilidge we derive from learned sophestry, in which the ignorant, and barbarous nations do not have a share. They never dreamed, that any necessity attended their actions, but with one consent, suppose them to be spontaneous.

The introduction of arts and sciences, have been attended with their advantages, and disadvantages, the same learning or art, that teaches logical reasoning, teaches sophestry, and the learned have hitherto been able to obtain more welth, and power from the great

mass of the vulger, by deluding them, than by informing their understandings. Hence arises the numerous sectaries and party disputes, which to a person of good understanding, are almost equally nonsensical. Probably we are the most selfish, oddest, and cunningest medley of beings, of our size, in the universe. However to compleat the general schale of being, it seems to have been requisite, that the link of being called man, must have been, and since under the Divine government, we have a positive existence, we can not ultimately fail, of being better than not to have been.

Finis.

III.—*THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 29.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

We return to the Diary, under date of "*July 8, Sunday*," to get a look into the social life of New York city.

"I dined at Sir John Temple's. Sir John "was so complaisant as to invite Dr. Holton "and Mr. Dane, which he said he did purpose-"ly on my account, as we were countrymen. "The Hon. Dr. Lee, Hon. Mr. Walton (an Eng-"lishman and a member of the British Parlia-"ment) and Mr. Dawse were the other com-"pany. Sir John is a complete gentleman; "but his deafness renders it painful to con-"verse with him. Lady Temple is certainly "the greatest beauty, notwithstanding her age, "I ever saw. To a well proportioned form, a "perfectly fair skin and completely adjusted "features, is added a soft but majestic air, an "easy and pleasing sociability, a vein of fine "sense, which commands admiration and in-"fuses delight. Her smiles—for she rarely "laughs—could not fail of producing the "softest sensibility in the fiercest savage. Her "dress is exceedingly neat and becoming, but "not gay. She is now a grand-mother; but I "should not suppose her more than twenty-"two. Her real age is forty-four. But my "admiration was still more excited by their "little daughter, Augusta. To me, she ap-"peared a perfect prodigy; she is only six "years of age. She introduces herself with "an easy politeness to every person in the com-"pany; and is never at a loss for a subject of "conversation, and so sensible and pertinent "are all her observations and remarks, that she "never fails of pleasing. She distinguishes "characters with a judgment and precision "which would do honor to mature age. No "lady is more completely mistress of all the "little *etiquette* which adorns a finished educa-"tion. The purity and elegance of her lan-"guage, witty turns, and well-turned sarcasms, "rather diminished pleasure by exciting con-"stant admiration.

"Our dinner was in the English style, plain "but plentiful—the wines excellent, which is a "greater object with Sir John, than his roast "beef or poultry. You cannot please him "more than to praise his *Madeira*, and fre-"quently begging the honor of a glass with "him. The servants are all in livery. The "parlor, drawing-room, and dining-hall are in "the second story, spacious and richly furnish-"ed. The paintings are principally historic "and executed by the greatest masters in Eu-"rope. The parlor is ornamented chiefly with "medals and small busts of principal charac-"ters, now living in Europe, made of plaster "of Paris or white wax. He dines at two, on "Sundays.

"At half past three, Mr. Dawse and I with-"drew from Sir John Temple's dinner-table "and attended church in St. George's Chapel. "This is a magnificent edifice. The tower and "steeple are larger and higher, I believe, than "any other in America. The inside of the "church is very large, having some paintings "and carvings. We sat in the Governor's pew, "which is the same, here, as in the Presbyterian "Church, being one on each side of the meet-"ing-house. Dr. Beach read prayers, and Dr. "Moore preached an elegant sermon, on benevo-"lence. The church was exceedingly crowded, "and the congregation were richly, but not "splendidly, dressed. In the time of the first "singing, the Wardens visited every pew with "their pewter platters, into which every person, "small and great, put a copper. This seemed "to be killing two birds with one stone; for, "while they were engaged in singing the psalm "(for every body sings) they were as busy "fumbling their pockets for their coppers and "rattling them into the platter."

"*Monday, July 9.* Waited this morning "very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the "fullest information of the Western country, "from Pennsylvania to the Illinois; and *advised "me, by all means, to make our location on the "Muskingum*, which was decidedly, in his opin-"ion, the best part of the whole Western "country.

"Attended the Committee, before Congress "opened, and then spent the remainder of the "forenoon with Mr. Hutchins."

"Attended the Committee in Congress Cham-"ber. Debated the terms, but were so wide

"apart that there appears little prospect of clos-
"ing a contract.

"I had an opportunity of observing, minute-
"ly, the Chamber where the Supreme Councils
"of the nation are held. For, after these de-
"bates were over, the gentlemen of the Com-
"mittee were polite enough to show me every-
"thing curious within these walls. Congress
"Chamber is an apartment in the second story
"of the City Hall. This Hall is a magnificent
"pile of buildings, in Wall Street, at the head
"of Broad Street, near the centre of the City.
"It is more than twice the width of the State
"House, at Boston; but I think not so long.
"The lower story is a walk; at each corner are
"rooms appropriated to the Mayor and Alder-
"men of the City and the City Guards. Be-
"tween the corner rooms, on each side and at
"the ends, it is open, for a considerable space,
"supported by pillars. In front, is a flight of
"steps from the street, over which is a two-
"story piazza, with a spacious walk, which
"communicates with Congress Chamber, at the
"East end, and with the Chamber where the
"Mayor and Aldermen hold their Courts, at the
"West end. Congress Chamber is up the east-
"ern stairs; it is nearly square. On the south-
"ern side, the floor is raised several feet, which
"is ascended by steps and enclosed by banisters.
"In the centre, is a large chair, raised still
"higher, lined with red damask silk; and over
"it a curious canopy, fringed with silk, and
"two large flowing damask curtains descending
"from the sides of the canopy to the floor,
"partly furled with silk cords. This is the seat
"of the President of Congress. And the ap-
"pearance at the other end of the Chamber is
"superb. On the floor of the Chamber, at the
"right and left, from the President's chair, are
"two rows of chairs extended to the opposite
"side of the room, with a small bureau-table
"before each chair. The chairs and tables are
"mahogany, richly carved, the arms and bot-
"toms covered with red morocco leather. On
"each side of the President's chair, within the
"banisters, are chairs and tables, similar to
"those of the members, for the use of the Sec-
"retary and his clerks. In the midst of the
"floor, is a vacant space, in form of a broad
"aisle. The curtains of the windows are red
"damask, richly ornamented with fringes. At
"the East end is a portrait of General Washing-
"ton, at full length, well executed. At the
"opposite end are some of the portraits of
"General Officers that fell in the late war. On
"the side opposite the President, are the por-
"traits of the King and Queen of France, as
"large as life. These were drawn by the King's
"own portrait-painter, and presented by His
"Majesty to Congress. The drapery of the pic-
"tures infinitely exceeds anything of the kind I
"ever saw before. They are dressed in their
"robes; and life and animation are imitated to
"perfection. When the damask curtains which
"cover them were drawn, their eyes were fixed
"upon us with a vivacity that bespoke life
"itself; and their majestic countenances seem-
"ed to chastise our insolence in approaching
"them with so little reverence.

"*July 10.* This morning, another conference
"with the Committee. Called on Dr. Cr-by.
"Visited, by his invitation, the Columbia College.
"Was introduced to the Governors.

"Dined with Col. Duer, in company with
"Mr. Osgood, President of the Board of
"Treasury, Major Sargent, and several other
"gentlemen. At the table, we were honored
"with the company of Mademoiselle La Touche,
"a French lady of the family of the *Noblesse*,
"and Lady Kitty, the wife of Col. Duer. Lady
"Kitty—for so she is called—was the daughter
"of Lord Starling and inherits the title from
"her father, who had no male heir. She is a
"fine woman, though not a beauty; very soci-
"able; and most accomplished in her manners.
"She performed the honors of the table most
"gracefully; was constantly attended by two
"servants, in livery; and insisted on performing
"the whole herself.

"Col. D. is Secretary of the Board of Treas-
"ury, and lives in the style of a nobleman. He
"had, I presume, not less than fifteen sorts of
"wine, at dinner, besides the most excellent
"bottled cider, porter, and several other kinds
"of strong beer. As *Congress was now engag-*
"*ed in settling the form of Government for the*
"*Federal Territory—the North West—for*
"*which a Bill has been proposed, and a copy*
"*sent to me, with leave to make remarks and*
"*propose amendments, and which I had taken*
"*the liberty to remark upon and propose several*
"*amendments*, I thought this the most favor-
"able opportunity to go to Philadelphia; *ac-*
"*cordingly, after I had returned the Bill, with*
"*my observations*, I set out, at 7 o'clock.

"*July 11.* Arrived at Princeton, N. J.

"*July 12.* Rose, very early, and took a view
"of Princeton. At half past five, I ventured
"to call on Col. *Morgan*, to whom I had a let-
"ter, though I feared I should not find him up.
"He was, however, in his parlor, with his books,
"and received me very politely. He is a farm-
"er, in the strictest sense, and I believe the
"first in America, in the knowledge of agricul
"ture, and, besides, a literary character. His
"house stands a little back of the College, and
"in a situation which commands a complete
"view of his whole farm, consisting of about
"200 acres.

"Here I saw verified what I had often heard

"observed, that the boundaries of his farm
"might easily be distinguished from his neigh-
"bor's from its state of cultivation. He gave
"me a general history of his improvements and
"of the experiments he was then making. His
"barn and yard are truly a curiosity. His gar-
"den consists of three acres, and is principally
"used for making experiments, which appeared
"to me to be well judged, and critically attend-
"ed to. Here, I saw the Hessian fly, as it is
"called, which has done immense injury to
"wheat, in our country. Our country is indebt-
"ed to this gentleman, for the discoveries he
"has made and the information he has given
"respecting this insect, in consequence of his
"experiments. In his garden, he had Indian
"corn growing in long rows from different
"kinds of seed, collected from the different
"latitudes on this continent, as far North as
"the northern parts of Canada, and South as
"far as the West Indies. His aviary struck me
"with astonishment. On the southern side of
"his garden, he had 64 swarms of bees, in a
"line, which I judged extended more than fif-
"teen rods. He takes the honey when he
"pleases, without destroying the bees. I much
"regretted the want of time, being determined
"to reach Philadelphia, this day. Was obliged
"to take my leave, before my curiosity was
"half gratified. It was with the utmost diffi-
"culty I could prevail on him to excuse my
"tarrying any longer, particularly as a son of
"his, who was then from home, but every
"moment expected, had begun the study of
"Botany. He intended to make him a master
"of the science. He was very anxious that I
"should converse with him, and give him par-
"ticular directions for pursuing the study.
"Nothing would avail but a promise to call on
"him, on my return, and a consent to take his
"son under my instruction, if he could find no
"person sufficiently versed in the science near
"him."

We may simply add, in passing, that this Colonel Morgan was greatly trusted by Congress and General Washington, for his influence with the Indian tribes; and that he was often sent to them, on important business, which he is said to have discharged with great ability and fidelity. It was before his house that the mutineers of the Pennsylvania line, in 1781, had that celebrated interview with General Wayne. His farm adjoined the College-grounds; and he had the good sense and generosity to plant a row of cherry-trees, the entire length of the line, for the exclusive use of the College-students. He afterwards removed to Washington, Pennsylvania, and was there solicited by Colonel Aaron Burr to engage in his treasonable expedition and to induce his four sons, also, to join it. This he peremptorily declined, and is said to have been the first one who gave authentic information, to the Government, of Burr's movements. He or his sons were witnesses on the trial of that notorious man, at Richmond.

"I then called on Dr. Smith, the Vice-Presi-
"dent of the College, to whom I had letters.
"He is a young gentleman, and lived in an
"elegant style, and is the first literary character
"in this State. He waited on me to College,
"introduced me to the tutors, and showed me
"the apartments of the College. The Speaking
"Hall is ornamented with several paintings—
"particularly of the famous battle in this town,
"the next morning after the capture of the
"Hessians, at Trenton. It is more than six
"feet square, done on canvas, and executed in
"a masterly manner, by Mr. Peale of Philadel-
"phia. The principal figure is General Wash-
"ington, emerging from a thick wood, forming
"and advancing, in a regular manner, the Brit-
"ish fleeing in confusion, leaving many slain on
"the ground; but the pleasure of the scene is
"greatly diminished by a view of General Mer-
"cer, wallowing in his gore, who was at the
"head of the advanced guard, and slain in the
"first attack. After viewing this scene, on
"canvas, we ascended to the cupola of the Col-
"lege, and took a view of the ground itself, on
"which the battle was fought, the manner of
"the attack, and the several directions in which
"the British fled. It was no small gratification
"to take so extensive a view of the place where
"so important an event in the history of the
"American Revolution took place. Here, again,
"I feel myself straitened for time, and was
"obliged to take my leave of Dr. Smith, who
"had showed me the most polite attention,
"rather abruptly, but I promised to call on him,
"on my return.

"*Trenton*—this town stands in the list of
"fame and will be remembered by future ages,
"on account of the memorable victory—and,
"indeed, the first complete victory—obtained
"by the illustrious Washington, over the British
"army.

"Made our next stage at Bristol. Dined in
"company with the passengers in the stage,
"among whom were *Gen. Armstrong* and *Col.*
"*Franks*. Gen. Armstrong is a member of
"Congress, with whom I had a small acquaint-
"ance, at New York; *Franks* was an Aid of
"Gen. Arnold, at the time of his desertion
"to the British. Both of them high *bucks* and
"affected, as I conceived, to hold the New
"England States in contempt. They had re-
"peatedly touched my Yankee blood, in their
"conversation at the table; but I was much on
"the reserve, until, after we had dined, some
"severe reflections on the conduct of Rhode

"Island and the Insurgency in Massachusetts—"placing the two States in the same point of "light—induced me to observe that 'I had no "'doubt but that the conduct of Rhode Island "'would prove of infinite service to the Union; "'that the insurgency, in Massachusetts, would "'eventually tend to invigorate and establish "'our Government; and that I considered "'the State of Pennsylvania—divided and "'distracted as she *then* was, in her Councils, "'the large County of *Luzerne* on the eve of "'an insurrection—to be in as hazzardous a sit-"'uation as any one on the Continent.' This "instantly brought on a warm *Fracas*, indeed. "The cudgels were taken up, on both sides; "the contest as fierce as if the fate of Empires "depended on the decision. The attention of "the whole company was engaged. My little "companion" [*whom he met at Trenton*] "was "roused; fire sparkled in his eyes; and, like a "faithful *second*, he was determined to support "me. Right or wrong, he would contradict "everything advanced by my antagonists. At "length, victory declared in our favor. Arm-"strong began to make concessions. Franks, "with more reluctance, at length, gave up the "ground. Both acknowledged the New Eng-"land States were entitled to an equal share of "merit with any in the Union, and declared "they had no intention to reflect. We had the "satisfaction to quit the field with an air of "triumph, which my little companion enjoyed "with an high relish; nor could he forget it, "all the way to Philadelphia. But we parted "with our antagonists on terms of perfect good "humor and complaisance. My companion "frequently, afterwards, mentioned the pleasure "it gave him to see Armstrong and Franks '*so* "'*completely taken down*,' as he expressed it, "which led me to conclude he was of the party "opposed to them, in the political quarrels of "Philadelphia.

"Arrived at Philadelphia, my companion con-"ducted me to the 'Indian Queen,' a livery "tavern. Here we exchanged our names; but "I was so unfortunate, in less than ten minutes, "as to lose his name, and cannot recollect it. "He promised to call on me the next morning. "I spent the evening with several members of "the Convention (Federal)."

Doctor Cutler's diary contains so many interesting facts concerning Philadelphia and the noted men who then resided there, that we need not ask the permission of our readers to make some copious extracts.

"*July 13.* The 'Indian Queen' is situated "in Third, between Market and Chestnut-street. "The apartment assigned me was a rather small "but very handsome chamber (No. 9) furnish-"ed with a rich field-bed, bureau with drawers, "a large looking-glass, neat chairs, and other "furniture. Its front was East, and, being in "the third story, afforded a fine prospect towards "the river and the Jersey shore. The servant "that attended me was a young, sprightly, "well-built, black fellow, neatly dressed in a "blue coat, sleeves and cape red, buff waist-"coat and breeches, the bosom of his shirt "ruffled, and his hair powdered. After he had "brought up my baggage, and properly depos-"ited it, he brought two of the latest London "Magazines, and laid them on the table. I or-"dered him to call a barber, furnish me with a "bowl of water for washing, and to have tea on "the table by the time I was dressed. Being "told, while at tea, that a number of the mem-"bers of the Continental Convention (now con-"vened in this city for the purpose of forming a "Federal Constitution) lodged in this house, and "that two of them were from Massachusetts, "after tea, I sent into their Hall, to Mr Strong, "and requested to speak with him. We had "never been personally acquainted, but had a "hearsay knowledge of each other; and Mr. "Gerry had mentioned to Mr. Strong that he "daily expected me, in consequence of a letter "he had received from Gov. Bowdoin. Mr. "Strong very politely introduced me to Mr. "Gorham, of Charlestown, Mass., Mr. Madison, "and Mr. Mason, and his son, of Virginia, "Gov. Martin, Hon. Hugh Williamson, of "North Carolina, Hon. John Rutledge and Mr. "Pinckney of South Carolina, Mr. Hamilton of "New York, &c. Spent some hours with Mr. "Strong and Mr. Gorham, after the other gen-"tlemen had retired; they very politely offered "to wait on me to any part of the city. Rose "early, &, with Mr. Strong, called on Mr. "Gerry. His lady is young, very handsome, "and exceedingly amiable. She appears to be "possessed of fine accomplishments. I should "suppose her age not more than seventeen, & "believe he must be turned of fifty-five. I was "surprised to find how early ladies in Philadel-"phia rise in the morning; and to see them at "breakfast, at half-past five, when, in Boston, "they can hardly see a breakfast-table at nine "o'clock, without falling into hysterics. I ob-"served to Mrs. Gerry that it seemed an early "hour for ladies to breakfast. She said she "always rose early, and found it conducive to "her health. She was inured to it, from her "childhood, in New York; and that it was the "practice of the best families, in Philadelphia. "Mr. Gerry had received a letter from Gov. "Bowdoin, requesting him to wait on me to Dr. "Franklin's, in person, when I arrived in the "city. Although I had several introductory "letters to the Dr., yet I wished for the com-"pany of some gentleman of my acquaintance,

"when I paid my respects to that venerable "Sage. Mr. Gerry expressed a great deal of "satisfaction, in having the opportunity of in- "troducing me to the Dr.; and supposed the "best time would be about five in the afternoon, "which was agreed on. Mr. Strong went with "me, after breakfast, to Dr. Morgan's, to whom "I had letters from Dr. Warren, of Boston, "and from his brother, at Princeton. He "received me with politeness, and went with "us to Dr. Clarkson's, when he and Mr. Strong "left me.

"Dr. Clarkson is one of those fine, accom- "plished, benevolent characters which inspire the "most exalted ideas of human nature. I found "him to fully answer the character I had receiv- "ed of him. My letters to him were from his "much-esteemed friend, Mr. Belknap and his "brother-in-law, Mr. Hazzard. When he had "read my letters, he received me, not merely in "the common formalities of politeness, but "with the warm affection and friendship of an "intimate acquaintance that had been long "absent. When he found my stay in the city "must be very short, he dismissed all his busi- "ness; and sent his servant to inform his "patients that it was not probable he should be "able to see them on that day or the next. If "any thing special occurred, he must be particu- "larly informed; and devoted himself, entirely, "to wait on me. I was formally introduced to "his son, who had just before received Episco- "pal ordination from Bishop White, of this "State, and is about to be settled in one of the "churches of this city, and to his three little "daughters. Mrs. Clarkson was confined, up- "stairs, by a nervous illness of long standing, "which prevented my seeing her. After engag- "ing me to dine with him, he ordered his "Phæton to be harnessed, that we might take a "general view of the city, &c. In this tour, I "delivered most of my introductory letters; "but had only time to deliver them, as the Dr. "waited for me, in his carriage, as my stay "would be very short, was obliged to decline all "their invitations. We returned to the Dr's "house, about twelve, having rode, by the Dr's "computation, twenty miles. His horses were "very large and fine; and he had as much as "he could well do to rein them in.

"After refreshing ourselves we took a ramble, "on foot; called on Dr. Rush, whom we fortu- "nately found at home. The Dr. is the com "plete gentleman, and one of the first literary "characters in America. After reading my let- "ters and the usual ceremony, he expressed "much satisfaction in having an opportunity to "see me and told me had, for some time, wish- "ed for a correspondence. He has thanked "me, very particularly, for my botanical paper, "in the *Memoirs of the American Academy*; "and said that Dr. Franklin and he had desired "the printers of the *Columbian Magazine* to "publish the extracts from it, which had ap- "peared in that publication. He approved of "my plan and appeared anxious that I should "pursue it. He observed that they were endeav- "ouring to raise a fund for establishing a Botan- "ical Garden in that city; and assured me that "I was the only person that had been in nomina- "tion to take the superintendency and give the "Botanical Lectures to the students, in the Uni- "versity. This led me to inquire after Mr. Cox, "the present Professor of Botany, in the Uni- "versity, and observed that I was not so fortu- "nate as to have a letter to him but wished the "favor of being introduced, as I understood he "had studied under the immediate instructions "of the great Linneas. Both of the gentlemen "readily offered to introduce me; but observed "that they believed it would afford me very "little satisfaction; that he did not pretend to "give lectures; had never attended to the prac- "tical part; and, perhaps, was not a very com- "plete master of the theory. Finding that "they seemed inclined to keep their Botanist "out of sight, I did not insist on seeing him. "Dr. Rush observed that Mr. Bartram had "much more botanical knowledge than Cox, "and employed much of his time in the exam- "ination of plants. He imagined that I should "be pleased with him; & wished I could find "time to visit him. Dr. Clarkson proposed a "ride, early the next morning, to Bartram's "seat, two miles beyond the Schuylkill. The "next day was the time for the formal visit of "Dr. Rush to the Hospital. He invited me to "attend the visitation, with him. I then conclud- "ed to go out to Bartram's, with Dr. Clarkson, "at six; and we were to meet Dr. Rush at the "Hospital, at 11 o'clock, and engaged to dine "with him. Returned to Dr. Clarkson's and "dined.

"Immediately after dinner, we called on Mr. "*Peale*, to see his collections of paintings and "natural curiosities. We were conducted into "a room by a boy, who told us Mr. P. would "wait on us in a minute or two. He desired us, "however, to walk into the room where the "curiosities were; and showed us a long narrow "entry that led into the room. I observed, "through a glass window, at my right hand, a "gentleman, close to me, standing with a pencil "in one hand and a small sheet of ivory in the "other; and his eyes directed to the opposite "side of the room, as though he was taking "some object on his ivory sheet. Dr. Clarkson "did not see this man, till he stepped into "the room; but instantly turned about, and "came back, saying, 'Mr. Peale is very busy,

"'taking the picture of something, with his "'pencil. We will step back, into the other "'room, till he is at leisure.' We returned, "through the entry; but, as we entered the "room, we met Mr. Peale, coming to us. The "Doctor started back, in astonishment, and cried "out, 'Mr. Peale, how is it possible you should "'get out of the other room to meet us here?' "Mr. Peale smiled and said, 'I have not been "'in the other room, for some time.' 'No?' "said Dr. Clarkson, 'Did not I see you, there, "'this moment, with your pencil and ivory?' "'Why do you think you did?' asked Peale. "'Why do I think I did?' replied Dr. Clarkson; "'I saw you there, if I ever saw you in my "'life.' 'Well,' says Peale, 'let us go and "'see.'

"When we returned, we found the man "standing, as before. It was a piece of wax-"work, which Mr. Peale had just finished, in "which he had taken a likeness of himself.

"The walls of the room are covered with "paintings—both portraits and historic. Under "a small gallery, his natural curiosities are "arranged, in a most romantic and amusing "manner. There was a mound of earth, con-"siderably raised, and covered with green turf, "from which a number of trees ascended and "branched out, in different directions. On the "declivity of this mound, was a small thicket, "and, just below it, an artificial pond; on the "other side, a number of large and small rocks, "of different kinds, collected from different "parts of the earth. At the foot of the mound, "were holes dug and the earth thrown up to "show the different kinds of clay, ocher, coal, "marl, &c., which he had collected, from vari-"ous parts—also ores and minerals. Around "the pond, was a beach, on which were exhibit-"ed a fine assortment of shells, turtles, frogs, "toads, lizzards, water-snakes, &c. In the "pond, a collection of fish, with their skins "stuffed—water-fowl, such as geese, ducks, "cranes, herons, &c., all having the appearance "of life, for their skins were admirably pre-"served: on the mound were such birds as "commonly walk on the ground, as the ground-"partridge and heathhen, also wild animals, as "the bear, dear, leopard, tiger, wild-cat, fox, "raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, &c. In the thickets "and among the rocks, land-snakes, rattle-"snakes, of an enormous size, black & a num-"ber of other snakes. The trees were loaded "with birds from almost every species in Amer-"ica & many exotics. Mr. Peale's animals re-"minded me of Noah's ark, into which was "received every kind of creeping thing, in "which there was life. But I can hardly con-"ceive that even Noah could have boasted a "better collection. Mr. Peale was very com-"plaisant, and gave us every information we "desired. He requested me to favor him with "any of the animals and fossils from this part "of America, not already in his museum, which "it might be in my power to collect.

"From Mr. Peale's went to the State House; "from there to the Mall; and next a visit to "the University. Called at Dr. Ewing's, the "Provost of the University, who is absent, "with Mr. Rittenhouse and Mr. Hutchins, to "settle the line between New York and Mass. "I saw the Dr. at New York. He gave me a "letter to his lady, which I delivered. She "had already received a letter from the Dr. "informing her that I should be in the city, "that week; and that I had given him encour-"agement, if I spent the Sabbath in the city, of "supplying his pulpit. I assured Mrs. Ewing "that it would not be in my power to supply "the desk, as I was absolutely obliged to leave "the city before the Sabbath. We also called "on Bishop White and Dr. Sprout, to whom I "had letters, and on Mr. John Vaughan, son of "Sam. Vaughan, Esq., and the brother of my "friends, Charles and Samuel Vaughan. The "old gentleman was gone a journey into the "Ohio-country. His son received me, cordial-"ly; and dismissed all business, to attend me. "His mother and sisters are gone with his "brother's son, to London—himself and father "keep bachelors'-hall, in an elegant house, in "Front St. He proposed to accompany us to "Dr. Franklin's, whom he considered as a "father. When we came to Mr. Gerry's, he "was waiting for us. As I was fatigued, "we remained half an hour. Two young "ladies, of the name of Hamilton, were visit-"ing Mrs. Gerry, dressed very richly, sociable, "and agreeable. Mr. Vaughan took a large "share in the conversation; and, with his easy "and natural pleasantry, kept us in a burst of "laughter. I knew Mr. Vaughan was not ac-"quainted with Mr. Gerry: I, therefore, intro-"duced him, which Mr. Gerry likewise did to "his lady and the company. But I immediate-"ly supposed the young ladies, from his in-"stant and free sociability, were of his intimate "friends.' But, on our way to Dr. Franklin's, "he asked me if those young ladies were of my "acquaintance & what were their names. This "excited my astonishment. I asked if he "had never seen them, before. He said 'No,' "and was sure they did not belong to Philadel-"phia, or he certainly should have had some "knowledge of them. They were from New "York, Mr. Gerry informed us, and of Mrs. "Gerry's particular acquaintances. What ad-"vantages are derived from a finished education "and the best of company. How does it banish "that awkward stiffness, so common when

"strangers meet in company, and engages the "most perfect strangers in all the freedom of an "easy and pleasing sociability common only to "the most intimate friends."

"Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street; his "house stands up a court-yard, at some distance "from the street. We" [*Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts and Doctor Cutler*] "found him "sitting upon a grass-plat, under a very large "mulberry, with several other gentlemen and "two or three ladies. There was no curiosity "in Philadelphia, which I felt so anxious to "see as this great man, who has been the won-"der of Europe, as well as the pride of Ameri-"ca. But a man who stood high, in the literary "world, and had spent so many years in the "Courts of Kings, particularly in the refined "Court of France, I conceived, would not be "of very easy access, and must, certainly, have "much the air of grandeur and majesty about "him. Common folks must expect only to "gaze at him, at a distance, and answer such "questions as he might please to ask. In "short, when I entered his house, I felt as if I "was going to be introduced into the presence "of an European monarch.

"But how were my ideas changed when I "saw a short, fat, trunched, old man, in a plain "quaker-dress, bald pate, and short white "locks, sitting without his hat, under the tree; "and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from "his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his "joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and "begged me to seat myself close to him. His "voice was low, but his countenance open, "frank, and pleasing. He instantly reminded "me of old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly "of his pitch, and no more the air of superiority "about him. I delivered him my letters. Af-"ter he had read them he took me again by the "hand, and, with the usual compliments, in-"troduced me to the other gentlemen, the most "of whom were members of the Convention. "Here we entered into a free conversation and "spent our time very agreeably, until it was "quite dark. The tea-table was spread under "the tree; and Mrs. Beach—a very gross and "rather a homely woman, who is the only "daughter of the Doctor and lives with him—"served it out to the company. She had three "of her children about her, over whom she "seemed to have no kind of command. They "seemed to be exceedingly fond of their grand-"father. The Doctor showed me a curiosity he "had just received, and with which he was "much pleased. It was a snake, with two "heads, preserved in a large vial. It was taken "near the confluence of the Schuylkill with "the Delaware, about four miles from this "city. It was about ten inches long, well pro-"portioned, the heads perfect, and united to the "body, about one-fourth of an inch below the "extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a "dark brown, approaching to black, and the "back beautifully speckled (if beauty can be "applied to a snake) with white. The belly "was rather chequered with a reddish color and "white. The Dr. supposed it to be full grown, "which I think is probable, and thinks it must "be a *sui generis*, of that class of animals. "He grounds his opinion of its not being an "extraordinary production, but a distinct genus, "on the perfect form of the snake, the prob-"ability of its being of some age, and there "having been found a snake, entirely similar, "(of which he shewed us a drawing) near "Lake Champlain, in the time of the late "War.

"He mentioned what the situation of this "snake would be, if it was traveling among "bushes, and one head should choose to go one "side of a bush and the other head should pre-"fer the other side, and neither would be will-"ing to come back or give way to the other! "He was then going to mention a humorous "matter that had occurred, that day, in Con-"vention, in consequence of his comparing the "snake to America—for he seemed to forget "that every thing in Convention was to be kept "a profound secret—but the secrecy of the Con-"vention matters was suggested to him, which "stopped him, and deprived me of the story he "was going to tell.

"After it was dark we went into the house "and the Doctor invited me into his library, "which is likewise his study. It is a very "large chamber and high. The walls were "covered with book-shelves filled with books; "besides, there are four alcoves, extending two-"thirds of the length of the chamber, filled "in the same manner. I presume this is the "largest and, by far, the best private library in "America.

"He showed a glass machine for exhibiting "the circulation of the blood, in the arteries "and veins of the human body. The circula-"tion is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid, "from a reservoir, into numerous capillary tubes "of glass ramified, in every direction, and then "returning, in similar tubes, to the reservoir, "which was done with great velocity, without "any power to act, visibly, upon the fluid, and "had the appearance of perpetual motion.

"Another great curiosity was a rolling press, "for taking copies of letters or any other writ-"ing. A sheet of paper is completely copied "in two minutes, the copy as fair as the origin-"al, and without defacing it. It is an inven-"tion of his own, and extremely useful, in "many situations in life. He also showed me

"his artificial arm and hand, for taking down "and putting up books, on high shelves, & "his great arm-chair, with rockers and a large "fan placed over it, with which he fans himself "& keeps off the flies while he sits reading, "with only a small motion of the foot. He "showed me many other curiosities & inven- "tions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over "his mantle-tree he has a great number of med- "als, busts, and casts, in wax or plaster of "Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted "characters in Europe.

"But what the Doctor wished principally "to show me was a huge volume on Botany, "and which, indeed, afforded me the greatest "pleasure of any one thing in his Library. It "was a single volume, but so large that it was "with great difficulty that the Doctor was able "to raise it from a low shelf, and lift it on the "table; but, with that senile ambition that is "common to old people, he insisted on doing it "himself, and would permit no person to assist "him, merely to show us how much strength he "had remaining. It contained the whole of "Linneaus's *Systema Vegitabilia*, with large "cuts of every plant, and colored from nature. "It was a feast to me; and the Doctor seemed "to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a "couple of hours in examining the volume, "while the other gentlemen amused themselves "with other matters. The Doctor is not a Bot- "anist, but lamented that he did not, in early "life, attend to this science. He delights in "Natural History; and expressed an earnest "wish that I should pursue the plan that I had "begun, and hoped this science, so much "neglected in America, would be pursued with "as much ardor, here, as it is, now, in every "part of Europe.

"I wanted, for three months, at least to have "devoted myself entirely to this one volume. "But, fearing, lest I should be tedious to the "Doctor, I shut the book, 'tho he urged me to "examine it longer. The Doctor seemed ex- "tremely fond of dwelling on philosophical "subjects, particularly Natural History; while "the other gentlemen were swallowed up with "politics. This was a favorable circumstance "for me; for almost the whole of his conversa- "tion was addressed to me, and I was highly "delighted with the extensive knowledge he "appeared to have, of every subject, the bright- "ness of his memory, and the clearness and "vivacity of all his mental faculties. Notwith- "standing his age—eighty-four—his manners "are perfectly easy; and every thing about "him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom "and happiness. He has an incessant vein of "humor, accompanied with an uncommon "vivacity, which seems as natural and involun- "tary as breathing. He urged me to call on "him, again; but my short tarry would not ad- "mit. We took our leave, at ten, and retired "to my lodgings."

July 14. Doctor Cutler visited Bartram's Botanical Garden, about two miles from Philadelphia. He was in illustrious company, as his party was made up of "Mr. Strong, Gov. "Luther Martin, Mr. Mason and son, Mr. Wil- "liamson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. "Hamilton, all members of the Federal Con- "vention, and Mr. Vaughan, and Dr. Clarkson "and son." The Doctor commends the garden; and yet severely criticises it, by declaring "every thing is very badly arranged, for they "are neither placed ornamentally nor botanical- "ly, but seem to be jumbled together, in heaps." He speaks of Governor Martin as having "a "smattering of Botany and a fine taste for "Natural History."

"At 11, attended Dr. Rush, in his visitation "to the Hospital. Was much interested. "Visited the room in which the Declaration of "Independence of the United States was "framed, signed, and declared by Congress. "The room is in Carpenter's Hall, and is now "improved as the depository of the trophies of "War, which established and crowned that "bold and glorious Declaration."

Having made a number of calls on gentlemen in the city, all of whom expressed regret at his leaving so soon, he "left the city, at half after "six, for New York."

On his way home, he visited Morristown, New Jersey, where he found some relatives. On the seventeenth of July, passing over Newark Mountains, and through Newark, he came to Bergentown, near which place he visited the Botanical Garden of M. Mechard, who came as the French King's Agent, to collect plants for the Royal Gardens, at Paris. The visit greatly disappointed him.

"Arrived at New York, about sunset, & "lodged again at Mr. Henderson's, who received "me with the greatest cordiality."

[To be Continued.]

Scrap.—The first building ever used in Chicago for postal or other business, was a small one and-a-half story frame-house, occupied as a grocery and dry-goods store, in the front of which a home-made, swinging signboard informed the passer-by, that John Hogan was proprietor of the place and Postmaster of the embryo city. The nearest Post-office was Detroit; and the mails were forwarded, very irregularly, from that point, alone. That was just forty years ago.

IV.—*A REMINISCENCE OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, IN SOUTH CAROLINA.**

COMMUNICATED BY REV. DR. HOWE, OF COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHESTER DISTRICT, S. C., July, 1836.

By reference to a number of this paper of July, 1835, the reader will see that, at a celebration of the Fourth of July, at the house of Mr. John Bonner, a Committee was appointed to wait on the Revolutioners present, and request that they would furnish particulars that came under their observation, which are not to be found in history, that such information be not lost to posterity.

Joseph Gaston, Esq., has at length favored the Committee with the object of their request, which, we think, will be read with great interest by every person who is proud of the gallant achievements of our patriotic forefathers.

We would observe, that while the aged author and hero relates his brief history, he says but little of self, whereas he is known to have suffered the most extreme toils and privations, that were known in these perilous times; was severely wounded in an engagement, in the face, the ball cut through the cheek-bone more than the size of itself, which for many years was painful and ulcerating, which left his cheek flat and very visible.

The Committee have to lament the death of James Harbison, Esq., who died on the third of November last. He had promised to write out some incidents, which the Committee had great expectations from, as he was an "eye and ear "witness" to the thunders of his country's sons, for liberty. He was one of the most gallant Revolutioners; had an iron constitution; a strong mind and honest heart; a very retentive memory; and in his mind lived, as if it had passed yesterday, every scene of the Revolution.

JAMES MCDILL,
Chairman of Committee.

[MR. GASTON'S NARRATIVE.]

SIR:

With pleasure, I, at this late hour, have attempted to comply with the polite request made by your respectable Committee, to the soldiers of the Revolution, present with you on the fourth of July, 1835. Your request was that they would furnish you with a few of the most important facts of those times which "tried men's souls;" and which are not related by, or perhaps, were not known to, our historians; but might be thought worthy of being preserved.

Sir, there is one train of events which has almost sunk into oblivion; and which, I hope, you will think worthy of being considered as one of the brightest pages in the history of our State. I would publish it, as a tribute of respect, to the memory of those undaunted patriots who were engaged in it, as well as to set before our countrymen, what invincible courage may achieve when determined on liberty or death! At the time, when the Capital of our State had surrendered to the invading enemy; our army of the South disarmed and imprisoned; and not a vestige of armed force on our behalf in the State, as far as can be discovered from the history of those gloomy times; five young men bound themselves, and made an effort, which is, perhaps, without a parallel!

Captain John McClure, a young man, perhaps twenty-five years old, had taken a part of his Militia Company on, towards Charleston, and was at or near Monk's-corner, when the town surrendered. His men then returned home; and he, on his way, called at the house of John Gaston, Esq., in the then Chester-county. When there, he and his friends received intelligence of the shocking massacre of Colonel Bradford's men, by Tarleton, two days previous, about twenty miles from the place where he had stopped—this massacre took place, perhaps, on the nineteenth of May, 1780. On the reception of this news, he (Captain McClure), and three of said Gaston's sons, and Captain John Steek, I think, arose upon their feet and made this united and solemn declaration: "that they "would never submit nor surrender to the "enemies of their country; that '*Liberty or* "'*death*,' from that time forth, should be their "motto!" Each of these young men had served three years in the Company of Captain Eli Kershaw, of the Third Regiment of South Carolina Militia, commanded by Colonel William Thompson, with the above motto inscribed on the front of their military caps.

About this time, a man calling himself Colonel Housman, came to the house of John Gaston, Esq., in a dress altogether plain, accompanied by about fifty of those plundering banditti which British policy had dignified with the name of "*loyalists*," and exhausted a considerable share of his logic, in advising the old gentleman to have his sons brought in, on a certain day, to give up their arms, at his encampment. His camp was to be pitched at Alexander's old fields, now Beckhamville.

The eloquence of the orator was inadequate to the task. True, they met him on the appointed day; but, for a purpose very different from that which he desired. These young men immediately visited the settlements of Fishing-creek, Rocky-creek, and Sandy-river, that they might

* This letter was originally printed in the *Columbia Hive*, of August 6, 1836.

obtain assistance to carry into effect the desperate effort they were about to make, and see who would favor the forlorn hope. In the course of the day and night, they collected together, in all, thirty-two volunteers: they were principally of the Knoxes, Walkers, Morrows, McClures, and Johnsons. James Johnson, then known as Adjutant Johnson, brother of Samuel and John Johnson, of Fairfield, was among the most zealous and persevering, on that occasion. With this Spartan band, Captain McClure attacked Colonel Housman, on the appointed day, and routed about two hundred men without losing a man. Two of the Captain's men were wounded: William McGarrety, (lately deceased) slightly; and Hugh McClure, brother to the Captain, and father of James McClure, Esq., of this district, had an arm broke. It is most possible that McClure's men did not wish to kill, knowing that many good men might be there who knew of no relief, but to submit and take parole. Only one was killed, and he was known to be a real friend to his country. The design was to raise the fallen standard of liberty once more in South Carolina, though it should be at the expense of their lives.

This little band then rushed to another collection of tories, of still worse materials, at Mobley's meeting-house, in Fairfield, where the tories suffered much. A number were killed!

The intrepid movements of this little band surprised them like a peal of thunder from a clear sky. News of McClure's movements instantly spread, and drew together, in a few days, from York and Fairfield, a few of those patriotic spirits that feel a courage which disregards numbers, when "their all is at stake." After this second engagement, his number was, in a short time, doubled. Among those who joined him, were Captain A. Gray and John Gray, maternal uncles of Rev. William B. Luers. This alarming news was soon conveyed, by the terror-stricken tories, to the British, at Camden. McClure and his men retreated into the lower part of North Carolina, where they found the patriotic General Thomas Sumter giving notice that he had a General's Commission, from Governor Rutledge of South Carolina, and inviting volunteers to his standard; and this small band formed the nucleus of his army.

The venerable Judge Johnson, in his *Life of General Green*, i., 286, states that, about this time, both General Sumter and Marion had gone to North Carolina; and, for want of this particular article of history, gives the credit of the first effort to breast the storm, to the men of Ninety-six, Waxhaws, and York District, and states that they never relinquished the effort until the enemy was driven out of the country. But as I was eye and ear witness to the solemn commencement, above stated, I believe that it was the opening wedge to the recovery of South Carolina, though one only of those five men survived the contest—Captain Steele being the only one who lived to see liberty purchased. The four others fell fighting under General Sumter, three of them at Hanging Rock—the Captain and two of the others. This was the fifth battle in which they had been engaged, from their embarkation for "Liberty or death!" viz: Beckhamsville, Mobley's meeting house, Hoik's defeat at Williamson's, now Brattonsville, Rocky Mount, and Hanging Rock. Lieutenant Alexander Gaston, the fourth one, died of small-pox, in Sumter's retreat from Wright's Bluff, at the house of a Mr. McConnel on Black-river.

General Sumter's Camp, at this time, was pitched in the Indian land, near the Nation Ford, on Catawba-river, where he soon learned that a detachment of British, from Camden, under Colonel Turnbull, had rushed up to Rocky Mount, to avenge the insult offered to his Majesty's friends, there. A part of these, under Captain Hoik, pursued on to Fishing creek-church, then occupied by the Rev. John Simpson, whose dwelling they reduced to ashes, on the eleventh of June, 1780, being Sabbath morning, and, in sight of this, they murdered an unoffending young man, William Strong, with his Bible in his hand, near to his father's door. They then proceeded on and burned Colonel Hill's Iron-works, and returned, loaded with plunder, consisting of every article that the hand of rapacity could carry off. They were those who were politely called "New "York Volunteers," alias, the green-coat Tories who had joined the British, in New York, and were now increased by some of the same honorable stamp, from Rocky Mount, under a suitable commander, Captain Hoik, who never failed, on convenient occasions, to curse Bibles and Presbyterians; and who had orders, when killed, from Colonel Turnbull, "To destroy and dis-"tress the hardened rebels, as far as possible."

About a month after this execution, the same detachment of blood-hounds set out, once more, and encamped at Williamson's, the residence of the father of Rev. John Williamson and Samuel Williamson, where McClure's Company, with others, from Sumter's camp, attacked them on the twelfth of July, 1780, soon after daylight; and killed Captain Hoik and a number of his men, without losing a man or having any wounded.

McClure, under Sumter fought, next, at Rocky Mount, on the thirty-first of July, 1780. We retreated, thence, to Land's Ford, without making much impression on Colonel Turnbull, he being stationed in a strong log-house; and

while at Land's Ford, General Sumter ordered an election for General Officers in the Chester Regiment. McClure's Company, that day, numbered about one hundred and twenty men. He was elected Colonel. Major John Nixon, father of Mrs. McKeown and Mrs. Hemphill, widow of Rev. J. Hemphill, was elected Lieutenant-colonel —Colonel E. Lacy having, at that time, become unpopular among the Chester Whigs.

From Land's Ford, General Sumter marched to Hanging Rock, on the seventh of August, 1780, where we—the writer having joined McClure's Company—attacked a Tory camp of seven or eight hundred men, mostly riflemen, hunters from the forks of Yadkin-river, under the command of Colonel Morgan Bryant. From that post, the British lay about a quarter of a mile. Our force, I think, was not more than four hundred men. Our order of battle was in three lines, about one hundred apart in files of two. The enemy's lines were extended from a point at right angles. McClure commanded the front of the centre line, against the united point of the enemy's line; and, on this account, sustained much of the enemy's first fire. The loss of our men, in the action, was twenty-three, nine of those were of McClure's Company, he being one of the nine; and nine more wounded, who recovered. The Captain, and perhaps three others, lived a few days after the battle.

I had been detached to go with my aged father, that he might be removed from the Tories, who sought his life, for being the friend of his oppressed country as well as for bringing nine sons into the field, for its defence. He was disappointed by the Tories on Cross-creek, of getting to a brother's, in Newbern, North Carolina, a Doctor Alexander Gaston, who was killed by the British, about this time. He then took a different route.

In my return, I marched with a detachment of men from Mecklenburg, North Carolina, and think the heroic patriotism of an old lady, on that occasion, worth recording: A Mrs. Haynes, of that County, as her son was about to leave the door and domestic circle, for the camp, as her parting counsel to him said: "Now Alexan-"der, fight like a man, and don't be a coward." This I had from an eye and ear witness. We joined General Sumter in the time of the engagement at Rocky Mount, and not long after our arrival I met young Haynes coming out of the fight, with satisfactory proof that he had obeyed the injunction of his patriotic mother, a ball having passed through his face—of this, however, he recovered, with the loss of an eye.

A Mr. Robert Walker, the maternal grandfather of R. W. Gill and E. Gill, late of Lancasterville, in this State, when engaged in the battle of King's-mountain, during the desperate effort made there, by both parties, of advancing and retreating, was shot through the body, near the heart, by one in his view; and, having his gun loaded at the time, he after this took deliberate aim and shot his opponent dead. He survived, and many heard him and his officer, Colonel E. Lacy, relate this fact.

N. B. I beg leave to mention that Captain John McClure was a younger brother of the late General William McClure, of Newbern, North Carolina, who endeared himself so much to our sick and wounded, in Charleston, during and after the siege of that place, by his medical assistance to them.

I added two anecdotes by way of conclusion, because I considered them well worthy inserting.

With most sincere respect, I am yours,

JOSEPH GASTON.

June 28th, 1836.

V.—*CONFEDERATE RAG-BAG.*

[Under this title, we propose to publish, from time to time, such detached papers, written by Confederate States officers, as are disconnected with others and, in themselves, too short or too unimportant to be published as distinct articles.

We shall be pleased to receive copies of all such papers, long or short, as our readers may be inclined to send to us, for this purpose.—EDITOR.]

I.

*General Breckinridge's Commission as Major-general of the Confederate States' Army.**

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
WAR DEPARTMENT,
RICHMOND, April 18th, 1862.

SIR,

You are hereby informed that the President has appointed you Major General &c. &c. To take rank April 14, 1862. In the Provisional Army in the service of the Confederate States. You are requested to signify your acceptance or non-acceptance of said appointment: and should you accept you will sign before a magistrate, the oath of office herewith, and forward the same with your letter of acceptance to this Department. You will report for duty to Gen Beauregard.

GEO W RANDOLPH,
Secretary of War.

Major Gen JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

[*At the foot.*]

Nobly won upon the field, With the hearty congratulations of

BRAXTON BRAGG.

G. T. B.

* From the original, in the collection of Captain C. W. Elwell, of New York.—EDITOR.

II.*

General Johnston to the President of the Confederate States.

HD QRS CENTREVILLE:
MARCH 3d, 1862:

MR PRESIDENT:

I respectfully submit three notes from Major-General Jackson, and one from Brig^{r} Gen^{l} Hill, for the information they contain of the enemy.

Your orders for moving cannot be executed now, on account of the condition of the roads and streams.

The removal of public property goes on with painful slowness—because, as the officers employed in it report, sufficient number of cars and engines cannot be had.

It is evident that a large quantity of it must be sacrificed—or your instructions not observed.—I shall adhere to them as closely as possible.—In conversation with you and before the Cabinet, I did not exaggerate the difficulties of Marching in this region. The suffering and sickness which would be produced can hardly be exaggerated.

Most respectfully
your ob't serv't
J. E. JOHNSTON
General.

His Ex^{cy} JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President.

[*Endorsed:*]

Col. Myers will read and report whether any increase can be made to the number of cars and engines—

JEFFER: DAVIS.

[COLONEL MYERS'S REPORT ON THE ABOVE LETTER.]

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
RICHMOND, March 7, 1862.

TO THE PRESIDENT,

I have the honor to report that, I have read Gen^{l} J. E. Johnston's letter of March 3^{d} to you, with you endorsement, directing me to report if any increase can be made to the number of cars and engines to Manassas.

All the cars belonging to the Va. Central Rail Road in running order are on the Orange Road. All the engines which are acceptable, except one are on that road.—that one is kept to run the mail train between Rich^{d} & Gordonsville. From reports of Conductors sent from the Central Road to Manassas, I am inclined to think that, there are too many trains now on that road—they are not able to pass each other on the turnouts.

Some Engines have been 36 hours in making the trip from Manassas to Gordonsville—Some cars sent on Sunday night last were at Gordonsville on Thursday morning. A letter from the Superintend^{t} of the Orange Road to the Presid^{t} of V^{a} C. R. R. states that he expects to have all that stores away from Manassas this (friday) evening—Some pork on the Manassas R. would require 4 or 5 days more for removal.

The cars and engines of the Manassas Gap road & Orange R. & V^{a} C. R.—are all I believe in use at Manassas—No further increase can be made—I respectfully return Gen^{l} Johnston's letter, & am your most ob't serv't

A. MYERS
Q. M. Gen^{l}.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

* From the originals, in the possession of John C. Ropes, Esqr., Boston, Massachusetts.—EDITOR.

VI.—"*THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS*" *OF VERMONT.*

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.—CONCLUDED FROM VOLUME I., PAGE 292.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

New Hampshire Grants (alias)
New Connecticut; Windsor } June 4th 1777 Convention op-en'd According to Adjournment.

Present the following Members.

Capt. Joseph Bowker in the Chair

1st Voted Lieutenant Martin Powel Assistant Clark.

Bennington	Nathan Clark Esq^{r} M^{r} Simeon Hathaway Capt John Burnham Doct^{r} Jonas Fay
Shaftsbury	Major Jeremiah Clark M^{r} Gideon Olin
Arlington	Capt Ebenezar Willoughby M^{r} Abel Benedict
Sunderland	Lieut Joseph Bradley M^{r} Eli Brownson
Manchester	M^{r} Thomas Bull Lieut. Martin Powell
Dorset	M^{r} Cephas Kent
Reupert	Doct^{r} Gaius Smith M^{r} Moses Robinson
Paulet	Capt. William Fitch Capt. Jonathan Willard
Wells	M^{r} Caleb Smith

Poltney	Capt. Zebediah Dewey
Castleton	by a Letter from s[d] town Aquiessing in forming a New State
Hul berton	M[r] Jesse Churchhill
Danby	Capt. Willam Gage
Tinmouth	Capt. Ebenezar Allen
Clarendon	Benj[a] Spencer Esq[r] Major Whitefield Foster Part Joseph Smith Minor Stephen Place Part
Rutland	L[t] John Southerland Capt Joseph Bowker
Pittsford	Capt. Jon[th] Fassett
Neshobe	Capt. Josiah Powers
Whiting	Capt Josiah Powers
Cornwal	M[r] Gam[l] Panther
Colchester	Capt Ira Allen Capt Heman Allen
Williston	Col[o] Tho[s] Chittenden
Willmington	M[r] W[m] Millin
Hallifax	Doct[r] W[m] Hill
Guilford	Col[o] Benj[a] Carpenter Capt John Barney
Brattleborough	L[t] Israel Smith
Townshend	M[r] John Dyer
Dummerston	L[t] Leonard Spalding
Putney	M[r] Denis Lockland
Westminster	Nath[l] Robinson Esq[r]
Rockingham	Doct[r] Reuben Jones
Chester	L[t] Jabez Serjeant
Kent	M[r] Edward Aikins
Cavendish	Capt John Coffin
Brumley	Capt W[m] Utley
Windsor	M[r] Ebenezar Hosington
Hertford	Maj[r] Joel Matthews M[r] W[m] Gallop
Woodstock	M[r] Benj[a] Emmonds
Hartford	Col[o] Joseph Marsh M[r] Stephen Tilden
Pomphret	John Troop John Winchester Dana Esq[r]
Bernard	M[r] Asa Whitcomb M[r] Asa Cheadle
Norwich	Col[o] Peter Olcott Maj[r] Tho[s] Moredock M[r] Jacob Burton
Sharon	Joel Marsh Esq[r] M[r] Daniel Gilbert
Thetford	L[t] Abner Chamberlain
Stratford	M[r] Fredireck Smith
Fairley	M[r] Amasa Woodworth
Moorton	Doct[r] Bildad Andress M[r] Benj[a] Baldin
Corinth	by a Letter Aquesing in a State
Newberry	M[r] John G D Bailey Capt Robert Johnson
Reading	M[r] Andrew Spear

[NOTE.—The manuscript record of the proceedings of the Convention ends, abruptly, at this place; and as we have not proposed to do more than faithfully re-produce the official Minutes of these early Conventions, we leave the subject where their Secretaries left it.

We are not insensible of the fact that what purported to have been reports of some portions of the subsequent action of this Convention appeared in some of the newspapers of that period; but our faith in newspaper reports, even those of the period in question, is not sufficient to induce us to elevate them to the dignity of an official record—such a work can best be done by that portion of the Vermont Historical Society which does not hesitate to alter or make additions to a record, whenever the teachings of that record clash with their own aprocryphal narratives or with their narrow ideas of what should have been written, but was not.—EDITOR.]

VII.—*HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO-COUNTY, NEW YORK.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16.

BY S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

III.—*COUNTY ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY; COUNTY AND CIRCUIT COURTS; IMPORTANT TRIALS; COUNTY OFFICERS.*

ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY.—In the year 1798, the County of Chenango was erected, from parts of Herkimer and Tioga-counties, including in that taken from the former, the present towns of Nelson, Eaton, Madison, Georgetown, Lebanon, Hamilton, Brookfield, De Ruyter, and a portion of Cazenovia, in the County of Madison, and the town of Bridgewater, in Oneida-county, with its southern boundary on the present County of Broome, including the towns of Smithville, Oxford, Guilford, Greene, Coventry, and Bainbridge, taken from Tioga-county; separated from the County of Otsego and a small portion of Delaware, on the East, by the Unadilla-river; and bounded, on the West, by that portion of the "Military Tract" embraced in Cortland and the South-eastern part of Onondaga-county, including the present towns of Lincklaen, Pitcher, and German, and by a small portion of Broome-county.

In 1806, Madison-county was erected from parts of Oneida and Chenango, taking off, from the latter, the town of Bridgewater, now in Oneida, and the towns of Cazenovia, De Ruyter, Nelson, Eaton, Madison, Georgetown, Lebanon, and Hamilton, on the North, and leaving it with its present boundaries, including the six towns of Smithville, Oxford, Guilford, Greene, Coventry, and Bainbridge, on the South. The towns of Pitcher and Lincklaen were subsequently taken from German, on the West. There are, therefore, remaining,, or were, up to the erection of Afton, in the County, under its new organization, the same number of towns, as in the original "Twenty "Townships."

Court of Common Pleas.—The first Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace for the County, was held at Hamilton, in the School-house, near the dwelling of Elisha Payne, in June, 1798. The presiding Judges were Isaac Foote, Joab Enos, and Joshua Leland, with Assistant-justices Oliver Norton and Elisha Payne. Thomas R. Gold, Joseph Kirkland, Nathan Williams, Stephen O. Runyan, Nathaniel King, Arthur Breese, Peter B. Garnsey, and Medad Curtis were admitted as Attorneys and Counsellors of the Court; and five civil causes were tried. The second term was held at Oxford, in October of the same year, when John Lincklaen, of Cazenovia, and Benjamin Hovey, of Oxford, took their seats as additional Associate-justices. General Erastus Root, of Delhi, was, on motion of Mr. Garnsey, admitted a Counsellor of the Court. The Terms were held, thereafter, alternately, at Hamilton and Oxford, in July and October of each year. In July, 1799, Joel Thompson, of Norwich, and Gershom Hyde, of Oxford, took their seats on the Bench, as Associate-justices. In July, 1800, Isaac Foote was appointed First, or presiding, Judge, and Jonathan Forman took his seat as an Associate-judge. In July, 1804, General Obadiah German, of Norwich, and Jeremiah Whipple were added to the Bench, as Associate-judges; and, at the October Term, Abner Purdy and Casper M. Rouse, of Norwich, took their places, as Assistant-justices. In October, 1805, Thomas Lyon, Junior, took his seat as an Associate-judge, and Samuel Payne and Nathaniel Medbury as Assistants.

In 1807, Peter Betts, of Bainbridge, was appointed an Associate-judge of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions. In January, 1808, the first Term of the Court was held at North Norwich, pending the erection of a Court-house, at Norwich, which was completed in the Spring of 1809, upon a site given by Peter B. Garnsey, Esq., on what is now known as the West Green, or Commons, and on which the present Court-house was erected, in 1838. Joel Thompson, Esq., was appointed First, or presiding, Judge of the new Court, with General German and Judges Rouse, Purdy, Lyon, and Betts, Associate-judges and Assistant-justices Payne and Medbury.

At the June Term of the Court, in 1809, held at the Court-house in Norwich, Anson Cary took his seat as an Associate-judge, in place of Judge Lyon. In 1810, William McCalpin, of Oxford, Tracy Robinson, Nathaniel Waldron, of German, and Elisha Smith, of Norwich, were appointed Associate-judges; in 1811, Ebenezer Wakeley, of German; and, in 1813, John Gray, Junior, and Asa Norton, of Norwich, with John S. Flagler and Joel Hatch, of Sherburne, as Assistant-justices. In 1814, General Obadiah German, of North Norwich, was appointed First Judge, and Obadiah Sands, Samuel Campbell, and John S. Flagler, Associate-judges, with John Twitchell, of Norwich, and Chester Hammond, as Assistant justices. In 1815, Nathaniel Waldron was re-appointed an Associate-judge, and Casper M. Rouse and John Noyes, of Norwich, and Isaac Sherwood, of Oxford, also took their seats as Judges. In 1816, Tilly Lynde, of Sherburne, and Barnabas Brown, of New-Berlin; and in 1817, Charles Josslyn, of Greene, were appointed Associate-judges. In October, 1819, Uri Tracy, of Oxford, took his seat as First Judge; and, in 1822, Nathan Taylor and Levi Bigelow were appointed Associate-judges, in place of Charles Josslyn and Barnabas Brown. In October, 1824, John Tracy, of Oxford, was appointed First Judge and Surrogate, with Judges Noyes, Taylor, and Bigelow, Associate-judges. In 1829, Hezekiah Read, of Pharsalia, and, in 1831, Charles York, of Norwich, were appointed Associate-judges, in place of Judges Noyes and Taylor. In 1833, Smith M. Purdy, of Norwich, succeeded Judge Tracy, as First Judge and Surrogate; and, in 1837, Samuel McKoon, of Oxford, and Joshua Lamb, of Columbus, re-placed Judges Read and York, and Judge Bigelow was appointed First Judge. In 1838, Solomon Ensign, Junior, of Pitcher, and, in 1841, Philo Robinson, of Oxford, re-placed Judges McKoon and Lamb, on the Bench. In 1843, Roswell Judson, of Sherburne, was appointed First Judge, with Austin Hyde, of Oxford, and Adam Storing, of Otselic, as Associate-judges. In 1846, Erastus Dickinson, of Guilford, was appointed in place of Judge Robinson. At the first election of Judges, under the Constitution of 1846, Smith M. Purdy and Harvey Hubbard, of Norwich, and Francis E. Dimmick, of Plymouth, were elected Judges, Judge Purdy presiding.

Circuit Court and Court of Oyer and Terminer.—The first Circuit Court and Court

of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail delivery, was held at the Academy, in Oxford, on the tenth of July, 1798, by the Hon. James Kent, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, remaining in session, however, only for an hour or two, no business being in readiness. The second Term was held at Hamilton, in July, 1799, by Justice Jacob Radcliff, of the Supreme Court, with a similar result. Justice Morgan Lewis presided at the third Term, on the thirtieth of June, 1800, at Hamilton, when two jury causes were disposed of. Justice John Lansing, Junior, held the fourth Circuit, in June 1801, also at Hamilton. The fifth Circuit was presided over by Judge Kent, at Oxford, in June, 1802; and the sixth by Justice Smith Thompson, at the same place, in June, 1803. At the seventh, in May, 1804, at Oxford, Justice Ambrose Spencer presided; and the two ensuing Terms, in 1805 and 1806, were held by Justices Daniel D. Tompkins and Brockholst Livingston, at Hamilton.

At the first Circuit after the re-organization of the County, held at Oxford, in May, 1807, Justice Daniel D. Tompkins presiding, Henry Van Der Lyn, Esqr., of Oxford, was admitted as Attorney and Counsellor. In the ensuing year, at North Norwich, Justice Yates presiding, James Birdsall of Norwich was admitted to the same honor; and, in 1809, at the same place, Justice Thompson presiding, William M. Price and James Clapp, of Oxford, and David Buttolph, of Norwich, were admitted as Counsellors. A Mr. Hill was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hung, at this Term, for the murder of a child. The sentence was, however, subsequently commuted by the Governor, to imprisonment.

After this period, the Circuit Courts were held at the Court-house in Norwich, by Chief-justices Kent and Spencer, and Justices Van Ness, Woodworth, and Yates, until the adoption of the Constitution of 1821, under which Samuel Nelson, of Cortland, was appointed Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, including the Counties of Otsego, Delaware, Broome, Tioga, Cortland, and Chenango. On his transfer to the Bench of the Supreme Court, in 1836, Robert Monell, of Greene, Chenango-county, was appointed his successor, and continued to occupy the position until he became disqualified by age, when he was succeeded by Hiram Gray, of Delaware. Judge Gray remained in office until the adoption of the Constitution of 1846.

Important Trials.—One of the most important trials in the Chenango Circuit, took place in September, 1812, at Norwich. General David Thomas, then State Treasurer, was indicted by the Grand Jury for the alleged bribery, or attempt at bribery, of Casper M. Rouse, a member of the State Senate, for the District of which Chenango formed a part, in order to procure his influence and vote for a Bill, then pending before the Legislature, for the incorporation of the Bank of America, in the city of New York, and in which General Thomas, individually and as a leading politician, felt a deep interest.

The charge, involving, as it did, the public and private integrity of an important functionary of the State Government, and intimately connected, as it was, with an exciting political campaign, created an intense interest, not only in the vicinity where the alleged offence was committed, but throughout the State, at large. Those were not the times when corruption of this nature was allowed, either on a great or a small scale, to taint the purity of the legislative ermine. It was felt to be absolutely necessary, on the part of the great political party to which Thomas belonged, and with which he was known to be closely identified, effectually to clear its skirts from all participation in this nefarious transaction. The most eminent legal counsel in the State were engaged, both for the prosecution and the defence. Thomas Addis Emmett, the Attorney-general—known, far and wide, as one of the highest luminaries of the profession—conducted the case, on behalf the People; and Elisha Williams, of Columbia, the ablest and most successful jury-lawyer of the State, was retained by the accused. The forensic combatants were, in all respects, equally matched, and each worthy of his foeman's steel. The trial took place before the Hon. William W. Van Ness, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court—a jurist whose long experience, eminent abilities, and incorruptible character, were eminently adapted to enable him to hold the scale of justice equally poised.

The principal, and most important, witness, on behalf of the prosecution, was, of course, Senator Rouse, himself. He testified, in substance, that General Thomas, as the agent of the applicants for the Bank, in passing through Norwich, in the Autumn of the preceding year, on a mission to the southern and western Counties of the State, visited him, at his residence, and asked for and obtained a private interview; in the course of which, after alluding to the efforts of a party or clique, in the city of New York, known as the Lewis, or "Martling," men, and to whom he knew the witness was strongly opposed, to procure a Charter for a Bank, in which they were interested, he apprised him of the intention to apply, at the ensuing Session, for the Bank of America, to be located in the same city, and informed him that, if this application should prove successful, he, Rouse, *should have ten shares in it.* The witness, in reply to this suggestion, said he had not a favorable opinion of Banks, and, besides, had no money

to invest in bank-stock; to which Thomas responded that "if he did not wish to keep the "stock, he would pledge his honor that he, "Rouse, *should realise one thousand dollars, "clear profits, from the shares.*" It did not clearly appear, from his testimony, whether a definitive answer was, or was not, given to this proposition; but, on leaving him, Thomas requested him to call, on his arrival at Albany, on Solomon Southwick, Editor of the *Albany Register*, and a leading Democratic politician, interested in the success of the application. Rouse, however, did not call on Southwick, as desired: nor did he vote for the Charter; but, about the middle of the Session, the agents for the application becoming alarmed, John Van Ness Yates, a prominent Democratic politician, of Albany—afterwards Secretary of State—called upon him, on Sunday, and pressed him, again, to see General Thomas. With this request, he complied; and Thomas opened the interview by anxiously inquiring of him whether he had divulged the conversation which took place at Norwich, in the preceding Autumn. On being answered in the negative, he earnestly requested him not to do so, and assured him that, whether he had voted, or should vote, against the Bank, or not, he *should have his thousand dollars.* It appeared, also, that Rouse subsequently voted for General Thomas, as Treasurer. The latter also published, after the trial, an affidavit contradicting the material allegations of Rouse's testimony.

Mr. Southwick, then in the "full tide of suc- "cessful experiment," as an organ of Democratic public opinion, was also examined as a witness; and his testimony, in conjunction with the equivocation and contradictions elicited from the examination of the principal witness and the unrivalled eloquence and ingenuity of the counsel for the defence, succeeded in throwing so heavy a cloud of doubt upon the minds of the jury, as to the real motives and conduct—not of *the Defendant, but of the witness*—that they were induced to return a verdict of Not Guilty. The evidence would seem to have shown, unequivocally, that, whatever might have been the duplicity or tergiversation of Rouse, in the transaction, there could have been no reasonable ground to question the complicity, or the guilt, of Thomas. The jury, however, appear to have regarded the former, instead of the latter, as having been substantially on trial, and to have based their verdict on a virtual disbelief of his testimony and a suspicion of *his* integrity.

In January, 1833, occurred the trial, before the Hon. Robert Monell, Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, of George Denison, for the murder of Reuben Gregory. The circumstances attending this murder were of a very peculiar nature, and excited great interest. The prisoner and his victim were both residents of the town of Columbus, of about the same age—twenty six or twenty-seven years—and on terms of the greatest intimacy and friendship with each other. Young Gregory resided with his father, Hamlin Gregory, who kept a public house, on the main road between Columbus and New Berlin, where Denison, who was of dissipated and disreputable habits, was a frequent visitor. On the day of the murder, in the Summer or Fall of 1832, Denison had been refused, by the elder Gregory, an additional supply of liquor, on the ground that he had already had enough, and indignantly left the house, threatening dire revenge. The elder Gregory uniformly wore a large slouched hat, and was in the frequent habit of smoking a clay pipe. The younger never smoked, and wore an ordinary tall crowned beaver, or felt, hat. Unfortunately, on the afternoon of that day, the latter was suffering under a violent attack of tooth-ache; and, after having resorted to various remedies, without relief, had been advised to try the effect of tobacco. Taking up, filling, and lighting a pipe, and hastily seizing upon his father's slouched hat, he passed into an adjoining room, which opened upon a wood-shed; sat down, in a chair, immediately fronting the door, which was open; pulled his hat over his eyes; and commenced smoking. The evening twilight was, by this time, setting in. Denison, in the meantime, had gone home; loaded his gun with a charge of shot, intending only, as he persisted, up to the last moment, on the gallows, in asserting, to "pepper old Gregory's legs." Stealing along, in the deepening gloom of the evening, he entered the wood-shed; and seeing, as he supposed, the elder Gregory, seated in his accustomed attitude, enjoying his pipe, he deliberately aimed his deadly weapon, and fired. The charge of shot entered the heart of the unfortunate son; passed through his body; and lodged in the adjoining wall. There can be no doubt, from the shot itself, and from subsequent revelations, on the part of Denison, that he *did aim*, as well as, in his excited condition, he was able, at the *legs* of his victim, whom he unquestionably supposed to be the elder Gregory. But neither of these circumstances were deemed sufficient to constitute any legal or valid defence. He was found skulking, early in the following morning, in the neighboring fields, where he had evidently spent the night, arrested, examined, and committed for trial. He was visibly horrified, on discovering the nature and extent of the terrible tragedy he had enacted. Reuben Gregory was one of his best and most cherished friends; nor was he capable, in his wildest moments of delirium, of harming a hair of his head.

At the trial, Abial Cook, Henry Vanderlyn,

and Samuel S. Randall were assigned, by the Court, as his Counsel—the latter, at the prisoner's own request—and John Clapp, Esq., the District Attorney, appeared in behalf of the People. The public excitement was at its highest pitch; and so crowded was the Court-house, at the opening of the case, that fears were entertained for its safety, and the Court was adjourned to the Presbyterian-church, in the neighborhood. The father of the murdered youth was well nigh insane, and was scarcely able, in his excitement and mental agony, to give a connected account of the melancholy transaction. When, on the opening of the defence, a panic occurred, in consequence of some operations going on, in a neighboring yard, and a general stampede of the vast audience took place, under the supposition that the pillars and roof of the church were falling, the miserable and almost demented father raved and stormed like a madman, denouncing the supposed crash of the building as a righteous retribution upon the Counsel for the prisoner. The defence rested solely upon the condition of the prisoner's mind, at the time of the perpetration of the act, and the absence of all intention to kill any one, much less his friend, against whom he could have harbored no malice. But the plea was unavailing; and the prisoner was convicted, and sentenced to be executed in the ensuing March. A strong effort was made to procure Executive interposition, under the special and peculiar circumstances of the case; but Governor Marcy, after a careful examination of the case, in all its bearings, declined to interfere; and the unfortunate man was executed, at Norwich, on the nineteenth of March, protesting, to the last, his innocence of all intention to murder.

County Officers.—The first Sheriff of the County was Uri Tracy, of Oxford, appointed in 1798. He was succeeded, in 1801, by Nathaniel Locke, and, in 1805, by Anson Carey, both of Oxford. Colonel William Munroe, of Norwich, Isaac Foote, of Sherburne, and Samuel Campbell, of Columbus, held the office, alternately, for short periods, under the political revolutions of the Council of Appointment, at Albany, from 1808 to 1821; when General Thompson Mead, of Norwich, received the appointment; and retained the office, by election, under the Constitution of that year, until 1826, when he was succeeded by Samuel A Smith, of Guilford; in 1829, by General Augustus C. Welsh, of New Berlin; in 1832, by Amos A. Franklin, of Oxford; in 1835, by Jabez Robinson, of Oxford; in 1838, by William Hatch, of Greene; in 1841, by Enos S. Halbert, of Pitcher; in 1844, by Joseph P. Chamberlain, of Bainbridge; in 1847, by William Church, of Coventry; and, in 1850, by Levi H. Case, of Smyrna.

Samuel Sidney Breese, of Cazenovia, was the first County Clerk; and was succeeded, in 1801, by Uri Tracy, of Oxford, to which place the County Records were removed. Mr. Tracy held the appointment until 1815, when he was succeeded by David G. Bright, of Norwich, and the records were deposited in the Clerk's Office, erected in that village. In August, 1819, Perez Randall, of Norwich, was appointed as the successor of Mr. Bright, and held the office, under the Council of Appointment and by successive elections, until 1832, with the exception of a brief interval, in 1820, when it was filled by Nathan Chamberlin, of Norwich, and Doctor William Mason, of Preston. From 1832 to 1835, the office was held by Colonel Jarvis K. Pike, of North Norwich, when Mr. Randall was again elected and retained the position, until his death, in the Spring of 1839. Cyrus Wheeler, of Norwich, was appointed, by the Governor, to supply the vacancy, until the ensuing November, when Alfred Purdy was elected; and was succeeded, in 1843, by John Latham, of Guilford; in 1846 and 1849, by Burr B. Andrews and Nelson Pellett, of Norwich; and, in 1852, by James G. Thompson of Norwich.

Thomas R. Gold, of Oneida, was the first District Attorney of the County, and was succeeded, in 1802, by Nathan Williams, of Utica. In 1811, Nicholas King, and, in 1815, Daniel Kellogg, were appointed, and were succeeded, in 1816, by Joseph L. Richardson; in 1821, by Simon G. Throop, of Oxford; in 1822, by Lot Clark, of Norwich; in 1823, by John C. Clark, of Bainbridge; and, in 1827, by Robert Monell, of Greene. In 1828, Lot Clark was again appointed, and was succeeded, in 1830, by John Clapp of Norwich, who retained the position until his removal to Binghamton, in 1841. George M. Smith, of Norwich, was appointed in his place, and was succeeded by Robert O. Reynolds, after which Mr. Smith was again appointed, and held the office until 1847, when James M. Banks, of Bainbridge, was elected, under the Constitution of 1846, the appointments having been previously made, up to 1822, by the Council of Appointment, and subsequently, down to 1846, by the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

Through the politeness of John Clapp, Esq., of Binghamton, we have been favored with the following copy of a subscription circulated in 1806, for the erection of the Court-house at Norwich, in opposition to the rival claims of Oxford:

"We, the subscribers, promise and agree to "pay unto Peter B. Garnsey, Stephen Collins, and "Silas Cole, such sum as we shall place opposite "our names, for the purpose of circulating peti-"tions through the County, to obtain the Court-

"house and Gaol at the Village of Norwich, and "such other purpose as the above Committee "shall think expedient and proper for obtaining "the buildings aforesaid :

"Isaac Cornell	£0.16.0	Stephen Steer	$ 1.00
"Enoch Allen	$ 1.00	Silas Cole	20 00
"John Harris	3.00	Peter B. Garnsey	30.00
"John Bowen	1.00	Hascall Ransford	15.00
"Edward Wait	1.00	Casper M. Rouse	10.00
"Silas Higbe	5.00	Frederick Hopkins	5.00
"John Adams, paid	1.00	Sam'l Hull	1.00
"William Ransford	1.00	James Birdsall	5.00
"Asel Steere	5.00	Ames M. Smith	1.00
"Perez Randall	5.00	Joseph Brooks	1.00
"Seth Garlick	10.00	Blinn Harris	5.00
"Jonhathan Johnson	10.00	Josiah Miller	£0.16.0
"Benj'n Edmunds	10.00	John Bottom	0.12.0
"Josiah Dickinson	10.00	Hezekiah Brown	$ 3.00
"Joel Crane	1.00	Jesse Sapham	1.00
"Eleaznr Skinner	2.00	Alexander McCutter	1.00
"Nathan Whipple	5.00	Joseph Sheffield	1.00
"Nathan Parker	2.00	Edward Goodrich	1.00

IV.—*WAR OF* 1812.

On the eighth of September, 1812, four hundred volunteers rendezvoused, at Norwich, as recruits for the front, in the War with England, declared in the preceding June. They spread their tents on the open meadows, East of Steere's Hotel—the old Eagle—then kept by Moses Doty ; made choice of Lieutenant-colonel Thompson Mead as their commandant ; and, on the twentieth, started on their march for the western and northern frontier.

My own recollection does not extend back to this period ; but my friend, Nelson B. Hale, remembers and has well described the scene, in a late number of *The Telegraph*, which he was so kind as to send me, a few weeks since. Mr. Clark informs us that about half the Regiment, thus assembled, were residents of Chenango, and the residue of Broome and Tioga. John Randall, Junior, of Norwich, was Major ; John Noyes, Senior, Adjutant ; Asa Norton, Quartermaster, and Doctor William Mason, of Preston, Surgeon of the Regiment. Among the Captains of Companies, were Reuben Gray, of Sherburne ; Nathan Taylor, of South New Berlin ; Thornton Wasson, of Guilford ; and Daniel Root, of German—all good men and true. Those among the Lieutenants who did most efficient service in the field, were Charles Randall, of Captain Gray's Company, and John Fields, who had formerly been in the British Army. Upon the arrival of the Regiment at Buffalo, early in October, they immediately marched down the Niagara-river, and took position, on the American side, opposite Queenstown Heights. In the sanguinary engagement which followed, Colonel Mead's Regiment took an active part. "On "the morning of the thirteenth," says Mr. Clark, "at early dawn, one hundred of the "Regiment took to the boats and crossed from "Lewiston to Queenstown. Colonel Thompson "Mead ; Captains Bacon, (of Broome) Wasson, "and Root ; Lieutenants Charles Randall and "John Fields, were with the men. On their "way across the ferry, they met Colonel Solo-"mon Van Rensselaer returning, in a boat, bad-"ly wounded. A speedy landing, in good "order, was effected, and the men formed and "ascended the mountain, taking position, in "open fields, on its apex—a few rods to the "South of General Brock's monument, and only "about thirty rods from the line of the Indians "secreted behind forest trees and a heavy rail-"fence. Colonel Mead was repeatedly fired "upon, while passing to and fro, giving orders "to the men. Sergeant Mann was shot, stand-"ing by his side. Branches of trees over his "head were cut by rifle-bullets. The aim of "the savages was every instant growing more "precise and fatal. Lieutenant Charles Ran-"dall, seeing the dangerous position of his Com-"pany, hastily beat up for volunteers to drive "the savages, and to take shelter in their se-"cure retreat. The charge succeeded in putting "the red men to flight, with some loss in their "number ; and the troops had a few hours of "repose, before the closing scene of the pro-"tracted contest."

The total loss of the Americans, in this battle, in which the late Major-general Winfield Scott "fleshed his maiden sword," was estimated at one thousand men : one hundred were killed, two hundred captured, and about three hundred of the remainder surrendered, with General Scott. The prisoners, including Colonel Mead's Regiment, were taken to Niagara, and from thence to Newark—afterwards burned by the Americans. Lieutenant Fields unfortunately fell into the hands of his former British Commandant, but succeeded in escaping recognition, and was shortly after dismissed on parole. Lieutenant Randall conversed freely with his British captors, at Newark, who appeared greatly to admire the pluck and daring by which the Indians were so promptly and effectually driven from their dangerous ambush. On the nineteenth or twentieth of October, the prisoners were all discharged on parole ; and the surviving members of the Chenango Regiment returned home.

In this engagement, Colonel Mead appears to have behaved with great coolness and determination. In his retreat, he somewhat unwisely concealed a valuable sword, in his possession, a loan from a friend, in the rocks at Queenstown, the subsequent discovery of which caused many a pleasant jest at his expense.

Captain Charles Randall died at the residence of his son, John A. Randall, in Norwich, early in April last, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. He was the oldest of the early pioneers of the County, living at the time of his

death: having settled in Pharsalia, in 1797, when seventeen years of age. He was a member and Deacon of the Baptist-church, for upwards of fifty years; and one of the founders and Trustees of the Baptist Education Society, whose Seminary is located at Hamilton.

V.—*THE CHENANGO-CANAL; RAILROADS.*

The Chenango-canal.—In the year 1824, petitions from the Chenango-valley were first presented to the Legislature, by John F. Hubbard, in the Assembly, for the construction of the Chenango-canal. Discussions as to the practicability and expediency of such a work, in connection with the waters of the Chenango-river and Oneida-creek, had, for many years previous, agitated the public mind; but no decisive movement in its favor had taken place. The Canal Committee, to whom the petitions were referred, reported in favor of a survey; but no definitive action was had in the matter. In the succeeding year, a survey was ordered; and, in 1826, the subject was again agitated, and a favorable report again made by the Canal Committee, in the House; but the survey authorized by the Act of 1825 not having been regarded as sufficiently minute and accurate, the Bill was rejected. During the ensuing Summer, the inhabitants of the Valley, at their own expense, procured another survey of the summit-level; and, during the Session of 1827, the Bill for the construction of the Canal passed the Assembly, but was rejected in the Senate. Another survey of the entire line was procured by the citizens, at a heavy expense, resulting in the conclusion of Mr. Roberts, the Engineer, that a sufficient supply of water existed; and that the Canal could be constructed, at a cost of less than one million of dollars. This opinion was also concurred in by Mr. Benjamin Wright, who personally reviewed the whole line, and by Mr. Hutchinson, an Engineer, who carefully examined the estimates. In 1828, a Bill for its construction again passed the Assembly, and was again rejected in the Senate. The application was again renewed, in 1829; and a Bill was passed through both houses, authorizing the construction, if, in the judgment of the Canal Commissioners, there was a sufficiency of water; if it could be constructed for a million of dollars; and if, when constructed, it would yield, for the first ten years, a revenue, including the increase of tolls on the Erie-canal, equal to the cost of repairs and the interest of the sum expended in its construction. On the twenty-first of January, 1830, the Commissioners, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Samuel Young, Henry Seymour, and William C. Bouck, reported that while, in their judgment, an adequate and abundant supply of water existed, the cost of constuction would exceed one million of dollars, and that, if constructed, the proposed Canal would not produce an amount of tolls, in connection with the increased tolls on the Erie-canal, equal to the interest of its cost and the expense of repairs and superintendence, *nor of either of them*. The project was, therefore, temporarily abandoned.

On the twenty-third of February, 1833, however, through the exertions of Senator Hubbard, ably seconded, in the Senate, by William H. Maynard and Henry A. Foster, of Oneida, and by Lieutenant-governor John Tracy, Francis Granger, of Ontario, and the delegation from the Valley, in the Assembly, an Act for the construction of the Canal, from Utica to Binghamton, a distance of ninety-seven miles, triumphantly passed the Legislature and became a law, by the signature of the Governor. Great rejoicings throughout the Valley followed this intelligence; and a grand Canal-celebration and festival was held at Norwich. The work was immediately commenced, and completed, in 1837, at an aggregate cost of one million, seven hundred and thirty-seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-three dollars. There are, on the route, one hundred and sixteen lift-locks—including two of stone—and seven reservoirs. The main trunk of the Canal is forty feet in width, on the surface, and twenty-eight, at the bottom; seven feet in depth; with four feet depth of water. It is conceded, however, that the income derived from the Canal has, at no time, defrayed its current expenses of repairs and superintendence.

Railroads.—The Utica, Chenango, and Susquehannah-valley Railroad, passes through Sherburne and North Norwich, terminating at Norwich, and connecting that village with Utica; and the New York, Oswego, and Midland Railroad passes through Sherburne, Norwich, and Guilford, forming a direct communication from New York to Oswego. Other railroads are in process of construction, from Norwich to De Ruyter, in Madison-county, and thence to Auburn, in Cayuga-county, and from Cortlandville to Norwich. The Albany and Susquehannah Railroad, connecting Albany and Binghamton, also passes through Bainbridge and Afton.

VI.—*BANK OF CHENANGO.*

The first banking institution in the County, was the Bank of Chenango, at Norwich, incorporated on the twenty-first of April, 1818, with a capital not exceeding two hundred thousand dollars, to be divided into shares of fifty dollars each. The actual capital has, however, at no time, subsequently exceeded one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The first Board of Directors consisted of Charles Knapp, Tilly Lynde, Henry Mitchell, James Birdsall, Joseph

S. Fenton, Mark Steere, Joshua Pratt, Junior, John Noyes, Cyrus Strong, Robert Moncil, Jonathan Johnson, David G. Bright, and Nathan Chamberlin. The first President was Charles Knapp; the second, Thomas Milner; the third Ira Willcox, in 1830; and the fourth, Walter M. Conkey, in 1853, who retained the position until his death, at the close of the past year. Matthew Talcott, of Utica, a brother of the former Attorney-general, Talcott, was appointed the first Cashier. He was, soon afterwards, succeeded by Joseph S. Fenton, who gave place to James Birdsall; when, in 1834, Walter M. Conkey was appointed, and held the place for a period of nearly twenty years: having been succeeded, in 1853, by William B. Pellet. Giles Chittenden was the first Teller, and was succeeded, first, by George Field, and, two years subsequently, by David S. Perry, who gave place, in 1826, to Mr. Conkey. Mr. Pellet was appointed Book-keeper and Teller, in the ensuing year. It will, therefore, be seen that Mr. Conkey had been continuously in the employ of the Bank, as Teller, Cashier, and President, *forty-seven* years; and Mr. Pellet as Book keeper, Teller, and Cashier, *forty-six*. So admirably were the financial affairs of this institution managed, during the first thirty years of its existence, that, in 1849, the Directors divided among the shareholders a nett surplus of forty-nine thousand dollars, after paying the annual dividend.

For several years after this period, this remained the only Bank in the County. Both Mr. Conkey and Mr. Pellet died within a few weeks of each other—the former, in December, 1872, and the latter, in January, 1873. George Rider was elected President and Martin Mac Lean Cashier.

[To be Continued.]

VIII.—*FLOTSAM.*

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. His. Mag.]

An Old Landmark.

There are but few people in this region who have not observed, when passing through the streets of Augusta, an antique looking building known as "Winthrop Hall;" yet, doubtless, comparatively few, not resident in Augusta, are aware of the interesting associations connected with it.

This building is the remains of the first "Meeting-house" built in the new city of Augusta. It was erected at the expense of the town in an age when the people were compelled, by law, to support the established religion. The first attempt to provide for the erection of a "Meeting-house," was made at a town-meeting, held in 1777. It was then voted to build a Meeting-house, and locate it upon the East side of the river, which seems to have been unsatisfactory. In 1779, the location was changed to the lot now the corner of Water-street and Market-square—occupied by Snow—although Water-street was not then laid out. The strife did not end with this action of the town; but, two years afterward, the location was again fixed at the spot facing Market-square, and preparations were made to proceed with the great undertaking, the size and style of the building determined upon, and a Committee to make contracts and superintend the work, appointed. It was erected and occupied in 1782, although not entirely finished until 1795. For several years after its erection, it was not only used as the Meeting-house, but the town meetings were generally held there; and it was the place where the people assembled, on "great occasions." On Sundays, "Uncle "Livermore," the watchful Sexton, aroused the listless and sleepy in the audience, to attention to the "preached word;" and, with his long pole, kept the boys in subjection, if they became uneasy or worried by the long service or disturbed the congregation by efforts to keep themselves from freezing in the unwarmed building, with the cold twenty degrees below zero. In 1786, the Rev. Isaac Foster preached in the Meeting-house, and was settled at a salary of "£100 lawful money."

It was from this house that the self-murderer, Purington, and his murdered family, were buried, on the tenth of July, 1806.

On the erection of the South Parish Church, in 1809, the Meeting-house was abandoned to the owls and bats, and becoming dilapidated was declared, by a vote, to be a nuisance, and ordered to be taken down, which was done; and the materials disposed of, by sale. Afterwards they were re-purchased by the town, and erected into a town-house, on the lot now occupied by Captain J. Anthony. Until the town changed its form of government to a city, the building was occupied as a Town-house.

On the inauguration of the city government, in 1850, the building was sold at auction to Ai Staples, for one hundred and five dollars, and removed to the location from which it is now transported, and fitted up for a hall, for public uses. For several years, it was the only hall in the city of sufficient size to accommodate the public; and concerts, lyceums, and public assemblages of every character, were held there. Here the people have listened to

the eloquence of Benton, Chaplin, Starr King, Beecher, Phillips, Cushing, Mann, and many other orators and statesmen. During the War, it was devoted, by its patriotic proprietor, to a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers. It has again taken up the line of march, toward a new location, which, strange to say, is the site of the whipping-post and pillory, of ancient times, where, as late as 1806, convicted criminals were punished by being whipped, "twenty stripes on the naked back." Here, for long years to come, its venerable front will continue to "greet the sun in his coming" and remain a monument of the taste and public spirit of the proprietor, who deserves the public thanks for preserving this relic of the past from destruction.—*Maine Farmer.*

Penn's Cottage, Philadelphia.

Passing down Chesnut-street, to a point just above Front, the pedestrian comes to Letitia-street, which is nearly built up with cotton and wool-warehouses, and is a perfect maze of commerce, during the week; but on Sunday it is perfectly still, in every part, except near Market-street, on the West side, where stands one of the oldest structures on the continent—the manor-house of William Penn, built expressly for him and to his order, most of the material having been brought here from England.

The old house is now almost ready to crumble with age; but, with proper care and some under-pinning and shoring up, it could be preserved for several centuries to come. It has been entirely neglected, for many years, and is at present occupied as a beer-saloon and low-priced boarding-house. It is called the "William "Penn Hotel," and the sign is surmounted by a portrait which would do as well for Oliver Cromwell. Our reporter entered and looked around the place, but every thing was in such confusion that very little of the ancient walls and fittings could be identified. In the back part of the house, there were a score of little gamins; some playing, and others, exhausted, were sleeping on the floors, literally covered with house flies and filth. Along the area, or side-yard, great heaps of rubbish litter up the space which was once the garden of the founder of our city. In the saloon, a dozen draymen were quaffing their libations and making the sacred precincts ring again with ribald jokes and talk of good cheer; while the chunky little landlord divided his attention between taking in cash and "setting them up for the boys." Such scenes naturally knocked all the poetry out of the place; and the reader will be grateful for a digression toward a historical sketch of the old building.

"Build me a house in the middle of the town "which fronteth on the harbor," was Penn's order to his friend, Colonel Markham, who put the structure up as he had been directed, and lived to occupy it, as Deputy Governor of the State. In 1684, Penn wrote to James Harrison to "allow his cousin, Markham, to live in his "house, in Philadelphia, and that Thomas "Lloyd, the Deputy Governor, should have the "use of his periwigs, and any wines he may "have there left for the use of strangers."

This mansion, erected in the middle of the seventeenth century, still remains with us, and, with proper care, might be preserved to future renown, like the residences of Melancthon or Petrarch, in the Old World. Thousands of patriots, from all parts of our country, would seek it out, in 1876, and be glad to spend a few moments in the rooms once hallowed by the presence of the great Proprietary of Pennsylvania.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ground around Penn's mansion was divided up into thirty city lots and sold. Four of them brought four hundred and fifty dollars. In 1721, the "Governor's lot" was presented by the Grand Jury as a nuisance, because of the "excessive muddiness."

Many years ago, the "Penn Cottage" was purchased by the Penn Association; but it appears that they were never prepared to refit it, properly, and it was finally rented out, and has been used mostly as a boarding, or public, house ever since. As the old slate-roof Penn Mansion, at Second-street and Norris-alley, has been torn down, the Penn Cottage is the only relic left of the great and good Friend's residence in the city he laid out.—*Philadelphia paper.*

Butler's Yacht America in Port.

"After a checkered career," says the *Gloucester Advertiser*, "the historic yacht *America* "turns up, at Bay View, as the pleasure-boat of "General Butler and his more intimate friends! "She was originally the crack craft of the "New York Yacht Squadron; and, under the "charge of its first Commodore, Mr. John C. "Stevens, won for America, at the Cowes Re-"gatta, in 1851, an honorable place in yacht-"ing annals. At this regatta, the *America* "took the first prize in a match open to all "nations, fairly distancing all competitors. "This success was attributed, in part, to her "excellent model and her well-fitting sails, and "her success resulted in a change, in several "respects, in English yacht building and fit-"ting.

"During the late war, the *America* became a "noted blockade runner; but on one of her

"cruises she was so closely pressed that she "was run in shore and scuttled. She was rais- "ed and repaired by the Government, and, "since the war, has been employed for experi- "mental practice in connection with the Unit- "ed States Naval School, at Annapolis. She "was recently offered for sale and purchased "by General Butler, for five thousand dollars, "and arrived at Gloucester, last week, where "she is being fitted up for Summer service. "She will be commanded by Captain Jabez "Marchant, Jr., and will employ a crew of "ten men."

THE WILL OF THADDEUS KOSCIUSZLIO.—Secretary Belknap, a few days since, received the following:

"CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., July 11, 1873.

"*Hon. W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War:*

"DEAR SIR—"Inclosed please find a certi- "fied copy of the will of Thaddeus Kosciuszlio, "which, by a curious mistake, is always spelt, in "English, 'Kosciuzko.' There is no doubt of "this being a correct copy, in every respect, to "the dotting of an 'i' and the crossing of a 't.'

"I have succeeded in finding the original of "the handwriting of the Sarmatian hero. The "copy will be of great interest, as an expression "of the views of the writer on the slavery ques- "tion, made seventy-five years since. It also "shows, collaterally, Mr. Jefferson's own views "on the same question.

"Mr. Jefferson declined to take upon himself "the execution of the will, because of his "declining years and great age.

"Truly, your friend,

"W. T. EARLY."

[COPY OF THE WILL.]

"I, Thaddeus Kosciuszlio, being just on my "departure from America, do hereby declare "and direct that, should I make no other testa- "mentary disposition of my property in the "United States, I hereby authorize my friend, "Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof "in purchasing negroes from among his own or "any others, and giving them an education, in "trades or otherwise, and in having them in- "structed, for their new condition, in the duties "of morality which may make them good "neighbors, good fathers or mothers, husbands "or wives, and in their duties as citizens, teach- "ing them to be defenders of their liberty and "country, and of the good order of society, "and in whatever may make them happy and "useful, and I make the said Thomas Jefferson "my executor of this.

"T. KOSCIUSZLIO.

"*Fifth day of May, 1798.*"

BRAVE AND PIOUS.—Among the many unrecorded acts of true heroism, by unknown men, during the late War, we find the following which some eye-witness has chronicled in the *Edgefield* (S. C.) *Advertiser:*

"During Longstreet's Campaign, in Tennessee, "while a portion of his Army was under a fear- "ful fire of shells from the enemy, at Camp- "bell's-station, a private soldier, within a few "feet of the Colonel of his Regiment, had "both of his legs torn off. The Regiment was "not fighting, but waiting orders. The "wounded man was lifted a couple of yards, in "the rear, to die. Another private now marched "down the line under the hail of missiles, and "said to the commanding officer: 'Colonel, "'may I have a few moments of prayer with "'that dying man?' The Colonel said, 'Are "'you a clergyman?' The private answered, "'I am.' 'Then,' said the Colonel, 'do as you "'desire.' And the man of God knelt and "prayed with and for the dying man, five or ten "minutes, without moving or swaying his body, "seemingly totally unconscious of a storm of "shot and shell, which, the Colonel tells us, he "never saw surpassed in fury. In a few days, "the praying private was announced, in Field "Orders, as Chaplain of the Regiment—'pro- "'moted for gallantry and piety on the field.' "The Regiment was the Hampton Legion. The "Colonel was Gary. The private soldier was "the Rev. W. M. Thomas, now Pastor of the "Methodist churches of our circuit."

SCRAPS.—Aaron Burr's remains rest under an elegant monument, near the school of his boyhood, at Princeton, New Jersey. Mount Vernon, the tomb of the Father of his Country, is in sad repair. The bones of Lincoln are exposed to the ravages of the weather, at Springfield, Illinois; and his tomb is crushing in pieces. Not a stone has been added to the national Washington monument, for nearly a quarter of a century. Jefferson and Monroe sleep with the simplest tablets to mark their last resting places. A shaft to the memory of John C. Calhoun stands in the most aristocratic cemetery in Charleston, South Carolina. So long as we can point to these remembrances of these eminent patriots, Burr and Calhoun, who shall say that republics are ungrateful or that ours is a country of "stub-tail monuments."—*Washington Republican.*

—St. Augustine, Florida, is the quaintest as well as the oldest town in America. It has its old-time city wall and gateway, after the manner of the cities of the middle ages. The streets are very narrow, many of them being only ten feet in width, while the widest are not twice

that. As if to make them appear still narrower, the second stories of nearly all the houses project over the thoroughfares, leaving little narrow chinks between, for the entrance of the sunlight. The appearance of the place is quiet and sleepy; its atmosphere and surroundings are those of a long past age; and the tourist remembers it as a quaint dream. Its business amounts to almost nothing. Its pride is in the distant past. A week or month spent in St. Augustine leaves the traveler with the feeling that he has been in another and older world. Its cathedral is one of the most ancient churches in this country.

—The Philadelphia *Sun* has printed a hitherto unpublished letter of General Anthony Wayne, dated at "HAVERSTRAW, NEAR STONY POINT, Oct. "1, 1780," in which he thus refers to Benedict Arnold and his treachery: "I can't say that I "was much shocked on the occasion. I had "long known the man; as early as 1776 he pro- "duced a conviction to me that honor and true "virtue were strangers to his soul; and, how- "ever contradictory it may appear, he did not "possess either fortitude or personal courage. "He was naturally a coward, and never went "into danger but when stimulated by liquor, "even to intoxication; consequently not capa- "ble of conducting any command committed to "his charge."

—"When I preached in Milwaukee, a few "Sundays ago," says James Freeman Clarke, "it happened that three churches, of three dif- "ferent denominations, all sang the same hymn, "the same evening—'Nearer, my God, to Thee, "'nearer to Thee.' That hymn was first pub- "lished, in America, in our hymn-book. It was "taken by me from a little volume called "*Hymns and Anthems*, for which it was written "by Mrs. Sarah Howe Adams, to be sung in the "church of William J. Fox, an extreme radical "in opinion. Now not an orthodox Society in "America but values that hymn as one of its "very best."

—The old bell on the Court-house, at Barnstable, is worn out; and a new one tolls in its place. It bears date 1675; and the *Patriot* says it bears an inscription evidently intended for "*Si Deus pro nobis quis contra.*"—If God be for us who can be against us? But the workman, who was probably a better moulder than scholar, made it to read, "*Si Devs Pron "bvs Qvis contra.*"

The ancient bell will be preserved in the Court-house.

—We have "excellent authority" for saying that Daniel Webster's last words were not "I "still live," as popular tradition has them. It seems that the attending physician, when asked, "Doctor, how long is this to last," made some evasive reply, whereupon Webster interrupted him with, "Doctor, what I wish to "get at is the facts;" a characteristic speech, and indicative of the ruling passion strong in death.

—Among the Alaska rivers are the Atutoacoolakuchargut, Nocotachigut, Kuyuyukuk, Connecovah, Unalachlut, and Golsova-Richka, along whose banks live, in almost Arcadian bliss, the Cuykanickpuks, Yukutskylitmiks, Sakiatskylitmiks, Ankachagamuks, Mekutonectzocoits, and other tribes with equally simple nomenclatures.

—The Caldwells, at Ipswich, Massachusetts, own the same house, on High-street, in that town, where dwelt their ancestor, John Caldwell, in 1654. Eight generations have been born there; and the oldest male of each generation of the family, has been named John.

—The *Life of Washington*, published at Yeddo, in the Japanese language, is in forty-four volumes, illustrated. Washington is represented in the costume of the present day, wearing a moustache, sporting a cane, and accompanied by a Skye-terrier.

—There are five papers in Maine over fifty years old. The *Bangor Whig and Courier*, started in 1815; *Eastport Sentinel*, in 1818; *Portland Advertiser*, in 1785; *Eastern Argus*, in 1803; and the *Christian Mirror*, in 1821.

IX.—*NOTES.*

REGULATIONS ABOUT MUSIC, IN CHURCH, IN OLD TIMES, IN A PARISH IN CONNECTICUT.

"At a parish meeting, on the twenty-sixth of "February, 1737, voted to sing in the public "worship according to the rule by which they "sing in the old society in L——" [*the one from which they had been set off.*] "Also made "choice of Eleazar Hutchison to set the Psalm "in the congregation." [*They did not use hymns then.*]

"Also made choice of Joseph Clark to set "the Psalm when Mr. Hutchison is absent or "cannot." With this arrangement they rested satisfied, so far as the records show, till 1774, when, on the twenty-eighth of June, a meeting of the Parish was held and it was put to vote, "whether they would sing by rule in the as- "sembly; voted in the affirmative." "Also "voted that the choristers should set such tunes "as they think proper."

In 1791, at their annual meeting "voted a "tax of one-half penny on the pound to en- "courage singing, and to be applied to that

"purpose only; and chose Enos Gary and "Asahel Allen collectors of the tax."

In 1794, voted "that they desire Messrs. "Samuel Bliss, Seth Collins and Samuel West, "Jr, to take turns in leading the singing, on "Sundays."

In 1798, "James Pinnex, Esq., John New-"comb, Settle Collins, Samuel Bliss, and Con-"sider Little, were appointed a committee to "promote singing."

In 1806, voted "to request Samuel West, Jr., "Benjamin Lyman, Dan Porter and William "Hunt, to lead in singing for the year ensuing."

These records show how careful people in old times were to keep the music in worship under the control of the authority of the church, as it ought always to be. E. F. R.

Founder of the Family of IRISH, in New England.

On the twentieth of April, 1629, John Irish, of the Parish of Clisdon, County of "Summer-"set," "labourrer," bound himself to Timothy Hatherly "in the parish of St. Gloves"* for five years, "at the town of Plymouth called "New England," for which he is to receive £5 per annum, and at the end of five years he is to have twelve bushels "of that country corn & "five & twenty acres of land in the same "country."

This abstract is made from the original indentures. Irish signed "by his marke."

Boston, Mass. S. G. D.

James Hall, of North Carolina.

That James Hall and his Wife † prudence Hall heath lived in this Congrigation Ever Since itt was Erected and heave beheaved themselves Cristianly and Soberly without aney publicke Scandel Known to us aud heave been pertackers of Sealing ordenances amonghst us and may be Received into aney Cristian Society wherever God in his providence Shall order their Lott, is Certified this 20th day of agust 1751 by the session att Conawago.

Thomas Bowman
Robert Mordah
Jas : Mordah
Hugh Hall
John ma Queen

This may Certifie any of the frontier Inhabitants or Whome it may Concern that I have Sold to Mr James Hall Six Cows and Calves and One Bull which I think he may be Suffered to Pass Peaceably and Quietly with to his own Habitation Upon the Catabia River, having had no Distemper Or Infection Amongst the Stocks in these Parts at all This Season Given Under my hand at Santee this 1st Day of June 1752

Richd Richardson.

December y^e 7/1752 Then Received of Mr James Hall The Sum of One pound One Shilling and Sixpence Verginia Currency. Being for one Entry of Erl Granvils Land and six shillings and three pence the Listy e Money Being in full for My Fees to Bring a Warrant for said Land I say Received By Me

Jas Carter Sec

X.—*QUERIES.*

"The

"ENGLISHMAN.

"Number 1.

"Addressed to the Freeholders

"of

"ENGLAND.

"Saturday, March 13, 1779."

[*Colophon.*

"Printed for J. Wilkie, N° 71. St. Paul's "Church-yard; T. Durham, Cockspur street, "Charing-cross; and R. Faulder, New Bond-"street.

"To be continued on every Wednesday and "Saturday. [Price Three Pence.]"

The above are the title and colophon of a folio sheet which I have seen credited to Charles James Fox. It was an able advocate of Whig principles and policy in opposition to the administration of Lord North, during the later years of our War of Independence. Although advertised to be published semi-weekly, the second number is dated "Saturday, March 20;" after this it seems to have appeared quite regularly on successive Wednesdays and Saturdays.

The first number is signed "D," and other letters are employed as signatures. The thirteenth number is the first one signed "F," which may be taken as the signature of Fox. Can any reader of the Historical Magazine inform me how long the publication of this paper was continued; and what evidence there is that its authorship is due to Fox alone?

Gorham, Maine. I. B. Choate.

There may be a question respecting this name, as I do not find it in any of the topographical works published since 1660. The MS. appears plain. Perhaps, in your extensive inquiries, you may be able to illustrate it.—S.G.D.

† These were the parents of Rev. James Hall, D.D., who filled so important a place in western North Carolina, from 1778 to 1826. They came from Conewago, Pennsylvania, and settled on Fifth-creek, then in Anson-county, six miles East of where Statesville is. The above is copied exactly from the original.—E. F. R.

NEW YORK CITY, DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

In Doctor Tuttle's very interesting paper, published in the July number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I find these words: "During the several years the city of New York was occupied "by the British troops, they seemed to cherish a "special spite against both the Presbyterian and "the Dutch churches."—*Page 27.*

Will some of your readers, versed in such matters, oblige others by informing them, through your columns, concerning that particular desecration of Presbyterian and Dutch churches, by the Royal troops, at that time? If, too, they will extend their information so far as to cover all the churches which were then in New York, the contrast between the treatment extended to the Presbyterians and the Dutch, on the one hand, and that extended to other denominations, on the other, will, probably, enable us to understand the subject in all its bearings.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. ECCLES.

XI.—*WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.*

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

BOOK-AUCTIONS AND THEIR ABUSES.

The London *Athenæum* says: "If we may "believe a correspondent, people with libraries "to sell will have to shun the auction-room, "unless an end is put to such proceedings as are "now permitted. It is well known to those "who have books to sell, that the system of "'knock-outs' seriously interferes with the success of a sale. Few, however, know to what "an extent this system prevails. A recent case "is so flagrant, that our correspondent thinks it "calls for some remark. A first folio Shakspeare, one of the finest copies, if not the "finest copy extant, was knocked down, in a "sale-room, a few days ago, for very little over "twenty pounds. It was re-sold, at 'the knock-"out,' for five hundred and twenty-five pounds. "Thus the owner of the book obtained a score "of pounds, while five hundred pounds was "divided among the very honest gentlemen "who took part in this creditable transaction."

It is said that the book-auctions in the United States are not wholly guiltless of wrong-doing to those who dispose of their property, there—probably not from such particular combinations of bidders as the *Athenæum* has referred to, but from some other cause which operates quite as disastrously on the absent owner of the property disposed of. As an instance, we were told, the other day, of a sale, by one of the book-auctioneers of this city, of a set of Dodsley's *Annual Register*, handsomely bound and in fine order, at *one cent per volume;* and we have heard that one of the principal buyers is not unfrequently mounted on the auctioneer's stool, in another auction-room, selling the very books which, through an assistant, he is buying for his own account.

XII.—*BOOKS.*

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. "DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Papers relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts, A. D.*, 1676–1785. Edited by William Stevens Perry, D. D. Privately printed. 1873. Quarto, pp. xxv., 720.

We have already called the attention of our readers to the great work in which, as the official historiographer of the Church, our friend, the Rev. Doctor Perry, is engaged; and we have successively noticed the sumptuously printed volumes of historical treasures which, under his editorial supervision, have been already devoted to the local histories of Virginia and Pennsylvania—volumes whose beauty of typography is in harmony with their great importance as material for the history of those ancient communities. It is now our equally agreeable duty to acknowledge the receipt of a third volume, not a whit less elegant, in its typography, nor a particle less important, in the character of its contents, than those which have preceded it, with which it is uniform in style; and we have pleasure, too, in congratulating our friends in Massachusetts on this very welcome accession to the supply of that invaluable material, constantly become more extended, which is steadily and surely enabling candid writers to expose the falsehoods of the greater number of those who have hitherto written on the history of Massachusetts and quite as surely holding in check those, in these our day, who, but for such collections as this, would as deliberately lie, without a blush, as did those who, until recently, assumed to be the annalists and the historians of that peculiarly be-praised community. Honest men, both within and without Massachusetts, will thank the General Convention for thus opening to the public the treasures which are in its archives; and the brave man who edits them so admirably will also earn for himself the grati-

tude of students of New English history, the world over, for the part in the undertaking which he has filled so well.

The plan of the work secures *verbatim* copies of all the papers, whether accurately spelled or otherwise; and the Editor adds Notes, either to correct or to enlarge the text, whenever he considers such amendment necessary. An elaborate Table of Contents precedes the text and as elaborate an Index closes the volume, leaving nothing to be desired for the convenience of those who shall resort to it for information.

As we have said, the typography is in the highest degree elegant; and, although the printer has modestly withheld his name, we incline to the opinion that it is the work of the Church Press, at Hartford.

2.—*Wynne's Historical Documents from the Old Dominion. No. IV.*

A Memoir of a portion of the Bolling Family in England and Virginia. Printed for private distribution. Richmond, Va.: W. H. Wade & Co. 1868. Small quarto, pp. ix., 68.

Several years since, the learned editor of this volume published, as the first of a series of works on the local history of Virginia, what is known as *The Williamsburg Orderly-book*, a handsome quarto devoted to the publication of an Orderly-book of the Revolutionary era.

Years elapsed and the recent Civil War served to render such works less desirable, before the series was continued; but, in 1866, the second and third volumes, devoted to the publication of *The Byrd Manuscripts*, were given to the world in all the typographical beauty which the Munsell Press could afford. Two years later, in 1868, the fourth volume was published, in a very small edition, mostly for the family whose annals it presented; and, if we are correctly informed, the fifth volume is now nearly completed. The first three of these volumes were duly noticed by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, soon after their appearance: through the friendly attention of its Editor, we are now permitted to call the attention of our readers to the fourth, the titles of which head this notice.

The manuscript from which this Memoir of the Bolling family was taken was written, in French, by Robert Bolling, a gentleman of wealth and literary tastes, who lived in Buckingham-county, Virginia, a century since; and it passed, subsequently, into the hands of the Robertson family, of that State, by one of whom, Judge John Robertson, it was translated, seventy years ago. That translation fell into the hands of John Randolph of Roanoke, who retained it and added notes to it, by way of explanation or addition. In 1868, it was returned to Judge Robertson, who had made the translation; and, by his permission, Mr. Wynne caused it to be printed, with the addition of elaborate Notes and copies of the family portraits, the latter carefully photographed for the purpose.

The founder of the family of Bolling, in Virginia, was Thomas, of London, who arrived in 1660; was married, in 1675, to Jane Rolfe, a grand-daughter of Pocahontas; and died, in 1709. His descendants were allied, by marriage, to the Kennons, Randolphs, Flemings, Jeffersons, and other leading families of the Colony; and this record, therefore, although brief, possesses, in itself, a wide spread interest to all who are interested in the genealogy of the old families of that State. That interest will be extended by reason of the great body of historical and genealogical Notes which, besides those which were added by the celebrated scholar and statesman of Roanoke, Mr. Wynne has appended to it, in this publication, and of the numerous portraits, carefully copied from the originals, in photographs, with which it is illustrated; and it will be highly prized, as an authority in Virginian history and biography, by those who shall be fortunate enough to secure copies of it or can enjoy the privilege of referring to it.

The typography, because of faulty press-work, is not such as we expect to find in such a volume as this; but the photographs—a book-plate, a coat of arms, and sixteen family portraits—are very neatly executed.

The edition numbered only fifty copies, of which our copy is "No 10;" and because of the great number of those unto whom copies are desirable, because of their family relations, we understand the volume has become exceedingly rare, even in Virginia.

3.—*Contributions to the History of Dauphin County.* Octavo, pp. 43.

No. 2. Contributions to the History of Dauphin County. Octavo, pp. 5, 13.

The young and energetic Dauphin-county Historical Society, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, led by the earnest but judicious counsels of such men as Doctor William H. Egle, A. Boyd Hamilton, Esq., and Rev. Doctor Robinson, is doing a good work in the interior of that staid old Commonwealth, and admirably seconding the progressive movements of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in Philadelphia.

Among other means employed by the young Society referred to, are the pens of some of its members, as contributors of local historical material to the local press, from which is produced a local interest in both the Society and its objects.

In the first of these volumes we find a paper by Mr. Hamilton, on the history of old *Fort Hunter;* one, from the same pen, on *Dixon, of Dixon's ford*—a notable family in Dauphin-county; one entitled *A word about Smith's Map of Dauphin county, and Derry-church*, from the pen of Hamilton Alricks, of Harrisburg; an extract from Joseph Scott's *Geographical Description of Pennsylvania*, descriptive of *Dauphin-county, seventy years ago;* the *Paxton Matrimonial Record, 1769 to 1791*, kept by Rev. John Elder—a most important contribution to the small supply of Pennsylvanian genealogy; a relic from the papers of Parson Elder, entitled *Pre-revolutionary Soldiers*, of Pennsylvania; and Governor Snyder's Protest against the imposition of a Borough-tax on him, at Harrisburg, while he was Governor of the State. The second of the volumes—which is, probably, not yet complete, contains, as far as it has gone, a paper, read before the Society, on *Peter Bezaillon, the first settler of Dauphin-county*, by Mr. Hamilton; and two papers on the old receipt-book of John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg, by John W. Brown, Esq, embracing brief sketches of those early members of the good old Commonwealth, whose names are found in that dingy old volume.

Our readers will understand how usefully the members of this Society have been employed, while thus attempting to create a local interest in local history; and they will concur in the hearty welcome which we cheerfully extend to their homely little volumes, which are not less useful nor a whit less welcome because they are printed from the type employed in printing the original newspaper articles; on only one side of the paper; and without any pretension to typographical beauty.

4.—*Marshfield, sixty years ago.* A lecture delivered in Marshfield, April 23, 1872, by Rev. George Leonard. Published by request. Boston: 1872. Octavo, pp. 25.

"My subject, this evening, is *Marshfield, sixty "years ago*, because *this period of time comes "within my own remembrance.* I propose to "speak to you about some of the former things "relating to our town, and the manners, and "customs, and occupations of the people, "*which I know, from my own experience and ob-"servation, and which have transpired since I "was old enough to notice them.*" Thus spake the venerable author of this paper, when, more than a year ago, he arose before his townsmen, to tell them of their town and towns-people, "sixty "years ago;" and what a glorious example that aged man, on that occasion, presented to other aged men, the Republic over, and what a treat those enjoyed who then heard him.

All the real-estate in the town had, during that period, changed hands—all who, sixty years ago, were land-holders therein, are now dead. Great improvements have been made and were noticed—warm meeting-houses have been substituted for cold ones; organs and melodeons have been exchanged, in church-choirs, for bass-viols and fiddles; black-boards and classes in Arithmetic, Geography, and History, steel-pens, and lead-pencils have all been introduced into schools; and wood-saws have taken the place of axes, for cutting firewood. There were, then, neither School Committees, nor School Superintendents, nor School Reports; children wore *shoes* in Winter, with leggins, and were barefoot, in Summer; "manners" were taught at school; and there was, then, a rudeness in the pronunciation of familiar words which, to day, would create surprise and remark. There were, then, no cast-iron plows; no screw-augers; no threshing-machines; no fanning-mills; no corn-shellers; no hay-cutters; no mowing-machines; no horse-rakes; no washing-machines; no clothes-wringers; no sewing-machines; no churning-machines; no apple-parers; no meat-cutters; no shingle-mills; no planing machines; no circular-saws. "There were then no sofas and "no vases in their parlors; no pictures, (or very "rarely any) hung on their walls; no lounges "in their sitting-rooms; and no cooking-stoves "in their kitchens." Open fire-places, cranes, andirons, roasting-spits, and spiders were universal; brick ovens occupied places in every kitchen; and clocks were luxuries which only the wealthy could enjoy. There were, then, no friction matches; and flints, and steels, and tinder-boxes were as common as bellows and warming pans. Wood was the only fuel: candles, home-made and rude in appearance, afforded the only light, by night. Spinning-wheels and looms, in households, "were quite common, in "almost every house;" shoe-makers travelled from house to house, with their kits, to make and mend the rude shoes of the inhabitants; and those who inclined to be unusually stylish, made the starch they used from potatoes which they selected and *grated* for that purpose. For molasses, sweet apple-cider was boiled down; and corn-stalks also were sometimes used for that purpose. There was no table-salt; no ground-spices; no flour-sifters; very little *white* sugar. There were no *glass* lanterns; and no collars to common harnesses. The barns were without cellars; and their doors never moved on rollers. The guns had nothing but flint-locks: percussion-caps had not been heard of. The houses were mostly unpainted; and all of them were without blinds—even the meeting-houses were not blessed with a coat of paint. The windows were glazed with puny panes of glass;

every nail had to be made on a blacksmith's anvil; and gimlet-pointed screws were among the hidden things of the future. There was not a wagon, of any kind, in the town; nor any buggies; and square-topped chaises and carts were the only vehicles then employed, except stone-drags, sleighs, and an occasional wheelbarrow. Not a daily paper then entered the town; and very few subscribed for any. Semi-weekly mails were its only mail facilities; and a stage coach, established in 1803 or '4, to run to Boston, was discontinued because it was not supported. There was no note-paper; no ruled paper, of any kind; no envelopes. There were no buffalo-robes; and horse-blankets were unknown. Women rode on pillions, behind their husbands, or fathers, or brothers, or alone, as now, on side-saddles. There were, then, no quack-medicines sold in the town; and there was no dentist. There was neither a town-house nor a poor-house in the town; and the town's poor were farmed out, to board, to the lowest bidder, at a public vendue, at the May town-meeting. Wages were low; and provisions were in proportion. They drank beer, at funerals; and the coffins were carried to the graves on men's shoulders. Silhuettes occupied the places, in portraiture, of photographs. There were no Sabbath-schools; few books adapted to children's use; and toys "were then "few in number." Ship-building has declined; agriculture has improved; training-days have lost their charms. The inhabitants are more temperate than they were sixty years ago, and very much more fashionable. The population of the town has increased but very little—not more than a hundred and fifty more inhabitants occupy the town than were, there, sixty years ago—and emigration is still the prevailing habit.

From this brief summary of this admirable paper, it will be seen that, as a picture of a New England country town, sixty years ago, it possesses an unusual interest outside of New England as well as within it. The venerable author has laid all who shall hereafter occupy the place which he now occupies under the deepest obligations; and we assure him he has our warmest thanks and our best wishes for a prolonged enjoyment of the new things which have taken the places of those old things, so graphically described by himself, which have now passed away to be known no more for ever in Marshfield or in Massachusetts.

The pamphlet is a neat one.

5.—*Notes on the Newspapers of Somerset-county,* [Maine.] By Samuel L. Boardman. From the *History of the Press in Maine*, soon to be issued from the press of J. Griffen. Brunswick, Oct., 1872. Octavo, pp. 179-190.

In another place, in the June number of the Magazine, we noticed *The History of the Press in Maine*, of which this is a small portion, separately made up and with a distinct title-page. It is from the pen of our friend, Samuel L. Boardman, of Augusta; and is descriptive of the press of Somerset county, from the establishment of the first newspaper—*The Somerset Journal*—at Norridgewock, in 1823, until the Autumn of 1872. It is carefully written; bears evidence of careful research, in order to secure accuracy; and is an interesting addition to the local history of Maine.

The few copies which were thus separately bound, were designed for private circulation, among the friends of the author.

6.—*Historical Notes on the Constitutions of Connecticut* 1639-1818 *particularly on the origin and progress of the movement which resulted in the Convention of* 1818 *and the adoption of the present Constitution* By J. Hammond Trumbull Hartford Brown & Gross 1873 Octavo, pp. 60.

A Constitutional History of Connecticut, properly written, would present a curious commentary on the theory of republican institutions and show how great a difference there is between preaching and practising what is preached. Starting with a provisional Government, under a Commission from the General Court of Massachusetts, vesting in eight persons all powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—this model "republic" was governed, in the beginning, *without* "the consent of the governed;" by officers appointed, not by the governed, but by a foreign power; and in that centralized form which is the glory of all tyrannies.

This form of government was succeeded by a "General Court," composed of "Committees" from the several towns, as such, and not from an aggregate People. These Committees, too, were severally elected by the gentility of the several towns, to the exclusion of the *canaille;* and the General Court, itself, thus formed, assumed all the prerogatives of sovereignty—legislative, executive, and judicial; appointing all magistrates; and vesting them with authority.

In 1639, another change was made, vesting the supreme power of "the Commonwealth" in a General Court composed of a Governor, Magistrates, and Deputies from the several towns; but those who were permitted to vote for these were only such as a former General Court had approved and admitted to citizenship. *All* men were not equal "before the law" of Connecticut, at that time; nor was what was called "the "Commonwealth" the sovereign power, since the several towns, as such, were really the source of all authority and only when they had

confederated and formed an alliance was the world favored with a sight of "Connecticut." There was, then, an established Church, supported by a public tax on all, whether assenting to its teachings or not. No one was eligible to the higher office of Governor who was not of the "approved" congregations. No one was eligible to the lower offices except he was of the gentility and had been elevated to the freedom of the Colony, by the General Court. In that General Court, too, rested the right to change the fundamental law, agreeable to its own sweet will, without reference to the body of the "freemen"—the greater body of "*all* men," in Connecticut, these brave republicans never recognized, in any form, unless as mudsills

In 1662, a Charter was purchased from the King's Government, vesting the Company with certain legal rights, and guaranteeing its title to the territory it occupied. No change was made, through this Charter—none was desired by those who controlled the matter—in the status of the "*all* men" residing within the Colony; unless, what was probably true, the bar which had, hitherto, retarded the progress of the lower classes to political manhood was, thenceforth, not only continued in its place but *fastened* there, by the highest legal authority.

The declaration of her independence, *of which a very dirty tale might be told*, really abrogated that Royal Charter of 1662, and left Connecticut, as the other declarations of independence also left those who had made them, in "a state "of nature;" but the Brahmins of that country knew, too well, the effect on their supremacy which such an abrogation, carried into practise, would have produced, and *studiously disregarded it*.

Our readers, who remember the elaborate paper, by Rev. Doctor Gillett, on the struggle for liberty of conscience, in Connecticut, which we printed in our number for July, 1868, will remember the desperation with which this body of model republicans, in Connecticut, struggled to retain the power it exercised through the established church, supported by a general tax: the struggle was equally determined in other parts of the field of strife; and nothing was too low for their genteel adoption, nothing too degraded, in morality and truth, for their employment of it, when the favored ones of the land of "steady habits" battled for the Charter and their own supremacy. By a combination of otherwise adverse elements—rabid Federalists with radical Democrats, ritualistic Episcopaleans with close-communion Baptists and loose-communion Methodists, "sore heads" with "sore-"heads"—this curious power—existing, without a Constitution and without a specific "con-"sent"—was beaten on its own ground, after forty years of contention; and, in 1818, by a very close vote, a new *Constitution* was prepared and ratified. That Constitution is still the supreme law of the State.

The tract before us contains a brief survey of the history of the successive "Constitutions" of the State and of the successive changes. It is, in fact, a brief survey of the Constitutional History of Connecticut, honestly told, as far as it is told, at all, by one of the most honored and most worthy of Connecticut's sons. It is said to be a fragment—unfinished and imperfect—but, even in that form, it is the most complete and most authentic history of that subject which we know of; and we can only regret that so entirely competant a hand as Mr. Trumbull's was allowed to rest, until the satisfactory completion of the work which has been so admirably begun had rendered any further investigation of the subject unnecessary.

We are indebted to its author for our copy of this useful tract; and we thank him for it.

7.—*A half-century Memorial.* An Address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, at its fiftieth anniversary, July 19, 1872, by Zachariah Allen, and a Poem, delivered on the same occasion, by Henry C. Whitaker; together with other proceedings. Providence: Providence Press Company. Octavo, pp. 48.

The Society whose fiftieth birth-day was celebrated, in July, 1872, the record of which celebration has been published in this tract, is one of the most respectable of those bodies which are devoted to the history of our own country. It has discharged its stated duty, well, and been diligent in the prosecution of its enquiries in other fields of historical labor—fields long since become waste and now inviting fresh laborers. It was well, therefore, for it to stop, and tell how old it was, and recount its services; and it was well, too, that Rhode Island should stop her spindles and close her counting-rooms, for an hour or two, in order to be reminded that she has a Past which is quite as glorious as it is possible for her Future to be.

The Society met to celebrate its "Golden Wed-"ding," as we have said; and we are glad to know it had a really good time. Professor Diman presided, in the absence of the President; the Hon. Zachariah Allen delivered an admirable Oration; Mr. Henry C. Whitaker read a Poem; Messrs. George Baker and Joseph Sweet, Governor Jackson, Chief-justice Brayson, Hon. Robert Sherman, and Judge Durfee related some incidents of the olden time; and then, after having supped, those who were present "went out."

As we have said, the Society deserves the respect of all who care anything for those who

honor American history, unselfishly; and we thank its respected Librarian, Rev. E. M. Stone, for this memento of its "golden wedding-"day."

In this form—it originally formed a part of the *Proceedings* of the Society, noticed in another place, in this number—only a few copies were printed, for private circulation.

8.—*Sketch of the life of the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D., Rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, New Jersey*, 1751-1790. By Albert Harrison Hoyt. Boston: 1873. Octavo, pp. 14.

This very interesting sketch of one of the most distinguished of the "loyalists" of the Revolutionary period—when "loyalty" to "the "best of Governments" was considered a crime, instead of an honor, and subjected those who indulged in it to persecution and exile instead of indulgence and fat offices—was written for *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* and appeared in the July number of that excellent work: in the separate form in which it now appears, it is the product of private taste, fifty copies having been thus printed, for its author, for private circulation.

Of Doctor Chandler, both as a scholar and a Pastor, we need say nothing, as his reputation is so well established that not even his unpopular political opinions have been sufficiently unpopular to obscure it; and when we say that Mr. Hoyt has presented the record of his blameless life, his sturdy devotion to his flock and to his Sovereign, and his intellectual attainments, with precision, impartiality, and evident accuracy, as we believe to have been the case, we can give him no higher praise.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

9.—*Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.* Vol. III. With an Appendix. Savannah: 1873. Octavo, pp. vi., 428.

It affords us pleasure when we see this volume, the first-fruits, if we do not mistake, of that new growth of historical research, in the South, which is slowly springing up from the remains of that love of the Past which, before the recent War, was very prevalent, there. It is the earnest of other good things yet to come, we hope—not that we dare hope for better things than this, but more of them than we have hitherto had.

The volume before us contains the correspondence of General Oglethorp with the Trustees of the Colony, from October 29, 1735, until August 24, 1744; the correspondence of Sir James Wright, the Royal Governor of the Colony, with the Home Government, from December, 1773, until March, 1782; an address, on Casimir Pulaski, by Charles C. Jones, Jr.; and one by Doctor Richard D. Arnold.

Of the correspondence of General Oglethorpe—embracing the most accurate information concerning the colonization of Georgia; its relations, at that time, with the Indians, the Carolinas, and the Spaniards; and the temper and actions of its Trustees, in England—there can be only one opinion among those who are interested in the Past of our country: carefully copied, as it was, from the unpublished papers of the Colonial Office, in London, it affords minute information of the early days of the Colony which, because of its accuracy, possesses the highest importance.

Of the correspondence of Sir James Wright—embracing the record of Georgia's youth; her impatience under the restraints of the Mother country; and her earnest, sometimes reckless, lawlessness, while seeking to shift the control of her affairs from the King's shoulders to her own—we cannot speak too highly, in view of its vast importance, as original material concerning the history of the Revolution, in the South. Indeed, we know of nothing, unless the dispatches of our own Colden, which affords such a carefully constructed picture of the lawlessness of the fathers of the Republic, in "the days which "tried men's souls," about which we have heard so much; and we may learn, therefrom, also, what it cost to be "loyal," in those times, when the unbridled will of the People, regardless of the written law, was made the supreme law of the land. We may learn, also, therefrom, how "circumstances alter cases," and see, therein, a perfect illustration of the old fable of your bull goring my ox.

Of Mr. Jones's address, we have very little to say. He had a small subject; and he made as much of it as any one could have done, with only general information and without research. He should have remembered, however, that *quality* rather than *quantity*, was desirable on that occasion; and he should have diluted his real subject with a more sparing hand. High sounding words and well-rounded sentences are well enough in their way and in their proper places; but something more than these are needed in historical papers; and a Society which has intelligence enough, even in its feebleness, to offer the Oglethorpe and Wright papers as its unheralded contribution to the stock of material for history concerning our own country, was certainly entitled to something better—more was needless—on her anniversary, than the pompous platitudes which, with Casimir Pulaski for a text, Mr. Jones must have bored her, on that occasion.

Of Doctor Arnold's paper, concerning the

origin and progress in usefulness of the Georgia Historical Society, was peculiarly appropriate, coming, as it did, from one of the three founders of the Society, in 1839; and, with excellent taste, the Doctor described the events to which his brief hour was nominally devoted, without the employment of a line of poetry or a figure of rhetoric.

As a whole, this volume is worthy of the excellent Society which has issued it; and if it had closed it with an Index, such as its contents are entitled to, we could have desired nothing more in such a volume.

10.—*Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.* New Series. Parts I-IX. Quebec: 1863—1871-2. Octavo, pp. [*I.*,] 1, 118: [*II.*,] 3, 160; [*III.*,] 2, 155; [*IV.*,] 169; [*V.*,] 85; [*VI.*,] 68, 13; [*VII.*,] 138, 15; [*VIII.*,] 187, 24; [*IX.*,] 132, 32.

By-laws of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: to which is prefixed A Copy of the Royal Charter of Incorporation of the Society, as also an Act amending the same. Quebec: 1863. Octavo, pp. 23.

Report of the Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, for the year 1862, Submitted at the Annual Meeting held on the 11th of January, 1863. Quebec: 1863.

———— for the year ended 12th of January, 1869. Quebec: 1869. Octavo, pp. 12.

Manuscripts relating to the early history of Canada, viz:

[*I.*] *Extract from a Manuscript Journal, relating to the operations before Quebec in* 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, then Lieutenant of the LXXVIIIth (Fraser's Highlanders) and serving in that Campaign. Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 37.

[*II.*] *Journal du Siege de Quebec en* 1759 par M. Jean Claude Panet. Montreal: Eusèbe Senécal. 1866. Octavo, pp. 24.

[*III.*] The Campaign of Louisbourg—1750-'8. [*By the Chevalier Johnstone.*] Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno, [1866?] Octavo, pp. 28.

[*IV.*] *The Invasion of Canada, in* 1775. A letter supposed to have been written by Lieut. Col. H. Caldwell to General Murray. Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 19.

[*V.*] *A Dialogue in Hades.* A parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the Campaign of 1759, in Canada. [*By the Chevalier Johnstone.*] Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 55.

[*VI.*] The Campaign of 1760, in Canada. Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 24.

[*VII.*] Capture of Quebec, in 1759. Quebec: 1868. Octavo, pp. 19.

[*VIII.*] *Manuscrit de Paris.—Publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. Histoire du Montreal* 1640-1672. Montreal: Eusèbe Senécal. 1871. Octavo, pp. 128.

[*IX.*] *Relation sur le Canada,* 1682-1712. Quebec: 1871. Octavo, pp. 82.

[*X.*] *Journal of the Siege of Quebec,* 1760. By General James Murray. Quebec: 1871. Octavo, pp. 45.

[*XI.*] *Journal des Operations de l' Armée Americain lors de l' Invasion du Canada en* 1775-76 Par M. J. B. Badeaux, Notaire de la ville des Trois-Rivières. Montreal: Eusèbe Senécal. 1871, Octavo, pp. 43.

There are few Societies which have encountered as many obstacles as the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; and its hold on life is, therefore, the more praiseworthy.

It was organized on the sixth of January, 1824; published its first volume of *Transactions,* in 1829; was Chartered, in 1831; issued its second volume of *Transactions* during the same year; and its third in 1837; published its three volumes of *Historical Memoirs,* in, respectively, 1838, 1840, and 1843; was almost destroyed, successively, by the political troubles which convulsed the Province from 1830 to 1840, by the removal of the Government from Quebec, in 1839, and by the establishment of the rival Quebec Library Association; was revived, in 1852, by the temporary return of the Government; dragged its fourth volume of *Transactions* through the press, at long intervals—Part I., in February, 1843, Part II., in March, 1854, Part III., in January, 1855; was returned to its ill-fortune, again, in 1854, by being burned out, and in 1855, by the removal of the Government from Quebec; and subsequently, again revived, under the lead of Mr. Faribault and with the aid and comfort of the Government, then once more returned to Quebec.

In 1862, the Society took a "new departure;" sending out the first Part of the fifth volume of its *Transactions*—included in which was a collection of *Documents sur Jacques Cartier*—and a tract containing a *Mémoire du Sieur Ramezay, Commandant à Québec,* which it had procured from the Archives du Bureau de la Marine, at Paris; but toward the close of that year, its Library and Museum were again seriously injured by fire.

In 1863, it commenced the issue of a "new "Series" of its *Transactions* which has been continued until now, generally with a yearly "Part;" and, in 1866, it commenced the publication of another series of volumes, entitled *Manuscripts relating to the early history of Canada,* of which eleven are already issued.

The Society, thus peeled by adverse circumstances, but neither disheartened nor dismayed, is now as earnestly and actively engaged, as ever, under the Presidency of William James Anderson, a distinguished Surgeon of Quebec; and the volumes before us are those of its more recent publication—those of an earlier period are very scarce and seldom seen.

The *Transactions* embrace papers on scientific

subjects, as well as historical and topographical: the *Manuscripts* are documentary, in English and French, relating to the early history of Canada, both under the French and British rule; and both to Canadians and to those of the United States who remember that there was a time when Canada was the field on which the united Colonists and Royal troops met, and fought, and overcame a common enemy, as well as a time when Canadians and "Americans" were fellow-subjects of the same Sovereign and stood shoulder to shoulder in a common cause; or, as loyal and insurgent, met on the same fields, in arms, seeking, respectively, to sustain and to overthrow the royal authority which, a few months before, they had as earnestly sought to establish—to those, we say, these volumes are, and will continue to be, both interesting and important, as material for the history of their respective countries.

We have great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers, or such of them as collect such material, to this Society and its publications.

11.—*Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of St. Louis, for the year* 1865. Reported to the Union Merchants' Exchange by Geo. H. Morgan, Secretary. St. Louis, Mo.: R. P. Studley & Co. 1866. Octavo, pp. 116, xv.

————————, *for the year* 1866,————————

————. St. Louis, Mo.: R. P. Studley & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 165.

————————, *for the year* 1867,————————

————. St. Louis, Mo.: R. P. Studley & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 105.

————————, *for the year* 1868,————————

————. St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 95, xxix.

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————————, *for the year* 1870,————————

————. St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 137, xvi.

————————, *for the year* 1871,————————

————. St. Louis: The R. P. Studley Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 103, xvi.

————————, *for the year* 1872,————————

————. St. Louis: The R. P. Studley Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 123, xvii.

There can be no more important material for the history of a business community than the statistics of its trade and commerce; and when those statistics can be found, carefully collected and properly classified, they cannot properly be overlooked by those who profess to be faithful historians. We were exceedingly gratified, therefore, when, through our friend, John T. Douglass, Esq., we were favored, by the excellent Secretary of the Union Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, George H. Morgan, Esq., with what needs only one number to make it a complete series of the Annual Reports of that body, from its organization, in 1862.

Like others of this class, these Reports present, year by year, carefully-prepared Reports of every subject which concerns tradesmen and merchants in St. Louis, now the fourth city in the Union, in point of population—that of 1872, for instance, containing tables of the population; assessed value of real and personal Property; the receipts of Coal, 1868—1872; Freights received and shipped, 1871 and '2, the building statistics; the transactions at the Custom-house, 1861–1872; Customs Warehouse transactions; the operations of the Carondelet Furnaces; Meteorological Reports; Tonnage of the Western Rivers; Arrivals and Departures of Steamboats, 1872; Receipts of Lumber; shipments by New Orleans, Memphis, and Vicksburg, Arkansas, Red, White, and Ouachita river packets, 1872; Rates of Freight, 1872; chronological table of Steamboat Disasters on the Mississippi and its tributaries, 1872; bulk grain receipts, at the St. Louis, East-street, Venice, and Advance elevators; receipts of Grain, etc., at St. Louis Warehouse; weekly receipts of leading articles, at St. Louis, 1872; weekly stock of Grain in elevators and public warehouses; Grain Inspector's Report, 1872; entire movement of Grain and Flour, 1872; Receipts and Exports of Grain and Flour, in detail, 1865–1872; Receipts of Flour and Grain, in aggregate, 1856–72; a report and elaborate tables illustrative of the manufacture of Flour, 1851–1872, and other features in the flour trade; similar reports and tables concerning Grain—Wheat, Oats, Corn, Rye, and Barley; Provisions and Packing—Pork, Bacon, and Lard; Live Stock; Cotton; Highwines; Hemp and Bagging; Lumber; Wool; Hides; Tobacco; Groceries; Hay; Salt; Potatoes and Onions; Seeds; Dried Fruits; Apples; Beans; and Lead; the monthly receipts and exports, by river and railroad, 1872; receipts and shipments by each railroad, article by article, 1872; besides others of minor significance—and it will be apparent to the most casual reader that a series of such Reports possesses great importance and constitute "locals" of the highest value.

We cheerfully bear testimony to the admirable completeness of each of the Reports in the series now under consideration, a completeness which has been secured only by a great expenditure of experienced and intelligent labor.

☞ *We shall be obliged to any one who will supply us with the Report for 1869; and if the Reports of former organizations, of this class, prior to 1862, can be added, we shall be glad to give a liberal equivalent for them.*

12.—*Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1872-3, together with an account of its Semi-centennial Anniversary,* prepared by Edwin M. Stone, Librarian, under the direction of the Committee on Publication. Providence: Providence Press Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 144.

That this well-known Society has not gone the way of all flesh, and has joyfully celebrated its fiftieth birthday, is truly refreshing; and we welcome this record of its proceedings with great pleasure.

Opening with a large list of members, of all classes, and a roster of all its officers, from its organization until now, the record of the doings of the Society, from April 2, 1872, to January 21, 1873, follows; and that is supplemented with an exhibit of the Treasurer's accounts—the expenditures for salaries may be usefully examined by some others, of whom we have heard mention—and elaborate Reports by the Librarian of the Northern Department—in which are introduced two letters of unusual interest to all who care for Roger Williams or Rhode Island, a carefully prepared history of the Society, an extended sketch of the celebrated Dighton-rock inscriptions, and one of the "Old mill," at Newport—and of the semi-centennial celebration of the organization of the Society.

As we said, we are gratified with this evidence of the vitality of this good old Socicty; and our best wishes for its continued prosperity are heartily tendered to it.

13.—*The Prince Society.* S. l. s. a. Small quarto, pp. 12.

The Constitution, Rules, and Regulations, Lists of Officers and Members, and Catalogue of the Publications of the Prince Society, at Boston.

14.—*An Address delivered before the Law Class of the University of Wisconsin, June* 16, 1873, by Hon. Edward G. Ryan. Published under the anspices of the Law Class. Madison, Wis.: 1873. Octavo, pp. 26.

An admirable paper, which may be read, usefully, by lawyers, old or young, everywhere.

15.—*Society of the Army of the Cumberland. Fifth Re-union. Detroit:* 1871. Published by Order of the Society. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 246.

It is a pleasant feature in the social history of the country that, once a year, the remnants of the armies of the Republic meet, in order to revive old recollections and to create new ones concerning their gallant deeds, in the field, and those who did them. Once a year, the fragments of the gallant Army of the Cumberland meet, as the custom is; and the volume before us contains the report of the proceedings of the fifth of those re-unions. Sheridan was there, with Hooker and Davis, Barnum and Wood; and there were talking and shouting, eating and drinking, sense and nonsense, *in quantum sufficit.* General Barnum pronounced the official Oration; after-dinner speeches were delivered by Generals Stoughton, Cooke, Meade, Force, Lee, Sheridan, and Wood, Governor Baldwin, Colonel Larned, and others less widely known to fame; letters, from great men of the Republic and from pigmies, were read and recorded; the cash was received and accounted for; and the assembled officers "went out."

As we said, such re-unions, where men can act like men and forget their partisanship, are commendable; and we trust the memories of past associations will be thus refreshed, year by year, while two remain, uncalled for to their reward.

As a specimen of book-making, this volume is a pattern of neatness, as Robert Clark & Co's work generally is.

16.—*Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, held in St. Louis, December,* 1871. Boston: 1872. Octavo, pp. xvi., 329.

Our readers have been made acquainted, already, with the confederated body which is known as "The National Board of Trade." It is composed of delegates from the various local Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce which constitute its membership; and, as a kind of commercial Congress, it examines, discusses, and acts on various questions, introduced by the constituent members, which serve to affect the business interests of the Republic.

The volume before us, for which we are indebted to the excellent Secretary of the Board, furnishes an ample record of the fourth annual Convocation of that body; and we find in it, discussions, by practical men of business, of the questions of the improvement of the Levees on the Mississippi-river, "a National Pacific Rail-"road," the Wisconsin and Fox-river improvement, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, protection of the use of the telegraph, the proposed postal telegraph, State inspections of Merchandise, Quarantine Regulations, the Shipping interests, duties on Canadian timber, the Fisheries, the payment of the Federal Debt, Currency, Tariff revision, etc. Some portions of these discussions are, probably, good for nothing: other portions, quite as likely, are sensible, good, and valuable. A gassy merchant, like a gassy

editor, is not likely to say much which is worth anything; but there are some merchants, as well as some editors, who are not gassy; and their words are apt to be words of wisdom.

We have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers, who are generally thinking men, to the valuable material which this volume contains; and especially to capitalists and to those who are engaged in trade will it be found valuable.

17.—*A Semi-Centennial Discourse before the First Congregational Society in Bridgewater, Delivered on Lord's Day, 17th September*, 1871. By Richard Manning Hodges, a former Minister of the Society. With historical Notes. Cambridge: 1871. Octavo, pp. 59.

Our honored friend, the author of this discourse, fifty years before its delivery, had been ordained Pastor of the Society; and it was a graceful tribute to his sterling worth to fitly notice that event. And who could so properly review the past fifty years, on that extraordinary occasion, as the venerable divine whose jubilee was thus to be commemorated?

In doing this, after having glanced at the three Ministers who had preceded him, in the pastoral office, in Bridgewater—Messrs. Benjamin Allen, 1717–1730; John Shaw, 1731–1791; and Zedechias Sangar, 1788–1820—Mr. Hodges alluded to the changes in the County of Plymouth, during the past fifty years; the decease of all except two of the Ministers who officiated at his ordination; the departure of nearly all who were then allied to him by the ties of studies and professional labors; the excitement which then prevailed, by reason of the "Uni-"tarian Controversy;" and to the spirit in which he then engaged in his pastoral duties. He then glanced at the peculiarities of the Unitarian faith and his own unfaltering confidence on its claims to truthfulness; at the peculiarities of the orthodox creed, and the changes which have been made in it, during the past few years; and concluded with greetings to his hearers—the children and grand-children of those who, fifty years before, had seen him dedicate himself to the service of God—and to their Pastor, his successor in office.

18.—*Memorial of Hon. William Kelly, presented to the New York State Agricultural Society, at the Annual Meeting, January* 22, 1873, by Marsena R. Patrick, ex-President. Published by the Society. Albany: Joel Munsell, Printer. 1873. Octavo, pp. 51.

A beautiful tribute to the memory of one of the best of men, by that body of which he had been the presiding officer, and by whom he was well known.

19.—*The General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.* 1872. *Minutes of the Seventieth Annual Meeting, Pittsfield, June* 18-20; *with the Report on Home Evangelization and on the State of Religion and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches.* Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1872. Octavo, pp. 132.

A very complete Report of the work of the several orthodox Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, during 1871–2, their strength of membership, contributions, etc.

As a careful compend of the Ecclesiastical statistics of the leading denomination of Massachusetts, for 1871–2, its importance will be evident to every one.

20.—*Journal of the Eighty-second Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, held in Trinity Church, Boston, May* 1 *and* 2, 1872, *with an Appendix.* Boston: 1872. Octavo, pp. 230.

The annual exhibit of the condition of another branch of the Christian Church, in the State of Massachusetts, during 1871–2; and, like the last-named, important for reference to all who seek information concerning the ecclesiastical history of that venerable and virtuous Commonwealth.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

21.—*Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year* 1871. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1872. Octavo, pp. iv., 524.

The Governmental Agricultural Annual for 1871, the general character of which is well known, the country over, either in its present form or as the Agricultural Report of the Patent-office, under which title it was formerly published.

The volume before us is well filled with material which will be found interesting and useful to "well-to-live" farmers, in all parts of the United States; but as it is readily procurable by every one who will take the trouble to ask for it, we need not occupy our space by a more detailed description of its contents.

22.—*Laws of the State of New York affecting Interests in the City and County of New York, passed by the Legislature of* 1872. Published by authority of the Board of Supervisors. New York: 1872. Octavo, pp. (2) vi., 242.

A very significant record of the departure from "a republican form of government"—*self*-government—of those who assume to be the law-givers of the ancient city of New York; and quite as significant a record of the reckless disregard of her chartered rights, both of self-

government and of property, by those who, by fair means or by foul, have become, in law and in fact, the law-makers of New York.

The local authorities have done well to collect the yearly infliction, in order that those who are the victims may be made acquainted with the subject and with their own liabilities.

23.—*Statutes relating to the Albany County Penitentiary*, with Forms of Commitment, Record of Conviction, Contract with Boards of Supervisors, etc., etc. Compiled and prepared by Nathaniel C. Moak, District-attorney of Albany-county, at the request of Amos Pillsbury, Superintendent. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1872. Octavo, pp. 53.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Inspectors and Superintendent of the Albany Penitentiary, with the accompanying documents, made December 11, 1872. With Report in relation to the International Penitentiary Congress. Albany: J. Munsell. 1872. Octavo, pp. 76.

The peculiar character of the Albany Penitentiary is so well known that we need do no more than call the attention of such of our readers as are interested in the subject, to the works before us. They commend themselves to all who are engaged in reformatory labors; and the observations of General Pillsbury, on the mode of securing the desired results, commend themselves to every one.

24.—*Report of the State Librarian, to the General Assembly, relating to the Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, and to Divorce, for the year ending December 31st*, 1871. May Session, 1871. Printed by Order of the Legislature. Hartford: 1872. Octavo, pp. 32.

A very important record of the progress of population as well as of morals, in Connecticut.

25.—*Proceedings at the Dedication of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument by the City Council of Charlestown, June* 17, 1872. Charlestown: 1872. Octavo, pp. 29.

In 1869, the Common Council of the City of Charlestown appropriated twenty thousand dollars for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of the soldiers and sailors, from that place, who fell or died during the recent War; and this pamphlet describes the ceremonies attending the public dedication of that monument, on the anniversary of Bunker's-hill Battle, last year.

The Presentation Address, by the Mayor, was business-like and appropriate; and the Oration, by Hon. Richard Frothingham, was well-written and in excellent taste, such, indeed, as we might reaaonably have expected from so well-read a scholar and so excellent a man.

With the exception of the entire omission of a *description* of the monument, this record of the services is all that could have been wished concerning the ceremonies referred to.

26.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for the year ending December* 31, 1871. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1872. Octavo, pp. 52.

The Annual Report of the local military establishment of Massachusetts; and as nothing of general interest appears in it, we need say nothing more concerning it.

27.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the year* 1871. Charles E. Johnson, Clerk. New York: 1872. Octavo, pp. 691, 93–183.

This volume contains the record of the doings of the local government of this County, at its annual session, in November last. It consequently possesses considerable importance to the tax-payers of this over-burdened community; but its value to some of those who are not thus privileged is, also, not inconsiderable, because of the instalment of the ancient Minutes of the Board which it contains. Those ancient Minutes, agreeably to a Resolution adopted in 1869, are to be printed in small instalments, and appended to the current Journals, year by year, until they shall have been completed; and the period embraced in the volume before us, is that between October, 1794, and October, 1807.

28.—*Special Report on Immigration, accompanying information for Immigrants relative to the prices and rentals of land, the staple products, facilities of access to market, cost of farm stock, kind of labor in demand in the Western and Southern States, etc., etc.* To which are appended Tables showing the average weekly wages paid in the several States and Sections for factory, mechanical, and farm labor; the cost of provisions, groceries, dry-goods, and house-rent, in the various manufacturing districts of the country, in the year 1869–'70. By Edward Young, Ph. D., Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxvii., 232.

The character of this very important volume is made known in its title-page; and little remains for us to do, except to mention the fact that it has been prepared from Returns to Circulars, sent out by the Bureau of Statistics, to the several Assessors of Internal Revenue; and that the information communicated by those officers has been concentrated in this volume, in a form which must ensure for it a very extended and very beneficial influence.

We have seldom seen a more useful volume

than this is; and it will be servicable to others than immigrants, and to those who were to the manor born as well as to the foreign-born stranger, seeking a home and a fortune among us.

We are indebted to the learned author for the copy of the work which is before us; and we heartily thank him for it.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

29.—*The Holy Bible according to the authorized version A.D. 1611, with an explanatory and critical Commentary and A Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church.* Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. III. II. Kings—Esther. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., 499.

We have already noticed this excellent work; and we have pleasure in returning to it, now.

The volume before us contains the third of the series, embracing II. Kings, I., II., Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, carefully annotated by Rev. George Rawlinson, Canon of Canterbury and Camden Professor of Ancient History, at Oxford; and the excellence of the annotations, both in the matter which they contain and in the arrangement of it, is amply guaranteed by the name of their author.

Each of the Books is preceded by an *Introduction*, by Canon Rawlinson, containing, generally, carefully-considered and well-written divisions on the scope of the work, the date of its composition, its author, its characteristics, the condition of the text, the authenticity of the history, etc.; and foot-notes, as carefully-prepared as the *Introductions*, accompany the text of the several Books. In all these, there is no *effort* to display scholarship; and the effect is that, in these volumes, there is more real, solid, useful information, for sober, bible-reading Christians, presented with great modesty, than in any other Commentary, designed for general use, with which we are acquainted. Indeed, there is something in this work which fills our standard of what such a work should be. We are not an Episcopalian of either the American or "the Anglican church," yet we have not seen a syllable in the entire work, as far as it has been published, which has jarred our prejudices or aroused our dissent. The aim, both of the Editor in chief and those who assist him, is, evidently, to instruct the every-day reader as well as him who is well-read; and, while there is a frequent citation of the original Hebrew and discussion of its meaning, it is done with so much quiet modesty and with such evident desire to make *all* understand what is said, that even the unlearned become interested in what, otherwise, would become very tedious. The excellent taste displayed in getting up the volumes adds to the pleasure we experience in examining them; and we are quite sure those of our readers who are interested in biblical literature will thank us for calling their attention to such an admirable work.

30.—*An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography.* Being a Catalogue of Books, relating to the History, Antiquities, Languages, Customs, Religion, Wars, Literature, and Origin of the American Indians, in the Library of Thomas W. Field. With Bibliographical and Historical Notes, and Synopses of the contents of some of the works least known. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. lv., 430.

The author of this volume has made the various publications relating to the aborigines of America a special study, for several years; and few collectors or librarians, if any, can exhibit so complete a collection of them, on his own book-shelves. It was very reasonable, therefore, that Mr. Field should incline to tell the world what he had learned of the *bibliography* of that interesting class of American historical, ethnological, and philological literature; and those into whose hands this handsome volume shall fall will thank him for what he has done in this peculiar field of labor, notwithstanding the defects in it which will be seen by every experienced collector.

As this volume assumes to be merely "a Catalogue of Books * * * in the library of "Thomas W. Field," it must not be regarded as anything else than that; and as it is very evident to all who read the Preface that the plan originally laid out by the author has been "greatly abridged"—the entire second class of works referred to, in that Preface, for instance, having evidently been dropped, as, also, is the last-named of the classes, in many instances—it can hardly be regarded as even a fair "Catalogue "of Books in Thomas W. Field's Library." The system adopted in the arrangement of the title-pages, also, is an unusual one and, if we must say it, an exceedingly poor one; and, although the notes appended to the various titles are generally stored with useful information, they are too often loaded down, also, with words of considerably less importance; while the translations of titles originally printed in other languages than the English are not always rendered accurately and, very often, are quite imperfect.

We do not desire to under-estimate the usefulness of this Catalogue, as far as it goes, as soon as the system on which it was constructed has been learned; but we cannot help regretting that more was not made of the unusual opportunity which, in this case, was opened to Mr. Field, to have made such a bibliography of the literature pertaining to the ethnology, history, biography, philology, characteristics, and fall of the American Indians as would have immor-

talized both him and his library. Such opportunities are very seldom afforded: we suspect Mr. Field will never find another.

The typography of the volume is the best of the Riverside Press; and few will desire any handsomer.

31.—*William H. Seward's Travels around the World.* Edited by Olive Risley Seward. With two hundred illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. xii., 730.

We have seldom seen a work which has presented greater attractions, for the general reader, than this, nor one which offers greater inducements, for a careful perusal, from the beginning to the close of the narrative.

The extent of the journey and the variety of incidents described—while they secured a great variety of subjects and only a rapid survey of different scenes, different peoples, and different adventures—nowhere allow, in this brief record of them, long stories nor the display of long-winded rhetorical flourishes; and the reader, in consequence, is not wearied nor is any single subject "run into the ground."

It is an admirable volume for those who seek general information while they also seek repose—for those who are wearied by either intellectual or physical labor and desire recreation which shall not be wholly without profit—and the illustrations serve to increase its attractions and render it more useful.

The typography of the volume is very neat; and some of the wood-cuts with which it is illustrated, are perfect gems of art, the view of Governor Seward's residence, for instance, is a master-piece.

32.—*History of New York City from the discovery to the present day,* by William L. Stone. New York: Virtue & Yorston. 1872. Octavo, pp. xx., 4, (not paged) 9-658, (Appendix) 136.

This showy volume has been placed in our hands; and, although, not exactly a "recent "publication," we notice it, for the information of "whom it may concern."

Some three or four years since, an enterprising advertising-agent, in New York, considered that a "history of New York" which could be employed as a medium for advertisements to be scattered throughout the text or gathered, in appendix form, at the end of it, might be made to pay the expense of preparing it; and he resolved to try the experiment. As it was intended to be used only as a camel, for the purpose of carrying the advertisements—which were to be the real treasures of the enterprise—it was not necessary that this "history" should be prepared with much care nor with any particular regard to historical accuracy; and, consequently, only a mere pittance was appropriated for its preparation—indeed, the willing author hoped to receive his compensation in the indirect form of profits to be derived from *printing* the work rather than from the apology for a price for his labor in *writing* it which the enterprising Publisher agreed to pay.

The volume, thus prepared, was printed in the author's printing-office; and, for reasons with which the author had nothing to do, it was not a commercial success—we incline to the belief that nobody was paid their just dues, in any department of its preparation.

The waif thus left on the hands of the author and printer, subsequently met the quick eye of an English publishing-house in New York; and an arrangement was made with Mr. Stone, for a mere trifle, to enlarge the tract which he had prepared for Mr. Cleve to the extent of a respectable octavo; and the result is before us, in the showy volume which is the subject of this notice.

As it was intended to be only "a book-seller's "job," and was paid for only as such, nothing else than a hack-volume has been produced—a volume crammed with pictures, appropriate and inappropriate; a volume which is a mere vehicle for mostly cast-off pictures already worn out in other works and borrowed for the decoration of this; a volume which is hawked around the country and pushed on the unwary as one of real historical merit; a volume which does not depend on its merits for success, but on the assurance of the canvasser who crowds it into the market and on the multitude of the pictures it contains. To increase the bulk of the original tract, with as little labor as possible, an article on the Erie Canal Celebration, which was written, years ago, by Colonel Stone, for the memoir published by the Corporation of the City of New York, is gobbled, entire, and thrust, *in extenso*, into the text of the narrative; and a stump-speech, on "the Ring-frauds," by Mr. Roosevelt; two papers, by Gulian C. Verplanck, published in *The Talisman*, some forty years ago; the Constitutions of the Tontine Association and Tammany Society; a paper, on *Richmond Hill*, prepared for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by General Prosper M. Wetmore; a Message of Governor Hoffman; and other extended papers and newspaper paragraphs, have either shared the same fate, *mostly without credit*, or been bunched together, as a make-weight, in the form of Appendices, at the close of the narrative.

The result of this peculiar process of book-making will be seen by every one; and the exact merit of the volume, *as history*, can be readily measured by the author's manner of filling

the space between its covers—it reflects no credit on the name which its author delights to exhibit; and if that predecessor of his, whose name he bears, could see and read it, the *Commercial Advertiser* would not afford space enough for the denunciations which would be hurled at him.

Possibly Mr. Stone can afford to trifle with the public and hazard what he has of reputation by the promulgation of such a work as this, over his own name; *but we doubt it.*

Typographically considered, the volume is a very neat one.

33.—*Library of Choice Ficton.*

I.—*At his Gates.* By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Octavo, pp. vi., 231. Price $1.

II.—*Galama; or The Beggars* (*The founders of the Dutch Republic*). By J. B. Liefde. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Octavo, pp. 167. Price $1.

III.—*May*, By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Octavo, pp. 209. Price $1.

Under the title of *Library of Choice Fiction*, Messrs. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. announce their intention to publish a series of works, "by "the best authors of the day, the leading char- "acteristics of which shall be elevation and "purity of tone, and entire freedom from "every thing in the remotest degree demoraliz- "ing." They will be handsomely printed and, occasionally, illustrated; and, to those who use this class of literature, the three volumes referred to at the head of this article, will afford an earnest of what the series will be.

Those who have read them, give them high praise, both for the structure of the respective narratives and the character of their teachings.

34.—*The Undeveloped West; or, Five years in the Territories:* being a complete history of that vast region between the Mississippi and the Pacific, its Resources, Climate, Inhabitants, Natural Curiosities, Etc., Etc. Life and Adventure on Prairies, Mountains, and the Pacific Coast. With two hundred and forty illustrations, from original sketches and photographic views of the scenery, cities, lands, mines, people, and curiosities of the Great West. By J. H. Beadle. Philadelphia: National Publishing Co. Sine anno. Octavo, pp. 823.

The author of this volume "went West," from Evansville, Indiana, in search of health; proceeding, by way of Chicago, through Wisconsin and Iowa—a considerable distance on foot—Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, back to Utah, Kansas, back to California and Utah, thence to New Mexico, Colorado, the Indian country, Arizona, back to Missouri, to Nauvoo, through Iowa, Southern Dakota, Minnesota—over the Northern Pacific railroad—thence, through Iowa, Nebraska, Utah, and California, to Oregon, and back to Indiana. A month was spent in Texas, and the narrative of that trip forms a supplement to the work.

The story of the author's adventures, during the five years thus spent, is admirably narrated; and we admire the bravery with which he, very often, overthrows stereotyped stories and tells the ugly truth, as he personally found it. Of course, there was adventure and, very often, hazard—there was, also, any quantity of discomfort, spiced with a seasoning of frontier wickedness—but the story is told dispassionately; the country is described with evident fidelity to the truth; and "the West" is presented, in brief, just as it really is, regardless of land speculators and senseless philosophers who talk so much on the subject.

The style of the writer is that of a journalist, rather than that of a mere tourist; and he introduces all sorts of people, among his characters; notices all sorts of subjects—climate, scenery, lands, timber, western "cussedness," home-missions, Catholic and Protestant work among the Indians, agriculture, mining, city and country life, railroads, the present and the future—and leaves little unlooked-at. The consequence is, his volume is attractive to the many while it is, also, valuable to the few—it will amuse while it will, also, instruct—and we take pleasure in commending it to our readers.

The typography of the volume is fair; but the wood-cuts are wretched specimens of art.

35.—*How I found Livingstone:* travels, adventures, and discoveries in Central Africa: including an account of Four Months Residence with Dr. Livingstone. By Henry M. Stanley. With Maps and Illustrations after Drawings by the Author. Published only by Subscription. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxiii., 736.

The story of Livingstone's adventures, in Central Africa; the prevailing sentiment of his death; and the alleged discovery of him, by Mr. Stanley, an employé of the *New York Herald*, are known to all our readers; and, by them, the alleged discovery has been believed or disbelieved, as has best suited them.

There can be no doubt, however, without regard to the alleged discovery, that Mr. Stanley really visited Africa; and, if for no other reason, the volume before us is interesting as a narrative of journeys in the interior of that Continent: of adventures with men and beasts, in the wilderness; of privations and hazard in the cause of American enterprise.

We are not of those, however, who entirely deny the truth of Mr. Stanley's claim of having found the veteran wanderer; nor are we of

those who implicitly believe all that has been said in behalf of it. We cannot pretend to suppose that the family of Doctor Livingstone and the Foreign Office, in London, can have been wholly cheated; nor are we inclined to suppose that, notwithstanding Mr. Stanley is not very much of a Christian, in all his habits, he is altogether a heathen or a fraud. We incline to the belief, therefore, that Doctor Livingstone was reached—unless his papers were found, where he was not—and we incline to the belief, also, that, like most other "newspaper-"men," Mr. Stanley made the most of his material and, now-and-then, spliced it with the home-made article.

In any event, however, as we have said, the volume is a very interesting one; and the neatness of its typography renders it yet more attractive.

36.—*A Memorial of the Right Reverend Carlton Chase, D.D., first Bishop of New Hampshire.* 1844 *to* 1870. With a Biographical Sketch. Press of the Claremont Publishing Company. Sine anno. Octavo, pp. 95.

In this beautiful volume, we find, *first*, a record of the funeral of the venerable prelate who was "the first Bishop of New Hampshire," including the addresses of the Bishop of Connecticut, the Rector of Trinity-church, Claremont, and the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, D. D., of New York, and, *second*, a biographical sketch of his life.

Bishop Chase was a native of New Hampshire—a descendant of the early settlers of that region—where he was born, in 1794, of humble parents. He was brought up under Baptist influences and associations, but cast his lot with the Episcopalians, later in life. His education was limited; and he began life as a country school-master, interspersing the occupation with farm-work, during the Summer. In 1813, he entered Dartmouth-college; was one of a Company which volunteered to defend Portsmouth against the British, in 1814; united with the Episcopalian church, in 1817; graduated, in 1817; was ordained a Deacon, in 1818; was employed, temporarily, at Lynn and Springfield, Massachusetts; in the same year, removed to Bellows Falls, Vermont; married Harriet Cutler, in 1820; and, soon after, was ordained to the priesthood; in 1844, was called to the Bishopric of New Hampshire and removed to Claremont; and there, in 1870, he died, lamented by all who knew him.

The volume before us is a fit memorial of such a man—plain, honest, complete. It is without any mere ornament, and yet it is attractive by reason of its modest beauty. A well-spent life is fitly presented in such a volume; and we add it to our New Hampshire series with unqualified pleasure.

37.—*Loring, Short, & Harmon's Illustrated Guide Book for Portland and Vicinity.* By "Our Young Wo-"man about Town." With a summary History of Portland, by the late Hon. Wm. Willis. Portland: Loring, Short, & Harmon. Sine anno [1873.] Duodecimo, pp. 100. Price 50 cents.

This is one of the neatest and best of those useful little volumes known as *Guide-books*—those local friends who direct the stranger-visitor where to go and for what purpose.

It is an admirable guide to "Portland and "Vicinity;" its illustrations—two maps and seven full-page photographic views—are well-selected, well-executed, and entirely appropriate; its history of the city, from the pen of our late friend, Hon. William Willis, needs no commendation to our readers; and, altogether, the little volume, whether regarded as a mere *Guide-book*, for temporary use, or as a local, for future reference, is worthy of a place in every collection of Maine's literature.

38.—*Lombard Street:* a description of the Money Market. By Walter Bagehot. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 359.

This volume is not one which may be ran over in a few minutes and dismissed, as unworthy of further notice, but one which demands a careful perusal, careful thought, and honest consideration. It is a carefully-prepared history of the London money-market, in all its relations; and as that market controls, very largely, the monetary affairs of the world, there can be few subjects which appeal, with greater force, to every business-man and every man who has business, in our country as well as in Europe.

It is well, therefore, that such a book has been printed in America; it will be well, also, if Americans will read it, carefully, and profit from its teachings.

The typography of the work is very neat.

39.—*Arthur Bonnicastle.* An American Novel. By J. G. Holland. With twelve full-page Illustrations by Mary A. Hallock. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 401. Price $1.75

This is said to be "the most natural and "finished prose work of its popular author;" and that will be regarded as a sufficient passport to many readers.

It is autobiographical in form, if not in fact, and it teaches self-respect and self-reliance, and condemns the opposite traits of character, with great power.

It is very neatly printed.

THE

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I.—"*CASTINE THE YOUNGER.*"

A paper read before the Maine Historical Society, at its meeting in Bangor, January, 1873.

By Hon. John E. Godfrey, of Bangor.

The Baron Jean Vincent de St. Castin came to the country formerly styled Panaouamskè, now Penobscot, about the year 1667. He intermarried, at different times, with native women, the first of whom is supposed to have been a daughter of the celebrated Tarratine Sachem, Madockawando. It was rumored, among the English, that he had three or four Indian wives, at the same time.* There is no proof of this. He lived with different Indian women; but he never changed his wife.† By his first wife, Matilde, he had several children; by his last, Marie Pidianskge, he had one or more. Several of his daughters were well married, to Frenchmen. Anastasie, a daughter, by Matilde, married Alexander le Borque de Belleisle, and Therese, a daughter of Marie, married Phillipe de Pombomcoup, a grandson of Charles Amador de la Tour and Jeanne Motin D'Aulnay.‡ There were other daughters. He had, also, two sons, Anselm, by Matilde, and Joseph Dubadis. The historians, Sullivan and Williamson, confound these with each other, under the name of "Castine the younger." §

Anselm was the more distinguished of the two, and is sometimes designated as the Baron de St. Castin; consequently he is confounded with his father, by some historians. He first comes under our notice, at the siege of Port Royal, in 1707.

Daniel Anque de Subercase was then Governor of that place. In the Spring, Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, sent several ships, with a force of about fifteen hundred men, to reduce it. Colonel March was in command of the expedition, and, after several attempts, returned to Casco Bay, without having accomplished any thing.

Anselm de St. Castin was conspicuous in the defence. He was sent by Subercase with a detachment, consisting of eighty French and Indians, to intercept a force of three hundred English, who were in pursuit of cattle. He had the direct command of the Indians. An ambuscade had been formed, but, with six of his Abenakis, or Tarratines, from Panaouamskè, he left the main body and made an advance, in sight of the enemy, and killed six of their men; then, rejoining the command, he charged the English so resolutely that their whole force was driven back to camp, in disorder. Sixty Canadians had arrived at Port Royal, a short time before, and rendered good service in the defence; but Subercase reported to the Minister that "but for the presence of the Baron de St. Cas-"tin, he could not have answered for the "result.*"

The failure of this expedition created great dissatisfaction, in Massachusetts. Colonel March and his subordinates, Colonels Wainwright and Appleton, were much censured. Governor Dudley, however, was not discouraged. He strengthened the force and sent it back, with the same officers, under three members of the Council—Colonels Hutchinson and Townsend and Mr. Leverett—who had as full powers to superintend and direct as the Governor would have had, if he had been present.

On the twentieth of August, the ships were again before Port Royal; but neither officers nor men were in a proper condition of health or spirits to insure favorable results; indeed, many of the men were raw recruits. On the other hand, the French force, though small, was in good fighting condition, and, with the accomplished soldier, Subercase, in command, well prepared to receive the invaders. The Governor placed great reliance on St. Castin, and sent

* *Hutchinson Papers*, 563; *Andros Tracts*, i., 155. *Mere rumor.*

† Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, 141, 205.

‡ *Bangor Centennial*, 25.

§ Sullivan's *History of Maine*, 262; Williamson's *History of Maine*, ii., 60, 144; Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 246, 286.

* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 194; Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 289.

him, with one hundred and fifty men, to ambuscade the enemy. This he did, effectually. When they had come within pistol-shot, he poured upon them three successive volleys, which caused them to fall back towards their boats. Subercase sent Boularderie to reinforce St. Castin, with one hundred and fifty men, and orders to follow the enemy, if they attempted to re-embark; and followed, himself, with one hundred and twenty men, leaving Bonaventure in command of the fort. Burning with impatience, Boularderie made too swift pursuit, and, with but sixty or eighty men, fell upon the enemy, leaping from one entrenchment into another, until he was disabled by two sabre-cuts. Anselm, with one, Antoine de Salliant, followed, eagerly, and took Boularderie's place; when a hand-to-hand conflict, with hatchets and clubbed muskets, ensued, in which from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred English were driven fifteen hundred paces, towards their boats. Anselm and Antoine were both wounded and disabled, and their men retired towards the woods, which the English officers seeing, they took the occasion to rally their men and pursued, until the French faced about to receive them, when they withdrew, after firing several volleys. Shortly after, Subercase sent Granger, a brave inhabitant, with Boularderie's detachment, to attack the English, who did not wait, but re-embarked, in haste and confusion; and, on the first of September, they were on their return to Massachusetts.*

St. Castin was wounded, severely, in the thigh. He gained great credit for his gallantry. About two months afterwards, he was married, by Father Gaulin, to Charlotte d'Amours, daughter of Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chaffours, at Port Royal, in the presence of Subercase, Bonaventure, the bride's father, and Boulardiere.† Whether, like Desdemona,

"She loved him for the dangers he had pass'd,"

no Shakespeare informs us.‡

Between the years 1707 and 1710, the French manifested a strange indifference to the military necessities of Acadie; and, when Governor Dudley, in the latter year, sent General Nicholson, with thirty-six ships and thirty-four hundred men again to invade Port Royal, it had neither means of subsistence or defence. Many of the people were so destitute that Subercase gave them his shirts and sheets, from his bed, to keep them from suffering.

Subercase made such preparations for defence as he was able, but, more probably, had his mind upon terms of capitulation. Nicholson was four days in landing and making preparations for the attack, during which time, there was some firing, on both sides, but no great loss on either. After his arrangements were completed, Nicholson summoned the garrison to surrender. Subercase made a virtue of necessity, and obtained very favorable terms; and the successful General was obliged to give food to the people, to save them from starvation.

Anselm de St. Castin was with Subercase and Major Livingston with Nicholson. As it was necessary to submit the Articles of Capitulation to Vaudreuil, the Governor-general of New France, and to make arrangements for an exchange of prisoners, these two officers were selected, by the several commandants, to go as messengers to Quebec, for the purpose.

They left Port Royal about the middle of October. On arriving at Pentagouët, now Castine, Livingston became the guest of St. Castin, who resided there, in what the Priests called the "Parish of the St. Famille," and was hospitably entertained by him. When every thing was in readiness, they took three Indian guides, with canoes, and proceeded up the Penobscot-river, intending to make the journey, as far as possible, by water. Presently, they came to the island of Lett,* where they met with fifty canoes and twice as many Indians, besides women and children, on their way from Winter-harbor, near the mouth of the Saco-river. There had been with them two English prisoners, taken at Winter-harbor, a little before; but one of them, whom his captor had taken with him, on a hunting excursion, to a neighboring island,† had made his escape, with the savage's gun and canoe. It would not be a great stretch of the imagination to suppose that the refreshments of which this son of the forest had partaken rendered him oblivious to the movements of his prisoner; and that the latter had no conscientious misgivings, as to his right to take advantage of the means and opportunity afforded him to get back to Winter-harbor. However this might have been, the savage, two days after the arrival of St. Castin and Livingston, found his way back to his party, without canoe, captive, or gun, threatening vengeance against all Englishmen; and

* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 199; Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 155.

† *Bangor Centennial*, 25; Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 163, 171, 329.

‡ She was dead, in 1728.

* The circumstances render it more probable that this was Orphan, or Wetmore's, Island, (Verona) than any other. A party of savages had, a short time before this, been engaged in hostilities against the English, not far from Winter-harbor, and killed three whites and taken six captives. This portion of the party was probably on its way to Winter-quarters.

Mr. Williamson thinks Lett was, probably, Oldtown. cannot see the grounds of the probability.

† Probably Brigadier's-island.

when he saw Livingston, he rushed towards him, and, seizing him by the throat, raised his tomahawk to dispatch him, and would have done so, but Anselm, seeing the movement, threw himself between them and saved the life of his companion. This accident was the occasion of the detention of Livingston, by the Indians, for several days; but St. Castin's influence was such that he procured his release, and they were on the route again, by the fourth of November.

On the next day after they had started again, the Major's canoe was overset and lost, with his gun, and one of the guides was drowned.* Soon after this, the ice began to form and so chafed and tore the bark of the canoes, that the party was obliged to leave them and perform the remainder of the journey on foot.† Guided by the compass, they passed over plains and mountains, around the heads of rivers and lakes, through forests of pine-wood and underwood, through thickets of spruce and cedar, nearly impenetrable, at times wading through deep snows. They were in storms and fogs, for more than a fortnight, during which time, they never saw the sun. Six days before they reached any human habitation, their supplies were exhausted, and they were obliged to resort to moss, leaves, and dried berries, to sustain life.

It was a long and perilous journey. They did not arrive at Quebec, until the sixteenth of December, when they were nearly exhausted by their labors and privations. The Governor received them handsomely, and made every provision for their comfort and recuperation.

The news of the fall of Port Royal caused Vaudreuil much mortification. The French who remained in Acadie were "utterly at the mercy "of the conqueror;" and the capitulation had "somewhat cooled the Indians," he said; but he did not abandon the hope of recovering the lost territory. He immediately set to work to regain the confidence of the savages and to re-establish the French influence over them, for, retaining their ancient rights in the territory, they could aid him greatly in his designs. It was important to have some one invested with French authority, among them, upon whom he could rely, and who would be least obnoxious to the English. He selected Anselm de St. Castin. M. Raudot, Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finance, concurred with him in the propriety of the appointment. In his letter to the Minister, M de Pontchartrain, Vaudreuil says: "M. "Raudot and I have concluded that we could "do no better for the public service than to "send Baron de St. Castin immediately back, "the rather as the principal affair at present "regarding his Majesty's service in these parts is "the management of the Indian allies there, "over whom Sieur de St. Castin possesses great "influence; but, as it is proper to compensate "him, in some sort, for the loss he has just "experienced at Port Royal, and also to authorize him to command the French, in those "parts, as well as the Indians, I have given "him, subject to the King's pleasure, a commission of Lieutenant, and M. Raudot has handed "him the emoluments thereof."

As Subercase, two years before, had written to the same Minister, in relation to St. Castin, informing him that he was kept out of his estates, in France, under pretence of illegitimacy, although he had the certificates of the missionaries and full evidence of his heirship—"this poor "boy," he says, "has to do with the first *chicanier* of Europe, and Lieutenant-general of the "town of Oleron, in Bearne, who, for long "years, enjoys this property"‡—and recommending that he be made Lieutenant-general of Pentagouët, with a salary, that official was prepared to approve the action of Vaudreuil, in approving the appointment.

Anselm's commission was dated the first of January, 1711. His rank was that of Lieutenant *en pied*. The Marquis d'Alogny, Commandant of the troops, was ordered to recognize him, as such, and to pay him his salary.§ As the missionaries were a power among the savages, Vaudreuil impressed it upon those in Acadie to be unremitting in their endeavors to retain them in the French interests.

After Anselm had returned to Pentagouët, he and Father Gaulin conceived the project of retaking Port Royal—which was under the command of Colonel Vetch—and St. Castin sent forty Abenakis, under one, l'Aymalle, to assist in the enterprise. The party obtained some advantages over the English, of all which Vaudreuil was duly informed, by Father Felix Cappon, and commenced making preparations for sending aid. It was shortly afterward reported that the English were making extensive preparations for the conquest of Canada; and the project was abandoned.§

The Treaty of Utrecht, by which France surrendered to England all Acadie, with Port Roy-

* This was probably soon after they reached the head of the tide, where the rapids first appeared. It is about a day's voyage, by canoe, from the Island, at that season of the year.

† They might have followed up the Stillwater branch, and, crossed the country, by Moosehead Lake.

* *New York Colonial Documents*, ix., 854.

† Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 304. This language implies that Anselm's father was dead. He was in France with a daughter and her family, in 1704.—Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 272. Church's *Indian Wars*.

‡ Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 329.

§ *New York Colonial Documents*, ix., 858, 859.

al—afterwards called Annapolis Royal, now Annapolis—and Newfoundland, was signed on the eleventh of April, 1713. Cape Breton and the other islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, remained to France. The rights of the Indians were not affected by the Treaty; and Anselm's authority continued to be recognized by them. He had now abandoned the expectation of recovering his family estates in France, to give his attention to affairs at "Panamske and Na-"rantsouak.*"

Father Rasle, a learned Jesuit, had been with the Indians, at Narantsouak, since 1698. Father Lauveigait was with the Indians at Panamske, from 1718. While Toxus, a fierce war-chief of the Naridgewocks, was living, the Priests had his aid in keeping the Indians true to the French; but, in 1721, he was dead; and the influence of the English increased so rapidly that Rasle became alarmed, and wrote to Vaudreuil, informing him of the fact. The latter immediately procured a delegation from the Abenakis of St. Francois and Becancoue, to accompany Father La Chasse, the Superior-general of the Missions, to visit their brethren, at Narantsouak and Panaoumskè, to encourage the friends of the French among them.

In August of that year, the French succeeded in getting together about two hundred Abenakis from Norridgewock and Penobscot, and they appeared at Arrowsic-island, in ninety canoes, where they had a conference with Captain Penhallow, who commanded the English, there. The object of their visit was to demand that the English should remove from certain lands, on which the Indians alleged they had encroached, within three weeks. The demand was accompanied by a threat that their cattle should be killed and their houses burned, if they failed to comply.

La Chasse and Rasle were leading spirits, evidently, in this conference. The expedition was deemed hostile, by the English; and, as Anselm St. Castin was present, with his people, in the dress pertaining to his office, he was considered as partaking of the spirit of the party.

When the Government, at Boston, was informed of the presence of St. Castin, at Arrowsic, an order was issued for his arrest.

In the meantime, he had returned to Pentagouët, and was attending to his own affairs, when an English vessel, commanded by a person with whom he was acquainted, anchored, quietly, in the harbor. Being invited on board, by the Master, to partake of some refreshments, he went, unsuspectingly, for there was nothing, apparently, that indicated hostile intent. He had hardly got on board, however, before, to his great astonishment, the sails were hoisted, and he was on his way to Boston! On his arrival, there, he was cast into prison.*

This proceeding was the occasion of much unfavorable comment, in Massachusetts. There were those who thought it no crime in St. Castin to be with the Indians, at Arrowsic, and that to abduct him from his home, in a part of the country over which Massachusetts had never exercised jurisdiction, as against his people, and imprison him for no particular crime, was unjustifiable. The House of Representatives, however, ordered that he be tried by the Superior Court of the County of Suffolk. The Council did not concur in this, but voted to send for witnesses, that the Court might determine the proper course of procedure. This was not agreeable to the House, and the case stood.

A Committee was afterward appointed to examine St. Castin; and he so well satisfied them that wrong had been done him by these proceedings, that they reported that he should be discharged. In reply to interrogatories, he said: "I received no orders from the Governor of "Canada, to be present at Arrowsic. I have "always lived with my kindred and people—"my mother was an Abenakis—I was in author-"ity, over them. I should not have been true "to my trusts if I had neglected to be present "at a meeting wherein their interests were con-"cerned. My uniform is required by my posi-"tion, which is that of a Lieutenant, under the "French King. I have the highest friendship "for the English. My disposition is to prevent "my people from doing them mischief; and "my efforts shall be to influence them to keep "peace.†"

After the disagreement of the two Houses, there was a growing sentiment in favor of the captive. The Government wanted peace with the Indians; to have punished St. Castin, as a traitor, would have destroyed all prospect of it; their jurisdiction over him was, at least, questionable; and to try him in one country for a crime committed in another was improper. The Report of the Committee was readily accepted by both Houses, and Governor Shute approved the action. Vaudreuil had previously written to Governor Shute, complaining of St. Castin's imprisonment and demanding his discharge, but received no reply.‡

St. Castin was imprisoned in December, and released after five months' confinement. By some, he was considered a "very subtle fellow," and as having influenced the Committee by heartless professions. There seems to be no

* Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 337.

* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 274.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 246.

doubt, however, that whatever his feelings might have been towards the English, he was desirous to keep his people at peace; and he encouraged their disposition to be on terms of friendship with them; and neutralized, in a great measure, the efforts of Lauveigait, in the other direction.

Rasle was killed, in 1724, and, believing it a good time to propose a Treaty with the Indians, the English sent a hostage and a captive, on their parole, to the Penobscots, to sound them upon the subject, in the Winter of 1724–5—Father Lauveigait was then in Canada—and, prompted by St. Castin, they gave a favorable answer to the messengers, who conveyed it to the English fort, at St. George, in February.

Unfortunately, in ignorance of this commencement of negotiations, Captain Heath, with a Company from Kennebec, went across the country and attacked the French and Indian fort and village, at the head of the tide, on the Penobscot, where were fifty or sixty dwellings, which he found unoccupied, and destroyed them.*

This interrupted the negotiations; but, after explanation, they were renewed, in June. But a fatality appeared to attend them, at every step. In July, a Captain John Pritchard, in an English vessel, took a small bark belonging to Anselm's younger brother, Joseph Dabadis, lying near Naskeag-point, (Sedgwick) with a quantity of beaver and other property, and committed other outrages upon him. Dabadis made this the subject of a remonstrance and a claim for damages, on Lieutenant-governor Dummer.†

This matter was probably arranged satisfactorily, for a cessation of arms was agreed upon, and, finally, an excellent Treaty, called "Dummer's Treaty," was signed at Casco, on the fifteenth of December, 1725, which was quite well observed by the Indians, until the fifth Indian War, which succeeded the French Declaration of War, on the fifteenth of March, 1744.

The Dummer Treaty and a subsequent one, made with the Penobscots in 1727, exceedingly annoyed the French; and Lauvergait did not rest until he obtained a Declaration from the Chiefs, certified to by himself and St. Castin, that it was but a Treaty of Peace, Amnesty, and Accommodation between the two nations. He also wrote a letter to Vaudreuil from Panonamskè, dated the seventeenth of August, 1727, in which he said that the Chiefs of the village begged him not to doubt their fidelity to him, and to be assured that the English, by all their presents and all their artifices, could not separate them from the French, nor make them forget their religion; that, if necessity and a want

* Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 286. The remains of this fort are still visible.

† The story is told by Dabadis, in his own English, in the following letter to Lieutenant-governor Dummer:

"Pentagoet, 23d July 1725

"Sir: I have the honour to acquaint you that the 9th of "this present month as j rode at anchor in a small harbour "about three miles distant from Nesket, having with me "but one indian and one Englishman whom j had redeem-"ed from the salvages, as well as my vessel, j was attack-"ed by an English vessel, the Commander of which called "himself Lieutenant of the King's ship, and told me also "his name, which j cannot remember.

"Seeing myself thus attackt and not finding myself able "to defend myself, j withdrew into the wood forsaking "my vessel. The Commander of the vessel called me "back promising me with an oath not to wrong me at all "saying that he was a merchant who had no design but to "trade and was not fitted out for war, specially when "there was a talk of peace, and presently set up a flag of "truce, and even gave me two safe conducts by writing, "both which j have unhappily lost in the fight. Thus "thinking myself safe enough, j came back on board my "vessel, with my indian and my Englishman, whom j "brought to show that j had no thoughts of fighting, and "that j had redeemed him from the indians as well as the "vessel. But as j was going to put on my cloaths to dress "myself more handsomely the Commander who was come "in my vessel with severall of his people would not per-"mit me to do it, telling me j was no more master of any "thing. He only granted me after many remonstrances "to set me ashore.

"But after j came down and they held forth to me a "bag full of bi-ket that was given to me as they said as a "payment for my Englishman. They did catch hold of "me and the indian who accompanyed me, j got rid of "him who was going to seize upon me, but my indian not "being able to do the same, j betook myself to my arms—"and after several volleys j killed the man who kept him, "and got him safe with me. This is the second time that "j have been thus treacherously used, which proceedings "j do not suppose that you approve of, being against the "laws of Nations. Therefore j hope that you will do me "the justice, or that at least you will cause me to be re-"imbursed of the loss j have sustained.

"Namely

"For the vessel that costed me 80 French pistoles. For "the Englishman 10 pistoles; 51 pounds of beaver that "were in the vessel with 20 otters, 3 coats that have cost-"ed me together 20 pistoles; 56 pounds of shot that costed "me twenty pence a pound; 2 pounds of powder at 4 "livres a pound. 20 pounds of tobacco at 20 pence a "pound; a pair of scales 8 livres; Tow cloth blankets "each 23 livres; Tow bear skins 8 livres apiece; 4 skins of "sea wolf 8 livres for the four; 3 axes 15 livres for both; "2 kettles, 30 livres for both, and severall other matters, "which they would not grant me, so much as my cup. "The retaken Englishman knoweth the truth of all this, "his name is Samuell Trusk of the Town of Salem near "to Marblehead.

"j have the honour to be
"Sir
"Your most humble & most
"obedient Servant Joseph
"Dabadis de St. Castin."

of resources had obliged them to make peace, that would not prevent their joining the French again, as soon as they declared War against the English. This letter was accompanied by a paper, confirming his assertions, to which he had procured the names of the Chiefs.

From the following letter of Lauvergait to Father La Chasse, it would seem that St. Castin was sincere in his protestations of friendship towards the English, or, at any rate. was disposed to keep faith with them; and that Lauvergait found him a great obstacle to his schemes with the Indians. That Father was greatly enraged against both him and his brother; and it is probable that the French Governors considered his zeal quite equal to his discretion, for his representations had no immediate effect against them.

"PANAOUAMSKE,* July 8, 1728.

"VERY DEAR BROTHER:

"The insolence of the Messrs. de St. "Castin has come to be so excessive, that they no "longer set bounds to it, in their conduct to me "or before God.

"The elder, who does not care to marry, and "not satisfied with spreading corruption through "the whole village, in addition to that, now "makes a business of selling brandy, openly, in "company with his nephew, the son of M. de "Belle Isle. They have been the means of one "man being drowned, already, on account of "it, and are like to be the destruction of many "others. The younger of the Messrs. de St. "Castin never comes into the village without "getting drunk in public and putting the whole "village in an uproar.

"Both of them, prompted by the supplies "they receive, pretend to be on my side and in "the interests of the King, but, behind my "back, they do not cease to work against me, "and to oppose every enterprise I undertake, in "the service of God and the King.

"Excessively puffed up with the commission "and with the salary they have obtained from "the King, through M. de Vaudreuil, the earth "is not good enough for them to stand upon. "They believe that they have a right, through "this commission, to rule, absolutely, and to "seize and dispose of every thing at their will; "and if any one thinks of opposing them they "threaten him with nothing less than death or "massacre.

"They are going to Canada; and they will "not fail to boast of their services, and to seem "very much attached to the interests of the "Colony. But here is what I believe, before "God.

"That, before the savages had begun the "War against the English, they did every thing "in the world they could to prevent their under-"taking it—and this in spite of all the exhorta-"tions I made to the savages, on the part of M. "d'Vaudreuil, and notwithstanding all that M. "de Vaudreuil had said to them, himself.

"That, after I had, in spite of them, engaged "the savages to determine upon a war against "the English, they broke up the first expedition "I had formed, and prevented it from starting.

"That, after I had organized another war-"party, and had sent it off, they stopped it, "on the way, and would have absolutely pre-"vented the war from breaking out, if I had "not gone down to the sea-shore and persuaded "my people to proceed with it.

"That, not having been able to prevent the "attacks upon the English, they pretended to be "neutral (except that they made money out of "the booty taken from the English—and that "for two whole years-) on the pretext that they "were Frenchmen and not natives.

"That, when they could no longer abstain "from deciding for one side or the other—M. "de Vaudreuil having given them to under-"stand, particularly, that their qualities, as "Frenchmen, did not take from them their "rights and, consequently, their duties, as "savages—the younger, actually and in earnest, "did go on an expedition, and signalized him-"self; but the elder contented himself with "showing himself once only, and, although he "received a hundred affronts from the English, "by whom he was taken twice, by treachery, "and robbed, yet far from dreaming of taking "his revenge on them, he has sought their pro-"tection and asked favors of them.

"That, towards the end of the war, when I "went to Canada, by your orders—the English "having sent a hostage here, during my ab-"sence, to propose peace—the Messrs. de St. "Castin were the first to suggest that a favor-"able answer should be made to the English, "and disbanded an expedition that had just set "out, by my orders, to make reprisals on the "English, who had treacherously sent an expe-"dition against us, the previous Winter, while "at another point they assured us concerning "peace.*

"That, since that time, these same gentlemen "have not ceased to urge the savages to make "peace with the English, and to accept their "propositions, without caring what the French "might think about it.

"All this I am positively certain about, and "am ready to make oath to, and this, added to

* This village was either at the head of the tide or at Oldtown.

* Evidently the Heath Expedition, while negotiations were going on, at St. George.

"all the other irregularities that these gentlemen "are guilty of, such as selling at false weight "and at false measure, cheating people so out "of one-quarter to one-third of all they buy, is "sufficient reason that their pay should be stop- "ped, and that that they have not drawn of "their salary should be confiscated.*"

By a letter from the Marquis de Beauharnois,† Governor of New France, to the Minister, Marrepas, dated the first of October, 1731, it appears that communications had been received from St. Castin to him, although he did not go to Canada, himself, that year, to the effect that the English were forming considerable establishments in the neighborhood of the Indian territory, and probably would render themselves masters of it, by force—an opinion which the Governor appears to have entertained, himself.‡

In 1736, the French counted upon two hundred warriors, at Penobscot, as connected with the Government of New France; § and, by a letter from Beauharnois, dated the eighth of October, 1744, they agreed to unite with the French, in an expedition against Annapolis; and were supplied by him with belts and hatchets.‖

I have not yet been able to find any thing further relating to the St. Castins, after 1731.

Nothing more is known of Dabadis, than appears in this paper. He evidently is the "Robardeè" mentioned by Williamson,¶ and supposed, by Captain Francis, to have been the son of "Castine, the younger." He, unquestionably, was Castin, the younger brother of Anselm; but Anselm must have been the Baron's elder son, who was conspicuous, in Acadie, in the early part of the eighteenth century.

II.—*REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 76.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE DAVID B. DOUGLASS, LL.D., FORMERLY CAPTAIN OF ENGINEERS, U. S. A.; COMMUNICATED BY HIS CHILDREN, FOR PUBLICATION IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

THIRD LECTURE.

In the preceding Lecture, I have brought down the narrative of the Campaign, to the close of the memorable Battle of Niagara Falls, Bridgewater, or Lundy's lane, including the operations on the morning of the twenty sixth, till noon. I am now to proceed with the detail of the subsequent movements.

It will be recollected, among the consequences of the recent battle, that, General Brown and General Scott having been wounded, the command in chief had devolved upon General Ripley, and some little change was to be expected, in the military policy of the Campaign. My object in saying this is not to disparage the Commander last named, but to account for a fact.

Change in command, not unfrequently, produces change in the course of action, and so it was, in this case; and it is interesting to observe, in passing, how, after all, an unseen Providence guides and shapes all our ends, rough hew them how we will. Had the command descended but one step, no one would have apprehended any change in the character of the Campaign, as to enterprise, however many might regret—and, probably, none more than General Scott, to whom the command would have descended—the absence of the cool, deliberate sagacity of General Brown, in the councils of the Army. Had it descended three steps, to General P. B. Porter, very nearly the same result would apply, with nearly the same force. In either case, the question would be, whether the army should be reinforced, on the battle-ground, at the Falls, or occupy its position, at Chippewa. Nor, can it be doubted that, with the aid of the captured artillery, manned and munitioned by us, it would have been in our power to maintain the position, so taken, against any possible assault, on the part of the enemy. Such I happen to know was the unhesitating counsel of General Porter and of one, if not both, of the Field-officers of Engineers; and it was precisely in this policy that I was sent, towards the close of the battle, to prepare my command for the exigencies of the following day.

In the new state of things, however, a more cautious policy was adopted. General Ripley, having completed the reconnaisances of which I have spoken, on the day following the battle, and returned to camp, determined, not without much opposition from the ablest counsellors of the army, to retire upon Fort Erie, and take position, either at that place or on the heights opposite Black-rock. The Engineers opposing every part of this movement, were understood, of course, to prefer the latter to the former. The final question appears to have been settled in favor of the position at Fort Erie, during the march; and, about eleven o'clock, on the evening of the twenty-sixth, we arrived in the vicinity of the fort, and bivouacked for the night. The men slept where and how they could; and,

* This letter was translated from the French, by Henry M. Prentiss, Esq., of Bangor.

† This was the immediate successor of Vaudreuil. He was a natural son of Louis XIV. He was Governor from 1726 to 1747.

New York Colonial Documents, ix., 991.

Ibid, 1026.

Ibid, 1052, 1107.

¶ Williamson's *History of Maine*, ii., 71.

too tired to be over fastidious, I stretched myself upon the first camp-waggon I saw, which, when I turned up the canvass cover, on the following morning, proved to have been loaded with pickaxes, spades, crowbars, and various other tools and mining implements.

It was foreseen, by those who opposed this movement, that it would be seized upon by the British General, as giving color to an extravagant and unfounded pretension in regard to the recent battle; and so it turned out. In the same dispatch in which he claims the victory, on the field of Niagara, he has endeavored to characterize this movement as the disorderly flight of a beaten army.

"The retreat," says a recent British historian,* "was continued to Fort Erie, with "such precipitation, that the whole baggage, "provisions, and camp-equipage were thrown "into the Rapids, and precipitated over the "awful cataract of Niagara!" An awful affair, truly, if it had really happened, anywhere, except in the imagination of the historian. As matter of history, I assure you there is not a particle of truth in it.†

The movement, in proper military phrase, would, doubtless, be called a retreat. But it was not a disorderly nor a precipitate retreat. It was not, in any sense, *compulsory*, for we might have lain, any length of time, behind the Chippewa, in spite of the efforts of our enemy to dislodge us. But, in the situation in which we were left, after the battle, diminished in numbers while the enemy had been greatly reinforced, it was thought to be a question, not whether we *could* defend ourselves, but whether we could *protect our depots*, at Buffalo, and our line of communication, at so great a distance from them. In other words, the motive of the retreat was strategical, having regard to the general scheme of operations; not tactical, or evolutionary, having regard to the strength of a certain position or the relative force of the two armies. It was preceded by a forced reconnaissance, on our part, in which the enemy's outposts were driven in, at the distance of almost three miles from our camp. Nor did the British General advance from that position, even as far as the village of Chippewa, till the second day after. There was no pursuit—no hanging upon our flanks or rear—no enemy visible, in any quarter. The march was as quiet as if it had passed through a portion of our own territory. It was undertaken with perfect deliberation, and performed without the slightest disorder, of any kind.

Four days after the battle, General Drummond was reinforced, in addition to all his other reinforcements, with twelve hundred men of De Watteville's Brigade; and *then*, for the first time, he ventured beyond Chippewa-bridge. Finally, when he did show himself, at Fort Erie, on the sixth day after the battle, with more than double our numbers, instead of driving us into the lake, at the point of the bayonet, which, consistently with his vain-glorious dispatches he ought certainly to have done, what did he do? He kept at a most respectful distance, beyond cannon-shot, and only approached us in fact with the cautious operations of a regular siege.

It was before superior numbers, then, under a view of general policy, not by defeat or compulsion, that the army retired; and the British General, however he may have stooped to win laurels at our expense, in paper dispatches, showed plainly enough, by his conduct in the field, that the crown of victory was, in reality, none of his.

At the dawn of day, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, I had, for the first time, a survey of our position, of which, by reason of the darkness of the night, I had been prevented taking note, the evening before. The spot on which I stood was a hillock, partly natural and partly formed by the ruins of an old lime-kiln, between the fort and the lake, nearest the latter, eight or ten feet above the water-level, and about as much below the site of the fort. And here I immediately arranged a place for the encampment of my particular command. The different Corps and Regiments began, at the same time, to assume the order of a regular encampment, chiefly on the left of the fort, and extending, from it, towards a high, commanding hillock, called Snake-hill, about half a mile up the Lake, near the shore.

Before I proceed with any detail of events at Fort Erie, allow me to point out the difference between the Fort Erie of which I am now to speak and the little work which was taken by us, at the opening of the Campaign. The latter, as I have intimated in my former Lecture, was a small quadrangular fort, partly finished, and not capable of containing a garrison of more than two or three hundred men, at the utmost.

After it fell into our hands, on the third of July, and until the the twenty-sixth, when we returned to it, the American garrison had been engaged in improving and completing its defences, as a mere fort; but, of course, without any idea of the neighboring ground being occupied by the army at large; nor had any works, with reference to such an occupancy, been laid out or contemplated in the labors of the garri-

* Allison.

† "It is, indeed, barely possible that some barrels of "bad mess-beef or damaged biscuit may have been "thrown into the Niagara."—*Major Douglass.*

son. The Fort Erie of the siege, now to be spoken of, was rather an intrenched camp, having the proper fort, indeed, for one of its strong points, but extending, for more than half a mile from it, along the lake-shore, with numerous other redoubts and batteries; and embracing an area sufficient for the accommodation of two or three thousand men.* With this explanation, I now go back in my narrative to the night of our arrival, when none of these works existed, save Fort Erie, proper.

While the first arrangements were in progress, *I* had a special duty to perform. One of my guns had broken down, the preceding evening, near Black-rock-ferry; and a detachment of the Company, with a spare limber and plenty of rope and extra draught-horses, was made ready, early in the morning, to go down and bring it in. At the moment of my departure, I was summoned into the presence of the Commandant of Artillery, and severely reprimanded, for having left the gun in that situation. I replied that I had done so by direction of my own Commander, having reported the fact to him, at the time. "Yes," he said, "but if the gun falls into the hands of "the enemy, I have an accountability, too." "That," I said, "is impossible. I put it in the "care of the rear-guard; and, besides, I am just "going down, to bring it in." What peculiar difficulty he saw in this, or whether he was moved by the very juvenile appearance of the speaker, I know not; but he did not hesitate to treat my proposition as absurd and ridiculous; and I left him, meditating *revenge*. Two hours gave it to me. The gun, by that time, was safely brought into camp, weighing about fifty hundred-weights; and, in two hours more, it was safely mounted on another axletree, without the aid of machinery. The Commander came down to see me, at the close of the operation, and very frankly made his acknowledgment, giving me, in the fullest manner, his esteem and confidence, ever after.

On the twenty-eighth and following days of the month, the order of the encampment having been duly adjusted and the troops refreshed, the works of intrenchment were commenced. The ground-plan of a battery, for the extreme right of the position, was traced on the lime-kiln occupied by the Sappers and Miners, and immediately commenced by them. Another, of larger dimensions and in bolder relief, was laid out, on Snake-hill, on the extreme left; and a fatigue party, of several hundred men, was placed under my directions, for *its* construction. The intermediate ground, between Snake-hill and the fort, was, at the same time, laid out in a system of breastworks and batteries, to be thrown up by the Regimental fatigue parties and Artillery, each in front of its respective Regiment and Corps; and a breastwork, also, in front of the Ninth Regiment, between my battery and Fort Erie.

As late as the morning of the thirtieth, the enemy had not yet made his appearance, in our immediate neighborhood. In the course of that day, however, a patrol of British Dragoons was discovered, by one of our scouting parties, below Black-rock-ferry; and, in the early part of the night following, a large detachment ascended as far as the ferry, and seized some of the boats which had been left there. It was about the middle of the night, that I was awakened, in my tent, by the Chief Engineer, and informed of this capture, with the caution to be on the alert, as my position was exposed, in the direction of the enemy. He also directed me to place one or two additional guns in the bastion of Fort Erie, commanding the approach, from below. The elevation of the bastion, and the narrow, cramped passage by which it communicated with the fort, rendered this a work of some difficulty. A succession of inclined planes had to be erected. We began the work, however, about one o'clock, with the Sappers and Miners constructing; and, at reveille-beating, two guns were wheeled into their places, in readiness for action.

The approach of the enemy, of course, stimulated our labors, in the trenches; and the soldiers were turned out, almost *en masse*, to work upon them. But it was yet many days before they were sufficiently matured to have given the least hindrance to an attacking enemy; and that General Drummond, with his great superiority of force, did not attack us, in that situation, is only to be accounted for, by assigning to the Battle of Niagara its true character, as a signal and impressive victory, on our part.

It was about the first of August, when the British appeared in force, on the heights opposite Black-rock. On the second, at evening, my own little battery, though not quite finished, was platformed, and the guns mounted. I made my bed on the platform, that night; and, for many weeks afterwards, took no rest, except on the trailed handspikes of one of the guns, with an old tent spread upon them, and wrapped in a horseman's cloak.* By great exertions, the battery on the

* See the accompanying map and description at the end of this Lecture.

* In a letter dated "Fort Erie, Sept. 12, 1814," the Lecturer thus speaks of the Douglass Battery:

"I cannot avoid giving you some account of it. It was "originally a sort of arched vault or magazine, raised "above ground, and opening towards the water. In the "course of one night, I dug away one side into a loose "sort of platform, and placed my gun there, having "squared the top a little, so as to give it the appearance of

left was advanced so as to receive a part of its armament, on the third. It was occupied by Towson's Artillery; and was called, afterwards, by his name. On the morning of the same day, the British, for the first time, made their appearance in the edge of the bushes, on the right, within sight of the fort; apparently a reconnoitering party, covered by a body of Indians and light troops. I pointed a couple of guns upon them, and fired the first myself; which was the first gun of a cannonade, which lasted, with very little intermission, from that time to the seventeenth of September, following. The British party was, of course, scattered, immediately, and retreated, with precipitation, under cover of the woods, the Indians making the welkin ring again, with the shrill notes of the war-whoop.

The British had not yet any regular battery to open upon us; but they posted two or three twenty-four-pounders among some sycamore bushes, on a salient point of the lake-shore, below, so as to rake part of our camp and fire into two man-of-war schooners, which were moored opposite. The firing was returned, from my battery, and also from one of the schooners; and, between us, according to the report of the man at the mast-head of the schooner, one of the enemy's guns was dismounted, in the course of the afternoon. †

On the fourth of the month, General Gaines arrived in camp, and took the command; General Ripley remaining as second. The firing, during the fourth, fifth, and sixth of August, on the part of the enemy, was inconsiderable; and we learned that he had thrown himself forward, under cover of the woods, and was there busily engaged in constructing his batteries. We fired upon them, occasionally, to annoy and retard them, as much as possible, in the prosecution of this work; but, of course, it availed little. The first battery was completed and unmasked; and, on the morning of the seventh, a little after sunrise, it opened upon us, with a volley from five pieces, at the distance of about nine hundred yards from our works.

We had heard them cutting, during the night, for the purpose of unmasking this battery; and knew, very well, what we had to expect, in the morning. A little after day-light, therefore, the troops were paraded, with colors, as for a grand field-day; the national standard was displayed at every flag-staff; as soon as the first volley from the enemy was received, the Regimental Bands of the entire army commenced playing the most animating national airs; and, in the midst of it, a salvo of artillery was fired from every piece which could be brought to bear upon the hostile position.

From this time, the cannonade became severe and unremitting, on both sides; and, as the shot of the enemy passed lengthwise, through our camp, it became necessary to dispose the tents in small groups, along the line of the entrenchment, and to erect massive embankments, (called traverses) transversely, for their protection. The most secluded places were selected for the horses and spare carriages of the Park, for the tents of the Hospital department, and for the parade and inspection of the guards. Yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, scarcely a day passed without considerable loss; and the annoyances were incessant. Shots fired with very small charges and great elevations—the ricochet firing of Vauban—were made to fall into the areas between the traverses, and, sometimes, to knock over a whole range of tents, at a single stroke. Others, glancing against accidental obstacles, were thrown off into oblique and transverse directions, producing the same effect. No spot was entirely safe. A Sergeant, under the apparent protection of one of the traverses, was getting himself shaved to go on guard; a chance shot, glancing obliquely, took off his head and the hand of the operator, at

"a parapet. After one day's brisk cannonade, I found "that I had blown away the earth that remained on the top, and set fire to the timbers that constituted the arch. "I immediately set the Bombardiers to work; cut away "the logs, entirely; filled up the cavities of the vault; and "formed it into a very decent breastwork. I planked the "platform, also, at the same time. A few days afterwards, "I connected it, on the left, to the breastwork which had "been raised, on that side, by the Ninth Regiment.

"In this state it remained, for some time, until about a "week since (early in September) when I began to devise "some plan to keep the Bombardiers comfortable, as the "nights grew cold; for, hitherto, we had all slept together, around the gun. On the right of the platform, the "ground had a considerable descent; and here I set all "hands to work, as near the gun as possible. In a few "days, they had made a sort of cellar, ten feet broad and "twenty feet long, neatly and firmly walled up with sods. "Adjoining this, they dug another similar one, walled in "the same way. I caused the whole to be covered with a "layer of logs; the cracks to be filled up with good "mortar; and a second layer of logs to be placed over "this. The men live in the large part and I in the smaller. I can enjoy the occasional privilege of a candle, in "the evening; while those who live in tents are obliged to "put out their lights, soon after dark. We are perfectly "secure from any kind of annoyance the enemy can send "against us; and, on the whole, they are considered about "the most comfortable quarters in camp."

† "*Aug. 6th*, 1814. In the evening, an officer of the "Navy came with some Field-officers of the Army, to see "me, telling me I had made some of the finest shots he "ever saw. This, you may suppose, would make an ambitious young soldier feel very vain."—*Letter from the Author.*

the same moment. These chance shots, however, though of frequent occurrence, were not often thus destructive of life, as they occurred mostly in the daytime, when the men were engaged on the works. There, great pains were taken to protect the laborers, by keeping a man on the watch. But, even with all these precautions, the shots often eluded our safeguards, and fell among the working-parties, with terrible effect. In spite of it all, however, the works were carried on with vigor and steadiness; and, by the tenth, the battery on Snake-hill—Towson's-battery—was completed and occupied, in full force. The line of breastworks, between Snake-hill and Fort Erie, including two other batteries, was also in a state of forwardness; and the intrenchments of the extreme right, between the fort and my battery, though, from accidental causes, less advanced, were yet capable of making a very considerable resistance. In addition to the intrenchments here spoken of, the extreme left, from Towson's-battery to the water, was closed with a very well constructed abattis;* and a similar construction was added, on some of the more exposed parts of the intrenchment, at other points.

The enemy, in the meanwhile, was still receiving, from time to time, further reinforcements. On the sixth and seventh of August, simultaneously with the opening of their first battery, we were given to understand that two fresh Regiments had joined them, making their aggregate strength a little more than five thousand men; and the expectation was, of course, excited, that we should have a desperate attack, from them, without much further delay. In anticipation of this attack, the men were distributed, for night-service, in three watches; one to be on duty, under arms; and the other two to lie down in their accoutrements, with arms at hand, so as to be ready for action, at a moment's notice. In the batteries, the guns were carefully charged afresh, every evening, with round-shot, grape, or canister, either, or all together, as the case might require; dark lanterns burning; with linstocks and other instruments in their places, ready for instant use. In my own battery, in addition to other missiles, bags of musket-balls had been quilted up, in the fragments of an old tent, adapted to the calibre of the different pieces, and made ready for use.

A week at length transpired, in this state of expectation and uncertainty—the British frequently exchanging their guns and their men on duty, so as to keep up, without intermission or relaxation, the vigor of their cannonade. On the fourteenth, one of their shells entered a small ammunition-chest, in one of the outworks of Fort Erie, and blew it up. Neither the chest nor its contents were of much consequence to us, though it was to be expected that the enemy, watchful for every advantage, however small, would so regard it; and, accordingly, as soon as the sound of the explosion reached him, it was greeted with three hearty cheers, by his whole line; to which ours, not to be outdone, in anything, immediately responded in three equally hearty. One of their shots, also, a few minutes after, cut away the halyards of one of our flag-staffs and lowered the flag. It was almost instantly restored; but the omen was thought too good a one to pass unnoticed; and three cheers were again given and responded to, in like manner as before. These incidents, and a few others likely to be construed as advantages gained, on the part of the besiegers, gave us a strong assurance that an attack would be attempted, in the course of the following night.

Immediately after nightfall, the lines were all visited by the commanding General, in person, and a special admonition addressed to the officers, of every grade, to be watchful and vigilant, in the certain expectation of an assault. The Chief Engineer and various Staff-officers, also, made the rounds, at later hours, and gave such directions and counsel to the different Commanders, as the occasion seemed to require. "Be prompt "and energetic" was the caution of the Chief Engineer to myself, "for you may be assured "that, whatever else they may do *this* will be "one of their points of attack." Thus cautioned, we were not likely to be taken by surprise. The usual proportion of men and a larger than usual proportion of officers were on post, during the night; and the residue, though sleeping,, were fully equipped and ready for action.

The early part of the night, after nine o'clock, passed with unusual calmness; and this—doubtless intended to lull us into security—was deemed a further indication of the hostile purpose of the enemy. Midnight at length came; and the hour after was still undisturbed and calm; till, towards two o'clock, it began to be doubtful whether our apprehension had not been excited upon insufficient grounds. I was reclining on my camp-bed, at this hour, and, being somewhat wearied with long watching and strong emotion, I gradually resigned myself to sleep. I was

* The Abattis is a defence constructed chiefly of rows of saplings and the tops and large boughs of trees. The ends of the branches are first lopped off, so as to leave stiff points. The trees are then piled with their tops turned from the fortification; and are secured by laying heavy timbers along the rows of trunks. The assailant, therefore, is both exposed to his enemy's fire and obliged to penetrate in the face of these innumerable bristling points, which are often made more impracticable by entwining with them thorns, cat-briars, and the like.—D.B.A.

unconscious of the interval that elapsed: it seemed, in sleeping, much longer than it could have been, in fact. But, at length—whether it were a reality or only the confused imagination of a broken dream, I could not, at first, tell—the report of a musket seemed to fall upon my ear, followed by a hurried volley of eight or ten similar reports, immediately after. Whether it were fancy or fact, however, was of little account; my physical energies were roused into action, even before my will was awake; and, by the time I was fairly conscious, I was already on my feet and at my post. Another volley was now distinctly heard, on the far left. It was no dream: the hour of attack had come: and the cry "To arms!" "To arms!" hastily given along the line of tents, awakened the reserve, and brought them into line, in almost as little time as I have employed in narrating.

I think an entire minute could not have elapsed, after the first alarm, before the close double ranks of the Ninth Regiment were formed, upon my left, with bayonets fixed, ready for the battle. My own trusty corps, familiarized, by daily use and constant vigilance, were in their places; the primers had already done their work, and were holding their hands over the priming, to protect it from dampness; while the firemen, opening their dark lanterns, were in the act of lighting their slow matches.

* * * * *

The firing which had given the alarm, was that of the picket-guard, on the extreme left, indicating the approach of the British right column, on that point. The picket-guard, in this instance, behaved well, loading and firing several times with considerable effect, as it retired; so that, by the time it made good its retreat, our troops were in perfect readiness for the reception of the enemy.

The line, from Towson's-battery to the water, was occupied, at this time, by the Twenty-first Regiment, commanded by my gallant friend, Colonel Wood, privileged here, as elsewhere, to be always first in action. About two minutes after, we—on the right—were in our places, the Twenty-first was already hotly engaged with the enemy, and its position, marked by an illumination of exquisite brilliancy, shining far up in the dark, cloudy atmosphere which hung over us; while the battery, on its right, elevated some twenty feet above the level, was lighted up with a blaze of artillery-fires, which gained for it, after that night, the appellation of "*Towson's* "*light-house.*" To the ear, the reports of musketry and artillery were blended together, in one continuous roar, somewhat like the close double drag of a drum, on a grand scale.

While the battle was thus raging, on the extreme left, a volley of small-arms, followed by a rapid running fire and occasional discharges of artillery, were heard on that part of the intrenchment just South of, and joining, the fort, indicating the approach of an enemy, also, on that quarter.

All yet remained quiet in front of us, till the suspense began to be painful, and the inquiry was impatiently made, "Why don't the lazy "rascals make haste!" That they would fail to come, no one, for a moment, entertained the thought. We had seen the signal rockets thrown up, from their right column, at the eve of its approach, and answered from the edge of the woods, in our front; and we knew, as well as they did, what was the meaning of it. The assurance, given by Colonel McRea to myself, that "Whatsoever else they do, *this* will be one "of their points of attack," was, in my mind, almost without the shadow of a doubt, that it was soon to be realized. Yet the intensity of the fire had begun to abate, on the left, and still nothing was heard or seen, in front of us. Hundreds of eyes were gazing intently through the darkness, towards the well known position of the picket-guard, some four hundred yards in advance. Ears were laid to the ground, to catch the first impression of a footfall; but the darkness and the stillness of the night were, as yet, in *our* front, unbroken. At last a sound came—apparently, three or four men, running or walking, quickly, in the direction of the fort. "Who comes there?" was shouted from several voices at once. A slight pause ensued; and then "the picket-guard," was the rather timid reply. I cannot repeat the terrible volley of imprecations to which this announcement gave rise: "Go back to your post, you infamous "cowardly poltroons! Go back! this instant, "or we'll fire upon you." It was, probably, only a few stragglers from the picket-guard, or, at least, not the whole of them; for, within a minute after and long before these men could have reached their position, if they went back, a flash *was* seen, in the proper position of the guard; and the simultaneous report of five or six muskets gave us the signal for which we had been looking so anxiously.

And now were all eyes and ears doubly intent; for we soon began to hear the measured tread of the dense columns, approaching; the suppressed voices of the officers giving words of command and caution—"Close up"—"Steady! "men—"Steady! men"—"Steel"—"Captain "Steel's Company"—and other like words, the meaning of which I shall explain, presently. A brief pause being still permitted, for the retreat of the picket-guard, the darkness and silence of the night were *darkness* and *silence* no longer.

At a given instant, as if by a concerted signal, the fires broke forth; and were immediately in

full play, along the whole line of batteries and intrenchments, from the water to the fort, inclusive.

* * * * * *

It was now near *three* o'clock. The firing had greatly abated, on the further left; and it was soon understood that the enemy's column had been repulsed, at all points, on that quarter. Their attack had been chiefly confined to the abattis, between Towson's-battery and the water, defended, as I have remarked, by the Twenty-first Regiment and the artillery of Towson's-battery; and, though conducted with great gallantry, and long persevered in, it was steadily and constantly repulsed. The enemy had been rallied, several times, and brought back to the assault, after being repulsed; but always with the same result. In the darkness of the night, they tried to deceive our people into a belief that they were firing upon their own men. A part of the column even waded out into the lake, to get around the left flank of the abattis; but the Twenty-first was ready for them, and received them, as prisoners, as fast as they reached the shore—finally, an offensive movement, on our part, threatening the flank of the attacking party, completed their repulse; and, after a running fight, of short duration, the ground in front of the Twenty-first was restored to our possession, and the picket-guard reposted.

The firing, on the immediate left of the fort, had also begun to subside at the period of the action to which we have now arrived. It was, in fact, a mere feint—an expedient, on the part of the enemy, to deceive us as to his real point of attack. The interest of the whole battle was *now*, therefore, transferred to Fort Erie, proper, and the extreme right. These points had been approached by the enemy, in two columns—one, moving on the level of the esplanade of the fort, for the attack of that work; and the other, along the lake-shore, on the level of my battery. The first was received by the artillery-fires of the fort and detachments with the Nineteenth and Rifle Regiments, stationed in and about it—too small an amount of musketry, doubtless, for the occasion, as we shall presently notice—the second, by the guns of my battery, with the musketry of a detachment of New York Volunteers, on the right, and of the Ninth Regiment on the left.

The darkness of the night prevented us seeing the precise effect of our fires; but the ground was familiar to us, and we had no difficulty in giving the proper elevation and direction to the guns. The cannon were loaded, habitually, for short quarters. They were filled with round-shot, grape, canister, and bags of musket-balls, at discretion, till I could touch the last wad, with my hand, in the muzzle of the piece.

The firing, on our part, had continued in this way, for some time; when a mysterious and confused sound of tumult, in the salient bastion of the fort, just above us, was followed by the cessation of the artillery fires, at that point; and presently a command was addressed to us, on the level below, by some one on the platform, calling, in a loud voice and tone of authority, "Cease firing! You're firing upon your own men." The foreignness of the accent, however, betrayed the person and purpose of the speaker. The firing did, indeed, slacken, for a moment, and the column, in front, as we afterwards learned, was about to take advantage of it; but the reaction was short. Another voice was presently heard above the tumult, commanding, in a different strain, and with no foreign accent—"Go to H—. Fire away there, why don't you!" and so we did, with more animation than ever. Some of the guns of the bastion being charged with grape-shot, were then turned and fired upon us, and a rambling fire of musketry was kept up, for a short time, from the same point; all indicating that the bastion had most surely been carried, and was now in the hands of the enemy. An old stone building, however, overlooked the bastion, and separated it from the inner fortifications, by a narrow passage, which the enemy could not penetrate. A detachment of the Nineteenth Infantry had been stationed in this building; and we now saw, by the increased animation of the fires, from the windows and loop-holes of the second story, that it had been reinforced, for the purpose of reacting against the enemy, in the bastion.

A firing was heard, at the same time, from a remoter part of the interior of the fort; playing, with great animation, for a while, and then ceasing; and so, with varied intensity, for some time. It was evident that a strife of no common sort was going on, in that quarter, but with what effect, our engagements in front did not permit us to enquire.

Nearly an hour elapsed, in this kind of warfare: vollies of musketry, with an occasional clang of other weapons, within the fort; while the line with which I was particularly connected was hotly engaged with the enemy's column, in front. The aim of this last was to pass our breast-works, with scaling-ladders, or to penetrate the open spaces; and, though he had not succeeded in reaching these points, we had reason to know that he had, several times, renewed the attempt, and was only, in fact, finally repulsed, as the day began to dawn. The remnants of this column then joined the British reserve, near the woods; and the guns of the "Douglass Battery" were turned so as to rake across the salient point of the contested bastion, to intercept communications or succors. The

bastion itself was still in the possession of the enemy; but it was understood that they were not only unable to penetrate further, but that they had been terribly cut up by the fires from the block-house and other adjacent parts of the fort and outworks.

Several charges had been made upon them; but, owing to the narrowness of the passage and the height of the platform, they had, as yet, been unsuccessful. Another party, however, it was said, of picked men, was now just organized, with the hope of a better result. To this enterprise, then—the only thing now remaining to complete the repulse of the enemy—the attention of every beholder was most anxiously bent. The firing within the fort had already begun to slacken, as if to give place to the charging-party: the next moment was to give us the clang of weapons, in deadly strife. But, suddenly, every sound was hushed by the sense of an unnatural tremor, beneath our feet, like the first heave of an earthquake; and, almost at the same instant, the centre of the bastion burst up, with a terrific explosion; and a jet of flame, mingled with fragments of timber, earth, stone, and bodies of men, rose, to the height of one or two hundred feet, in the air, and fell, in a shower of ruins, to a great distance, all around. One of my men was killed by the falling timber.

* * * * * *

The battle is over; the day had now fully broke; but, oh God! what a scene! At every point where the battle had raged, were strewed the melancholy vestiges of the recent terrible conflict. There is the ruined bastion, the scene of such desperate strife, smoking with the recent explosion, and, all around it, the ground covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded—the former in every stage and state of mutilation. Near the bastion, lay the dead body of a noble looking man, Colonel Drummond, the leader of the British charge, at that point: his countenance was stern, fixed, and commanding, in death. In front of our fires, between the bastion and the water, the ground was literally *piled* with dead. Within forty yards of my battery, a sword was found and handed me, still attached to the belt, which was stained with blood, and evidently had been cut away from the body of the owner, who could not be found and probably had been carried off the field. Of his rank, therefore, we could but conjecture; though the peculiarity of its shape and workmanship has since led me to suppose that it might have belonged to the leader of the One hundred and third Regiment, Colonel Scott, who was killed at the head of the enemy's left column.*

* The sword is still in the possession of the lecturer's family. The hilt is a plain but servicable one; the blade is very much curved, and handsomely worked with the arms and shields of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A scroll work, near the hilt, is inscribed with "The 103rd Regiment.

It became my duty, as an Engineer, to overhaul and repair the ruins; and, as soon as the action was decided, I was called upon to re-lay the platform of the ruined bastion. The whole bastion and its immediate neighborhood were heaped with dead and desperately wounded; while bodies and fragments of bodies were scattered on the ground, in every direction. More than a hundred bodies were removed from the ruin, before I could proceed with the work; and, soon after, to heighten the misery of the scene, it began to rain, violently.

Several hours were employed in carefully disengaging the wounded and burnt from the ruins: those who were yet alive were sent to the care of the Army Surgeons; while the dead bodies were passed over the embankment. While the repairs were in progress, the parties detailed for the purpose excavated large graves, a little distance without the fortification, and gathered the dead, who were buried, forty and fifty together, side by side, with the honors of War. How little do those who quietly read the papers know of the real calamities of War!

It is not difficult to account for the cause of the explosion, in the bastion. The magazine [*ammunition-chest?*] was under the platform, and quite open. In the haste and ardor with which the guns were served, during the action, and in the confusion of the *melée*, some cartridges were doubtless broken and the powder strewed around, forming a train, or succession of trains, connecting with the magazine, which a burning wad or the discharge of a musket might easily ignite. As to its effect in deciding the contest, it was very small, if anything. The British General found it very convenient to assign the explosion as the chief cause of the failure of the enterprise; but he had been completely repulsed, with dreadful carnage, at all points, *before* the explosion. The British troops, in the bastion, were unable to advance, one step. Their Commander was killed. Their numbers were momentarily thinned, by our fires; and so completely were they cut up and disabled, that, of those removed from the ruins of the bastion, but a very few were free from severe gunshot wounds. Indeed, had the explosion been a few minutes later, the whole of their reserve would probably have been intercepted and cut off, by a strong detachment, which was in motion, for that purpose.

The loss of the enemy, by this engagement, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, could not have been less than eleven to twelve hundred. Nine

hundred and five is the loss, according to their own official returns, which do not name the De Watteville's, who are known to have lost from two hundred to three hundred, at least. The loss, on our side, was, certainly, not over fifty, in killed and wounded.

The following is the "Secret General Order of "Lieutenant-general Drummond," issued on the eve of the battle:

"SECRET GENERAL ORDER OF LT GENL DRUM-
"MOND.

"HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP BEFORE FORT ERIE.
"Aug 14, 1814.

"*Order of Attack.*

"RIGHT COLUMN. *Lieutenant-colonel Fischer*, "to attack the left of the enemy's po-"sition. Eighth, or King's Regi-"ment; Detachment of DeWatte-"ville's; Light Companies of the "Eighty-ninth and One hundredth "Regiments;* Detachments of Royal "Artillery, with Rockets; Captain "Eustace's Picquet of Cavalry; "Captain Powell, Deputy Assistant-"quartermaster-general.

"CENTER COLUMN. *Lieutenant-colonel Drum-"mond.* Flank Companies of the "Forty-first and One hundred and "fourth Regiments; Detachment "of fifty Royal Marines; ditto of "ninety Seamen; ditto of Royal "Artillery. Captain Barney, Eighty-"ninth Regiment,† will guide this "column, which is to attack the Fort.

"LEFT COLUMN. *Colonel Scott.* One hundred "and third Regiment‡; Captain El-"liott, Deputy-quarter-master-general, "will conduct this column, which will "attack the right of the enemy's posi-"tion, towards the lake, and endeav-"our to penetrate by the openings, us-"ing the short ladders, at the same "time, to pass the intrenchment, which "is reported to be defended only by "the enemy's Ninth Regiment, two "hundred and fifty strong.

"The Infantry Picquets, on Buck's Road, will "be pushed on, with the Indians, and attack "the enemy's picquets, on that road. Lieutenant "W. Nicholl, Quarter-master-general of Militia, "will conduct this column.

"The rest of the troops, viz., the First "Battalion Royals; the remainder of the De "Watteville's; the Glengary Light Infantry; "and Incorporated Militia, will remain in re-"serve, under Lieutenant-colonel Tucker, and "are to be posted on the ground at present oc-"cupied by our picquets and covering parties.

"The Squadron of Nineteenth Light Dra-"goons will be stationed in the ravine, in rear "of the battery nearest the advance, ready to "receive charge of prisoners and conduct them "to the rear.

"The Lieutenant-general will station himself "at or near the battery; where Reports are to "be made to him.

"Lieutenant-colonel Fischer, commanding "the right column, will follow the instructions "which he has received; copies of which are "communicated to Colonel Scott and Lieutenant "colonel Drummond, for their guidance.

"The Lieutenant-general most strongly re-"commends a free use of the bayonet. The "enemy's force does not exceed fifteen hundred "men, fit for duty; and these are represented "as much dispirited.

"The grounds on which the columns of at-"tack are to be formed, will be pointed out, "and the orders for their advance given, by the "Lieutenant-general commanding.

"*Parole*, Steele. *Countersign*, Twenty.

"J. HARVEY. D. A. General."

The British General speaks disparagingly of our little force, and evidently contemplated an easy victory, at the point of the bayonet; but his tone was wonderfully changed, when he afterwards comes to sum up the materials for his Official Despatch. The fifteen hundred dispirited soldiers, not more than half of them having been really engaged, had repelled, with immense loss, all the columns of attack; and, though they were doubtless indebted, in no small degree, to their entrenchments, for this result, these very entrenchments were the creation of the army who defended them; having sprung into existence, within the last fortnight, in the face and under the fires of the same enemy by whom they were now attacked.

In the same ratio in which this result was mortifying to them, it was gratifying and encouraging to us. The troops, who had really been somewhat dispirited, were immediately restored to cheerfulness and confidence; nor were these feelings again subdued, during all the labors and privations of the subsequent siege.

The sensation produced in the neighboring Counties, on our side of the line, was no less remarkable. The inhabitants had been disheartened, as well as ourselves, by the defensive attitude to which we had been reduced. As far as our cannon were heard, even upon the Ohio lake-shore, the most excited apprehensions were felt for our safety; and the reaction among them, after the result of this battle was fully known, was equally interesting, in itself, as it was

* About eleven hundred men.

† Say about seven hundred men.

‡ About seven hundred and fifty men.

fruitful in kind offices for our personal comfort and relief. In a very short time, they began to venture over, in boats, from Buffalo; and, thus familiarized, an intercourse was afterwards kept up, which enabled us to obtain occasional supplies of fresh provisions, of which we were greatly in need.*

The losses of the enemy, in this assault, were so severe, that we were permitted to enjoy a few days of comparative rest from the fires of his artillery; and the interval was diligently improved by us, after repairing the bastion, in completing the residue of the defences, along the line of our intrenchment. The attack had made us aware of our weak points; and we lost no time in improving our experience. All unnecessary openings were closed; the abattis renewed; the intrenchments generally strengthened, at every exposed point; new defences were projected around Fort Erie; and ground broken, with a view to complete the unfinished batteries, in rear.

The enemy, during this time, were not idle—although they did not fire much upon us, they were evidently engaged, under cover of the woods, in extending and throwing forward their intrenchments, to the right of their first battery; and, on the morning of the nineteenth, they unmasked their battery, No. 2, more elevated, and nearer, by two or three hundred yards, than the first. It was armed with four heavy guns and an eight-inch howitzer. Its fires were chiefly directed against our working parties, on the new bastions of Fort Erie; while the guns of the first battery and two heavy mortars, now for the first time opened upon us, were used for the annoyance of the camp, generally. By the twenty-first, the cannonade from these two batteries was in full play, with a vivacity far exceeding anything we had before experienced, not only in the number of the guns, but in the activity with which they were served.

It will, perhaps, meet the interest of this occasion, at least, of the unmilitary portion of my hearers, to state a little more particularly the nature of these annoyances and the kinds of missiles which, at this time and for many weeks afterwards, were thrown among us, at the rate of one or two hundred—sometimes four or five hundred—per diem.

The chief firing was, of course, from heavy cannon, of the calibres of twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders, loaded with ordinary round-shot. Nine pieces of these were in play, from the two batteries mentioned, and four added, afterwards. The shot were fired direct and in ricochet, reaching almost every part of the camp, so that the most retired and secluded places scarcely afforded protection to the troops in guard-mounting and other parades.

A column, or a guard of no more than two or three files, sometimes a *single person*, on horseback, in certain parts of the camp, drew one or more shots from the British batteries. The smallest gleam of light, in a dark night, produced the same effect; so that it became necessary to prohibit, in Orders, all lights, after dark. I had just crept, one evening, under an old tent that leaned against the ruins of a stone house, in rear of my gun, when Colonel Aspinwall, of the Ninth Regiment, came softly to me, and roused me with the agreeable intelligence that he had brought a letter for me. I had a dark lanthern burning under the gun, to which I hastened; and, having opened it but a straw's width, I broke the seal and passed my letter, backwards and forwards, before the dim light, to catch the signature and the nature of its contents. The night, however, was somewhat misty, and the single gleam of light which faintly illuminated a small portion of the damp and ruined stone wall, did not pass unnoticed. I had barely stretched myself out again to rest, when an eighteen-pound shot came rushing past the gun I had just quitted, and tore directly through the wall under which I was lying. In a very short time the more exposed parts of the camp were thus completely ploughed up. Many of the tents were pierced with shot-holes; and some of them, on the right—my own among the number—were literally shot to rags. Scarcely a day passed without some hair-breadth escapes, and other like memorabilia, more or less wonderful. It was said that one of our officers being thirsty, in the night, raised himself up to reach a pitcher of water; and when in that position, a shot passed through his tent and carried away his pillow.

One day, about dinner-time, at Head-quarters, while Colonels McRea and Wood and other officers were seated around the mess-table, great tumult and confusion were heard in the next apartment, which was used as the kitchen, followed by a ripping and tearing of the timbers, nearly under their feet; and, upon inquiry, it appears that a round-shot had passed through the back of the chimney-place, killed one of the cooks, and somewhat disordered the cooking utensils. The line of direction would have carried it precisely upon Col-

* Our usual meals consisted of salt pork, raw, and salt pork, fried, served up on barrel-heads and staves, with biscuit and stale bread. The "varieties" of our camp bill of fare were salt butter, at four to six shillings per pound; heavy sour bread, at three shillings; perhaps some onions and potatoes, at two or three dollars per bushel; meagre wine, concocted of logwood and vinegar, with an infusion of gall nuts; and *cookery* as we could catch it.

onel Wood, but these various obstacles served to glance the ball towards the lower edge of the partition, where it entered the floor, and, cutting through a few timbers, dropped into the cellar. Upon one occasion, a twenty-four pound shot came tearing along so close that I felt its unwelcome breath. It passed by and shivered to pieces a heavy cedar picket, which stood a few feet off; picking up some of the fragments, I threw them into my sleeping quarters. Upon opening my baggage, at West Point, some time after, I found that they had been wrapped up by my soldier servant, in the fragments of my old tent; and, on handing them over to the joiner, he contrived to make me a very serviceable chess-board, using the cedar for the dark squares. Observing a group, one day, gathered round a wounded man, I presently joined it. A round-shot had carried away part of his left side. Life was ebbing surely away; but, as is usual, in such cases, the wound was attended with little pain. He was dictating, with great calmness and emphasis, a few words for his absent friends—"Tell them," he repeated, at intervals, "Tell them that I "died like a brave man, doing my duty in de- "fence of my country." While in the act of repeating this charge, he expired. Some of the occurrences were of a less serious character. A subaltern of the Eleventh, a good humored Hibernian; on returning to his tent, after being on fatigue, all day, found that a shot had passed through the tent and cut off the skirts of his uniform coat. He immediately seized the remaining part, by the collar, and brought it out to show his brother officers what a narrow escape he had had, as he had been "on the "point," he said, "of putting on that same "coat, in the morning!"*

Another of our annoyances was from the bomb-shells. These could be avoided without much difficulty, if one had time to attend to them; but as this could not always be done, they were, sometimes, particularly in the working-parties, very destructive. Colonel McRea, with Major Trimble, was one day inspecting my work, at the new bastion, when a discharge was observed at the British mortar battery, and an officer in company remarked that the shell was falling precisely in the bastion where we were. We eluded it, however, though with some difficulty, by retreating to the further side of a row of heavy palisades.

It was by a missile of this kind that, on the eighth or ninth of September, General Gaines, with some Staff-officers, in the house occupied as Head quarters, was severely wounded. I happened to be on the rampart of the new bastion, at the time, and traced the flight of the shell, as it passed over my head, until it descended through the roof of the building. The General was writing, at the time. It passed down, near his right hand, into the cellar and instantly exploded.

Another kind of missile was called the shrapnel shell—so called from its inventor, Colonel Shrapnel of the British Army. It is a thinner cast-iron shell than the bomb shell and is filled with bullets, etc., etc.; and the interstices are filled up with gunpowder. It is projected, like a round-shot, from a piece of ordnance called a howitzer. The contents are often exceedingly destructive. When the shell explodes, they sometimes scatter in every direction: sometimes they are thrown together, in one mass. I have seen the bullets of one of these shrapnel-shells strike the side of a firmly imbedded rock, and, breaking into minute fragments, fall to the ground, in a shower of silver flakes.

Finally the congreve rocket, which, however, served only to frighten a few horses and set fire to a tent or two, although our enemy seemed to set a high value upon its destructive powers. For it happened, one day, at the same time that a number of British Deserters

* I remember having heard the lecturer relate another anecdote of this same individual.

It seems he was famous for telling wonderful stories of what he had heard and seen, and was particularly fond of magnifying the things of the "owld country," above anything which could be found in the "new." One of his military friends took a convenient opportunity to tell him that he would lose all character for truth, and nobody would believe him if he continued this habit much longer; and the bargain was made between them that, whenever "Jem" was on the point of committing himself to a rash assertion, the friend should pinch him, or hit him, or touch his foot, to put him on his guard.

It happened, soon after, that the conversation at the mess-table turned upon the subject of barns. "Umph!" said Jemmy, "the barns in this country are nothing to the "barns in Ireland! nothin' at all! I knew onst of a barn "on an estate in our neighborhood." Here his friend touched his foot, and Jemmy closed his mouth. "Why, "Jemmy, what was that? tell us about it," called out half a dozen voices. "How large *was* it?" "How *large!* did "you say?" replied Jemmy, [illegible] "How large! Why, it must have been [illegible] "long, and upwards." A [illegible] during which the friend contrived to [illegible] emphasis. As Jemmy started back, [illegible] to know how *wide* that barn was. "How wide!" piteously answered Jemmy, who was inspecting his bruised member, "Oh, dear! It was six feet." Hereupon the laughter was very loud and long; and Jemmy, losing patience, turned wrathfully upon his considerate friend—"See "there, now—ye've made me a greater fool than ever, for "if ye had'nt trod so hard on my toe, I'd have *squared* "the barn."—*Rev. Malcolm Douglass, D.D.*

were seen riding to a distant part of the shore, to water their horses, an Artillery-officer came down to my battery, to experiment with some of these rockets, of his own manufacture. But, though they scarcely reached half the distance, no sooner did the Dragoons hear the rush of the rocket than they turned their horses' heads, and scampered off, out of reach of all missiles.

Such were some of the modes of warfare with which we had to contend; and such a few of the occurrences among us, from the twentieth of August to the seventeenth of September.* But it is amazing to see how soon men may be familiarized, even to such forms of imminent danger. After the first week, although fifteen or twenty men were frequently carried off in a day, from the fatigue-party, in the bastion, the works went on, without any visible interruption, and with no dread of danger, in comparison with that of the incessant severe labor. The soldier-boys of the camp were seen constantly running races with spent balls and throwing stones at a bomb-shell, just ready to explode, in much the same spirit as we see them, sometimes, stoning a hornet's-nest.

The British, in the mean time, were extending their works also in the woods, further round to their right; and, early in the month of September, we had reason to believe they were preparing a *third* battery for us, on the salient of the new bastion. With a view to retard this work as much as possible, their position was reconnoitered and a lantern hung in the edge of the woods to give the direction to our gunners. A vast number of shot were thrown; but the battery was nevertheless unmasked, and opened upon us, at the distance of five hundred yards, early in September.*

The completion of our bastions, now elevated fourteen or fifteen feet above the esplanade, in the face of these accumulated fires, became a work of great difficulty and exposure. Much of it had to be done in the night; and it took, therefore, nearly two weeks in September to do what could, otherwise, have been done in five or six days. It was finally completed, and the guns mounted, ready for action, on the fifteenth.

While the strife was thus going on, on the part of the Artillery and Engineers, the Infantry, in addition to their extreme fatigue-duties, were almost daily engaged in skirmishing-parties with the picket-guards and parties of the enemy. In these affairs, we almost always gave the lead; for such was the general desire to draw the enemy into battle, that officers and men were always ready to volunteer for such enterprises. We had now been many weeks exposed to a galling cannonade, and had become heartily tired of the annoyances and inconveniences of this condition. We knew they had recently received reinforcements; our defences were very complete; and, by the middle of September, no hope was more ardently cherished than that they would come and attack us again. Many a morning, from two o'clock till day light, have I stood on my battery—a dozen

* Amongst some detached papers in the original manuscript, I find the following note: "Meantime, however, "our works went steadily on. The intrenchments, where- "ever they had not been previously finished, were form- "ed up and arranged, in the best possible manner for de- "fence. On many parts of the line, where there was any "exposure to attack, pikes of a rude construction were "prepared, by fitting rejected bayonets on poles of suffic- "ient length to reach over the parapet, to be used against "the enemy, in case he attempted to scale. The line of "abattis was, at the same time, completed around the en- "tire work, and, at all exposed points, was rendered more "impenetrable than ever. One night, a deserter from the "enemy became somehow entangled in it and remained "several hours without the power to extricate himself; "and when, after calling piteously for release, he was, "at last, taken out, with the assistance of some of our "men, his clothes were, for the most part, triumphantly "retained by the relentless thorns and briers of the abat- "tis. Our ability to repel attack became every day more "and more apparent; but the enemy, unfortunately, gave "us no further opportunity of testing it. He seemed to "have had enough of personal encounter, and aimed only "to cripple us or tire us out, by the fires of his artillery."

* "The soldiers now, since the assault, work with alacri- "ty, and the works are making astonishing progress. De- "sertions have indeed taken place, but comparatively very "few, and for a few days past, none. They, on the other "hand, are flocking over to us, in great numbers; no less "than eleven have come in this day, among whom is one "Royal Scot, a most remarkable circumstance. The in- "formation they bring is rather amusing. They say they "had finished a new battery in the woods, and got it in "readiness to open (this we knew). But when they came "to cut away the bushes and trees, they found *it would* "*not work*; and they were obliged to commence building "in a different situation. This I must acknowledge is "going upon true *a-posteriori* principles; but, at the same "time, I should hardly suppose an officer of the Royal En- "gineers would adopt this mode of proceeding, so far as "to build his battery first, and *then* try if it would an- "swer his purpose.* I should hardly do worse, myself. I "had almost forgotten to tell you, that General Brown, by "some masterly manœuvre, had intercepted the British "mail, and made himself master of some interesting doc- "uments. Among the rest, is an official return of their "loss in the late action, by which they acknowledge nine "hundred and five, killed, wounded, and missing, without "naming the De Watteville's, whose loss is supposed to "be two or three hundred, at least."—*Letter from Major D. B. Douglass, September 9th*, 1814.

* A similar error was committed before Sebastapol.

other officers sometimes dropping in—to watch the position of the picket-guard, in the hope to catch the first flash of a musket. But it came not; and the conclusion was, at length, generally adopted that *we* must be the attacking party, if we fought at all.

After the wound of General Gaines, the command, of course, devolved upon General Ripley; but General Brown having now partially recovered from his wounds received at Niagara Falls, returned to camp, about the eleventh, and resumed the command. It was now understood, also, that large bodies of Volunteers were collected at Buffalo, about to join us; and soon, without any one having noticed the passage of boats, during the day-time, it was observed that a considerable camp of Volunteers was formed, on the lake-shore, above Towson's - battery. Some reinforcements of Regular troops also came in, from time to time. Every thing pointed towards an approaching *coup de-main;* but when, and in what manner, was reserved to the secret councils of the Commander-in chief, to which, in this case, few besides the Field-officers of Engineers were admitted. On the seventeenth of September, however, it was developed in the Order for the sortie. Of which I am now to speak more briefly than I could wish.

[The author was in the habit of continuing and closing his Lecture, from this point, with a series of extempore remarks, in the order of the following notes:

"1st. Plan and success of the Sortie; killed and wounded; Colonel Wood.
"2nd. M'Cree and Wood; General Brown's dispatches.
"3rd. Esprit de Corps, and Loyalty.
"4th. One more application; Life a warfare—A militant or disciplinary State—Like that of a camp of instruction, having for its end the formation of a character—That character in a vastly higher relation indeed may be said to be, Love of Rectitude, Fidelity, Loyalty, Gentleness, Self-devotion, Implicit Obedience."

It is a source of great regret that these notes were not filled out by the author's own hand. The last two, in particular, were characteristic of the man himself, and the cream of some thirty years varied experience, from the date of this campaign. Those who have heard them, will not fail to remember the remarkable clearness and vigor of the thoughts which were expressed; the strong convictions of manly duty which they carried to the heart of every hearer; the high tone of Christian chivalry which dignified every sentence, and proved the speaker to have been, as an eloquent friend remarked, "the soldier of CHRIST as "well as of his country."

For the remainder of this Lecture, the Editor must profess himself responsible. He has aimed, simply, to bring it to a proper and satisfactory conclusion; and, in order to preserve the strict integrity of the narrative, has carefully confined himself to well-authenticated facts, with which, however, so far as his recollection extends, the spoken narrative of the author perfectly harmonizes.

Colonels Woods and M'Rea, it will be seen, are particularly noticed; for the lecturer was accustomed, not only in these lectures but, often, in the social circle, also, to acknowledge the benefits he derived from the patronage and example of both these distinguished officers. His mention of Colonel Wood, in particular, was marked with undisguised warmth and affectionate feeling. It seemed impossible for him to look back to the young days of an ardent and generous ambition, even through the long period of thirty years, without a pang of sorrow, at the recollection of the high-minded and chivalrous man, who was his friend and brother-in-arms; his companion, amidst scenes of the most soul-stirring interest; his tutor in Military Science; his mentor in the perplexities of an early and important responsibility; his guide and example, in all that was high, noble, and disinterested, in the walk and profession of a soldier.—*Rev. Malcolm Douglass, D.D.*]

It will be observed that the British batteries of which mention has been already made, were quite distinct from the British camp. The camp proper was situated, some two miles to the rear of its batteries, upon a cleared space, not far from the Niagara-river, but screened by heavy forests from the risk of annoyance from the American side. For the management and protection of the batteries, however, the Infantry of the British force had been divided into three Brigades, which were appointed, alternately, to guard them against surprise. They were thus kept constantly defended by a force of from twelve to fifteen hundred men; and were strengthened, besides, along their whole line, by a complexity of defences, in front and in rear, consisting of other intrenchments, lines of brushwood, felled timber, and abattis, arranged with studied intricacy and expressly calculated to retard and confuse an assailing party. The object of *the sortie*, as General Brown concisely observes, was "to storm these "batteries, destroy their cannon, and roughly "handle the Brigade upon duty, before those "in reserve (at the British camp) could be "brought into action."*

The plan of the sortie was arranged with reference to such aids and facilities as the character of the ground afforded, in order that the attack might, so far as was practicable, have the effect of a surprise. The forest which bordered upon the extreme left of our camp extended around and far beyond the enemy's

* For these and other items, see General Brown's Report to the Secretary of War, dated "Fort Erie, Sept. 29, "1814;" also General Porter's Report to the Commanding General, dated "Fort Erie, Sept. 22, 1814;" also the map of the British Batteries and their defences, as sketched by D. B. Douglass, in September and October of 1814; also original letters of D. B. Douglass, dated in September and October of 1814.

batteries; and, about half way between the nearest battery and the salient point of our bastion, the upper plateau of the river was intersected by a slight ravine, which opened, indeed, in full view of the enemy, but which headed from the woods, and might, therefore, be gained, it was thought, without attracting his observation. Accordingly, on the sixteenth, fatigue-parties were sent, under the charge of able officers, to mark a road through the swampy and timbered ground; in doing which they proceeded with so much caution, that they passed the extreme right of the enemy's line, and turned upon the rear of his batteries, without discovery.

On the morning of the seventeenth, every thing appeared favorable for the meditated enterprise. The atmosphere was heavily loaded with vapors, with, now and then, a slight shower, all which was well calculated to screen our movements and to cherish our enemy's sense of security. The attack was organized to be made principally at two points. The left column, in three divisions, under General Porter, passed through the woods by the circuitous route marked out, on the preceding day, until they were within a few rods of the British right flank. The right column, commanded by General Miller, was, in the mean time, passed by small detachments, into the edge of the woods, under cover of which it marched to the head of the ravine, and, passing quietly down, took up its position nearly opposite the enemy's center. General Ripley was stationed by Fort Erie, with a column in reserve; and the artillery was put in readiness to cover the return of the troops.

About half past two in the afternoon, the action commenced with the assault of the right of the enemy's works, by our left column. The right column, under General Miller, immediately charged from the ravine; pierced the enemy's intrenchments; and succeeded in co-operating with General Porter's column. In a few minutes, they had taken possession of the block-houses; cleared the intrenchments of their defenders; captured the second and third batteries; and disabled their cannon. The British first battery held out for a short time, but was finally abandoned, when its guns also were disabled or otherwise destroyed. The whole of the enemy's reserve was, by this time, in full march for the scene of action; but the object of the sortie had been fully accomplished; and our troops retired, in good order and without molestation, to the fort.

Our losses in this affair were considerable, and were increased perhaps by the same causes—viz., the mist and rain—which had favored the attack. As, for instance, owing to the obscurity of the sun, detached parties, unacquainted with the country, moved off, at the signal for retiring, in the wrong direction, and met the enemy's approaching columns. It was in this way that we nearly lost the gallant General Miller, who was separated from his command, and, meeting the enemy's advance, saved himself only by a very speedy retreat. In this way, also, a body of fifty prisoners, who had surrendered, and were ordered to the fort, under the charge of a subaltern and fourteen volunteers, were conducted towards the British camp and re-captured, with nearly the whole of their escort. These, with other instances of the same sort, together with the loss which necessarily accompanied the bold attack upon the batteries and breast-works, reduced our effective force upwards of five hundred men, including some highly valued officers. But unfortunate as was the battle, in this respect, it was, in itself, a most glorious achievement, and very decisive for us, in the result. In one hour of close action, our two thousand Regulars and Militia destroyed the fruits of fifty days' labor, and reduced the strength of the enemy, as we were informed by their own General Order, one thousand men, at the least; and gave them such an idea of Yankee courage or, as they termed it, desperation, that they broke up their encampment, on the night of the twenty first, and retired rapidly down the river.*

Concluding Note.—"Amongst our losses, in "this affair," writes the lecturer, "I have the "sorrow to name our ever to be lamented and "gallant friend, Colonel Wood. He went out "with the Volunteers, and, amidst the confusion "which necessarily attends a fight in the woods, "was, somehow, separated from them. When "they returned, after the battle, he was missing. "Enquiry was made, next day, by a flag; and "we received the unwelcome intelligence that "he had been mortally wounded in the action, "and died in the British camp, the night after;" professing, it is said, the most ardent attachment to his country, and a jealous solicitude for the honor of her arms, commending Her, with his last breath, to the favor and protection of the Almighty.

Thus ended his promising career. "He died, "as he had ever lived, brave, generous, and "enterprising." Modest and retiring, in his general manners; gentle as a maiden, in the society of his friends; you could scarcely recognize the same person, upon the field of battle. Wherever danger was, there was *he* found—fearless, self-possessed, and calm as upon parade. In action, he was like a lion. It was his

* See General Brown's Report of the Sortie; D. B. Douglass's correspondence; etc., etc.

peculiar good fortune to be the first in every engagement, and ever *with* the first in the estimation of his Commander. "Permit me," writes General Harrison,* "to recommend Captain "Wood, of the Engineers, to the President, and "to assure you that any mark of his approbation bestowed upon Captain Wood would be "highly gratifying to the whole of the troops "who witnessed his arduous exertions." "From "the long illness of Captain Gratiot, of the "Corps of Engineers, the important duties of "fortifying the camp devolved on Captain Wood "of that Corps. In assigning to him the first "palm of merit, so far as relates to the transactions within the works, the General is convinced the same decision will be awarded by "every individual in the camp who witnessed "his indefatigable exertions, his consummate "skill in providing for the safety of every point "and in foiling every attempt of the enemy, and "his undaunted bravery in the performance of "his duty in the most exposed situations." "To "Major Wood," writes General Ripley,† "I feel "particularly indebted. This officer's merits "are so well known that approbation can "scarcely add to his reputation." "You "know," writes General Porter,‡ "how exalted an opinion I have always entertained of "Lieutenant-colonel Wood, of the Engineers. "His conduct on this day" (*of the sortie*) "was "what it uniformly has been on every similar "occasion, an exhibition of military skill, acute "judgment, and heroic valor." "His name "and example," writes General Brown to the Secretary of War, "will live to guide the soldier in the path of duty so long as true heroism is held in estimation."§

McRea, too, the senior officer of the Engineer Corps, on the Niagara, must not be passed by unnoticed. Writing of the Battle of Lundy's-lane,‖ General Brown remarks: "The Engineers, Majors McRea and Wood, were greatly "distinguished on this day, and their high "military talents exerted with great effect; "they were much under my eye and near my "person, and to their assistance a great deal is "fairly to be ascribed. I most earnestly recommend them as worthy of the highest trust "and confidence." "Major, or as he is now, "Colonel, McRea's industry and talents are the "admiration of the whole army." * After the sortie, General Brown thus writes,† "Lieutenant-colonels McRea and Wood having rendered "to this army services the most important, I "must seize the opportunity of again mentioning them, particularly. On every trying occasion, I have reaped much benefit from their "sound and excellent advice. No two officers "of their grade could have contributed more "to the safety and honor of this army." * * "McRea still lives to enjoy the approbation of "every virtuous and generous mind, and to receive the reward due to his services and high "military talents." But that reward, it seems, was never forthcoming. With science and military talent of the very highest eminence, and a genius for command able to direct the operations of the largest army which could be brought into the field, he, together with the other long-distinguished and able officers of the Engineer Corps, was passed by for a foreigner. Colonel McRea, himself, aided and contributed to the success of the negotiations which brought General Bernard to this country; and, having done all that he could do, in the faithful discharge of this duty, he resigned his commission, with a wounded heart, and retired from the service to private life. He died, in 1832, of the cholera.

The lecturer's own words, on the first of October, 1814, will conclude the narrative of his share in the events of this Campaign: "Now that the British force have retired, my "time is spent very differently from what it was "a few weeks since. The large details of men "have ceased, in a great measure: and, instead "of being incessantly engaged in the engineer "work o' the batteries and bastion, I take out "a squad of Bombardiers and spend my time, "very quietly, in measuring the principal lines "about the camp and the adjacent country. "This, always a favorite employment with me, "would be still more delightful if I had any "instruments to work with; but, the difficulty "is, that I have no means, except of my own "invention, for measuring either a line or an "angle; and it is necessary to go over some of "my work, two or three times, in different "ways, to prove its correctness or detect any "error which might occur. For my lines, I use "an old cord with half a dozen knots in it, to "which I am obliged to apply a ten foot pole, "every five minutes, to correct its variations. "As for my angles, I have divers ways and some "very wonderful ones, too, of ascertaining "them."

* General Harrison to the Secretary of War, "Fort "Meigs, May 9, 1813;" General Harrison's "General Or"ders," Fort Meigs, May 9, 1813.

† To the Commanding General, "Fort Erie, August 17, "1814."

‡ To the Commanding General, "Fort Erie, September "22, 1814."

§ The monument, at West Point, erected to his memory by General Brown.

‖ To the Secretary of War, "Buffalo, August, 1814."

* D. B. Douglass, "Fort Erie, September 9, 1814."

† To the Secretary of War, "Fort Erie, September 29, "1814."

October 18th, 1814. "From the time I "wrote my last letter, I continued to employ "myself, as there stated, but I had hardly com- "pleted my rough sketches of the ground, un- "til loss of appetite and health compelled me "to be confined to my quarters. The extreme- "ly unhealthy nature of under-ground quarters, "such as mine, rendered them very unfit for "the residence of a healthy man, and much "more so for one in my situation. I became "weaker and weaker, every day, while I remain- "ed in them, until Colonel McRea procured an "order for me to be removed to Williamsville, "on the American side."

The exposures, fatigues, privations, and anxieties, of this eventful Campaign had proved too much for him. He languished for many days, under a bilious fever, from which, however, by the blessing of God, his naturally elastic and vigorous constitution gradually recovered.

[To be Continued.]

III.—*THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*—Concluded from Page 89.

By Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., President of Wabash-college, Indiana.

"*July 18th.*—Paid my respects, this morning, "to the President of Congress, Gen. St. Clair. "Called on a number of my friends. Attended "at the City Hall, on members of Congress and "their Committee. We renewed our negotia- "tions. Dined with Capt. Hammond, in com- "pany with a young Irish nobleman and Mr. "Hillegass, Treasurer of the United States, and "some other company. Drank tea and spent "the evening at Sir John Temple's. This day "is Commencement, at Cambridge, which Major "Sargent, Gen. Webb, and a few others call- "ed to mind; and we celebrated it, at eleven "o'clock, at General Webb's, with a bottle or "two of wine and some good old Cheshire "cheese. We conclude they must have had a "fine Commencement, if the atmosphere at Cam- "bridge has been as fine and cool as our's, in "New York.

"*July 19.*—Called on members of Congress "very early this morning. Was furnished with "the Ordinance establishing a Government in "the Western Federal Territory. *It is, in a "degree, new modelled. The amendments I pro- "posed have all been made, except one; and that "is better qualified.* It was that we should not "be subject to Continental taxation, until we "were entitled to a full representation in Con- "gress. This could not be fully obtained, for "it was considered, in Congress, as offering a "premium to emigrants. They have granted us "representation, with the right of debating, but "not of voting, upon our being first subject to "taxation. As there are a number, in Congress, "decidedly opposed to my terms of negotia- "tions, and some to any contract, I wish now to "ascertain the number for and against; and "who they are; and must then, if possible, "bring the opponents over. This I have men- "tioned to Col. Duer, who has promised to assist "me. Grayson, R. H. Lee, and Carrington are, "certainly, my warm advocates. Holton, I "think, may be trusted. *Dane must be careful- "ly watched, notwithstanding his professions.* "Clarke, Bingham, Yates, Kearney, and Few "are troublesome fellows. They must be at- "tacked by my friends, at their lodgings. If "they can be brought over, I shall succeed; if "not, my business is at an end. Attended the "Committee, this morning. They are determin- "ed to make a report, to day, and try the spirit "of Congress. Dined with Gen. Knox—about "forty gentlemen, officers of the late Continen- "tal Army, and among them Baron Steuben. "Gen. Knox gave us an entertainment in the "style of a prince. I had the honor of being "seated next to the Baron, who is a hearty, so- "ciable, old fellow. He was dressed in his "military uniform, and with the ensigns of no- "bility—the Star and Garter. Every gentlemen, "at table, was of the Cincinnati, except myself, "and wore their appropriate badges. Spent "the evening at Dr. Holton's, with Col. Duer "and several members of Congress, who in- "formed me an Ordinance was passed, in con- "sequence of my petition; but, by their ac- "count of it, it will answer no purpose.

"*July 20.*—This morning, the Secretary of "Congress furnished me with the Ordinance of "yesterday, which states the conditions of a "contract, but on terms to which I shall by no "means accede. Informed the Committee of "Congress that I could not contract on the terms "proposed. Should prefer purchasing lands of "some of the States, who would give incom- "parably better terms, and therefore proposed "to leave the city, immediately. They appear- "ed to be very sorry no better terms were offer- "ed, and insisted on my not thinking of leaving "Congress, until another attempt was made. I "told them I saw no prospect of a contract; "and wished to spend no more time and money "in a business so unpromising. They assured "me I had many friends in Congress, who "would make every exertion in my favor; that "it was an object of great magnitude; and I "must not expect to accomplish it, in less than

"two or three months. If I desired it, they "would take the matter up, that day, on differ- "ent grounds; and did not doubt they should "yet obtain terms agreeable to my wishes. Col. "Duer came to me with *proposals from a num- "ber of the principal characters in the city, to "extend our contract and take in another Com- "pany; but that it should be kept a profound "secret.* He explained the plan they had con- "certed; and offered me generous conditions, "if I would accomplish the business for them. "The plan struck me agreeably. Sargent in- "sisted on my undertaking; and both urged "me not to think of giving the matter up so "soon. I was convinced it was best for me to "hold up the idea giving up contract with "Congress, and making a contract with some "of the States, which I did, in the strongest "terms, and represented to the Committee, and to "Duer, and Sargent, the difficulties I saw in the "way, and the improbability of closing a bar- "gain, when we were so far apart; and told "them I conceived it not worth while to say any "thing further to Congress, on the subject. "This appeared to have the effect I wished. "The Committee were mortified, and did not "seem to know what to say; but still urged "another attempt. I left them in this state; "but afterwards explained my views to Duer and "Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Prom- "ised Duer to consider his proposals. We had "agreed, last evening, to make a party to Brook- "line, on Long Island, which is a small village "opposite New York, divided from it by East- "river. Duer, Webb, Hammond, and Sargent, "and others were of the party. When we land- "ed, we ordered a dinner of fried oysters, at "the Stone House tavern. We took a walk on "the high lands, and viewed several of the old "forts erected by the British, at the expense of "immense labor. Here we had a fine prospect "of New York, the shipping in the harbor, and "of Staten Island. We dined at four, dinner "was elegant. Oysters were cooked in every "possible form; but the fried were most delic- "ious. Spent the evening (closeted) with Col. "Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if "terms can be obtained for another Company, "which will probably forward the negotiation.

"*Saturday, July 21.*—Several members of "Congress called on me, early this morning. "They discovered much anxiety about a con- "tract; and assured me that Congress, on find- "ing I was determined not to accept their terms "and had proposed leaving the city, had dis- "covered a much more favorable disposition, "and believed, if I renewed my request, I might "obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired. "I was very indifferent, and talked much of a "contract with some of the States. At length, "I told them if *Congress would accede to the "terms I had proposed*, I would extend the pur- "chase to the tenth township from the Ohio, and "to the Scioto, inclusively, by which Congress "would pay near four millions of the national "debt; that our intention was an actual, a large "and immediate, settlement of the most robust "and industrious people in America; and that "it would be made systematically, which must "instantly enhance the value of Federal lands, "and prove an important acquisition to Con- "gress. On these terms, I would renew the ne- "gotiations, if Congress was disposed to take "the matter up again. Dined with Gen. Webb, "Maj. Sargent, and Maj'r Giles, at the Mess "House, in Broadway, opposite the play-house, "at the invitation of Maj. Giles; a very fine "dinner. Spent the evening with Mr. Dane and "Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Con- "gress had taken up my business again.

"*July 23.*—My friends had made every exer- "tion, in private conversation, to bring over "my opponents in Congress. In order to get at "some of them, so as to work powerfully on "their minds, were obliged to engage three or "four persons before we could get at them. In "some instances, we engaged one person, who "engaged a second, and he a third, so on to the "fourth, before we could effect our purpose. "In these manœuvres, I am much beholden to "the assistance of Col. Duer and Maj. Sargent. "The matter was taken up, in Congress, and "warmly debated, until three o'clock, when an- "other Ordinance was obtained. This was not "to the minds of my friends, who were now "considerably increased, in Congress; but they "conceived it to be better than the former; and "they had obtained an additional clause, empow- "ering the Board of Treasury to take order upon "this Ordinance, and complete the contract, on "the general principles contained in it, which "still left room for negotiation. Dined with "Mr. Henderson, for the first time, since I have "been in the city, which he insisted upon, altho' "I had several other invitations. Spent the "evening with Col. Grayson and members of "Congress from the Southward, who were in "favor of a contract. Having found it impos- "sible to support Gen. Parsons as a candidate "for Governor, after the interest that Gen. St. "Clair had secured, and suspecting this might "be some impediment in the way, for my en- "deavours to make interest for him were well "known, and the arrangement of civil officers "being on the carpet, I embraced this opportun- "ity frankly to declare that, for my own part, "I ventured to engage for Maj. Sargent that, if "Gen. Parsons could have the appointment of "First Judge and Sargent Secretary, we should "be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his

"Excellency, Gen. St. Clair, might be the Gov-
"ernor; and that I would solicit the Eastern
"members to favor such an arrangement. This
"I found rather pleasing to the Southern mem-
"bers; and they were so complaisant as to ask,
"repeatedly, what office would be agreeable to
"me in the Western country. I assured them I
"wished for no appointment in the civil line.
"Col. Grayson proposed the office of one of the
"Judges, which was seconded by all the gentle-
"men present. The obtaining an oppointment,
"I observed, had never come into my mind; nor
"was there any civil office I should, at present,
"be willing to accept. This declaration seem-
"ed to be rather surprising, especially to men
"who were so much used to solicit, or be solicit-
"ed, for appointments of honor or profit.
"They seemed to be the more urgent on this
"head. I observed to them, although I wished
"for nothing for myself, yet I thought the
"Ohio Company entitled to some attention;
"that one of the Judges, besides Gen. Parsons,
"should be of that body; and that Gen. Put-
"man was the man best qualified and would be
"most agreeable to the Company. I gave them
"his character. We spent the evening very
"agreeably, until a late hour.

"*July 24.*—I received, this morning, a letter
"from the Board of Treasury, enclosing the
"Resolutions of Congress which passed yester-
"day, and requesting to know whether I was
"ready to close a contract, on those terms. As
"the contract had now become of much greater
"magnitude than when I had only the Ohio
"Company in view, I felt a diffidence in acting
"alone, and wished Maj. Sargent to be joined
"with me; although he had not been formally
"empowered to act, for the commission from
"the Directors was solely to me. It would,
"likewise, take off some part of the responsi-
"bility from me, if the contract should not be
"agreeable. After consulting Duer, I proposed
"it to Sargent, who readily accepted. We an-
"swered the letter from the Board, as jointly
"commissioned in making the contract. We
"informed the Board that the terms in the Re-
"solves of Congress were such as we *could not*
"*accede to without some variation;* we, there-
"fore, begged leave to state to the Board, the
"terms on which we were ready to close the
"contract; and that those terms were our ulti-
"matum. This letter we sent to the Board;
"but the packet having just arrived from Eng-
"land, and another to sail, the next morning, it
"was not in their power to attend any farther to
"our business for the day. Dined with Mr.
"Hilligass, Treas[r] of the United States. Spent
"the evening with Mr. Osgood, President of the
"Board of Treasury, who appeared to be very
"solicitous to be fully informed of our plan.
"No gentleman has an higher character for
"planning and calculating than Mr. Osgood. I
"was, therefore, much pleased with an oppor-
"tunity of fully explaining it to him. But we
"were unfortunately interrupted with company.
"We, however, went over the outlines, and he
"appeared well disposed.

"*July 25.*—This morning, the Board of
"Treasury sent our letter to the Secretary of
"Congress, requesting him to lay it before Con-
"gress, for their approbation or rejection. But
"the packets from Europe, received, yesterday,
"by the British packet, occupied the attention
"of Congress for the day. Mr. Osgood desired
"me to dine with him, assuring me he had pur-
"posely omitted inviting any other company,
"that we might not be interrupted in going over
"our plan. I had been repeatedly assured that
"Mr. Osgood was my friend, and that he had
"censured Congress for not consenting to the
"terms I had offered; but such is the intrigue
"and artifice which is often practised by men
"in power, I felt very suspicious, and was as
"cautious as possible. Our plan, however, I
"had no scruple to communicate, and went over
"it, in all its parts. Mr. Osgood made many
"valuable observations—the extent of his in-
"formation astonished me. His views of the
"Continent and of Europe were so enlarged,
"that he appeared to be a perfect master of
"every subject of this kind. He highly ap-
"proved our plan, and told me he thought it
"the best ever formed in America. He dwelt
"much on the advantages of system, in a new
"settlement; said system had never before been
"attempted; that we might depend on accom-
"plishing our purposes, in Europe; and that it
"was a most important part of our plan—if we
"were able to establish a settlement as we pro-
"posed, however small, in the beginning, we
"should then have surmounted our greatest dif-
"ficulty; that every other object would lie
"within our reach, and if the matter was pur-
"sued with spirit, he believed it would prove
"one of the greatest undertakings ever yet at-
"tempted in America. He thought Congress
"would do an essential service to the United
"States if they gave us the land, rather than
"our plan should be defeated; and promised to
"make every exertion in his power, in our
"favor. We spent the afternoon and evening
"alone and very agreeably.

"*July 26.*—This morning, I accompanied
"Gen. St. Clair and Knox on a tour of morning-
"visits and, particularly, to the Foreign Minis-
"ters. This visit had been previously proposed
"by Gen. Knox, who was so obliging as to in-
"troduce me to them. * * * * Being now
"eleven o'clock, Gen. St. Clair was obliged to
"attend Congress. After we came into the

"street, Gen. St. Clair assured me he would "make every possible exertion to prevail with "Congress to accept the terms contained in our "letter. He appeared much interested and very "friendly; but said we must expect opposition. "I was now fully convinced that it was good "policy to give up Parsons and openly to ap- "pear solicitous that St. Clair might be ap- "pointed Governor. Several gentlemen have "told me that our matters went on much better "since St. Clair and his friends had been in- "formed that we had given up Parsons, and "that I had solicited the Eastern members, in "favor of his appointment. I immediately "went to Sargent and Duer. We now entered "into the true spirit of negotiation, with great "bodies. Every machine in the city that it was "possible to set to work, we now put in motion. "Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal "opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is "hope; but to bring over that stubborn mule "of a Kearney, I think is beyond our power. "The Board of Treasury, I think, will do us "much service, if Doctor Lee is not against us, "tho' Duer assures me I have got the length "of his foot, and that he calls me an open, "frank, honest, New England man, which he "considers an uncommon animal. Yet, from "his natural jealous, cautious make, I feel sus- "picious of him, especially as Mr. Osgood tells "me he has made every attempt to learn his "sentiments, but is not able to do it. His "brother, Richard Henry Lee, is certainly our "fast friend. I have hopes he will engage him "in our interest. Dined with Sir John Temple, "in company with several gentlemen. I imme- "diately, after dinner, took my leave and called "on Doctor Holton. He told me Congress had "been warmly engaged in our business, the "whole day; that the opposition was lessened, "but our friends did not think it prudent to "take a vote, lest there should not be a majori- "ty in favor. I felt much discouraged; and "told the Doctor I thought it in vain to wait "longer, and must leave. He reproved my im- "patience; said, if I obtained my purpose in a "month from that time, I should be far more "expeditious than was common in getting much "smaller matters through Congress; that it was "of great magnitude, for it far exceeded any "private contract ever made before, in the Unit- "ed States; that, if I should fail now, I ought "still to pursue the matter, for I should most "certainly finally obtain the object. To com- "fort me, he assured me that it was impossible "for him to conceive by what kind of address "I had so soon and so warmly engaged the at- "tention of Congress, for, since he had been a "member of that body, he assured me, on his "honor, that he never knew so much attention "paid to any one person, who made application "to them, on any kind of business, nor did he "ever know them more pressing to bring it to a "close. He could not have supposed that any "three men from New England, even of the "first character, could have accomplished so "much, in so short a time. This, I believe, was "mere flattery, tho it was delivered with a very "serious air; but it gave me some consolation. "I now learned, very nearly, who were for and "who were against the terms. Bingham was come "over; but Few and Kearney are stubborn. "Unfortunately, there are only eight States rep- "resented; and, unless seven of those are in "favor, no Ordinance can pass. Every moment "of this evening, until two o'clock, was busily "employed—a warm siege was laid on Few and "Kearney, from different quarters; and, if the "point is not effectually carried, the attack is "to be renewed in the morning. Duer, Sargent, "and myself have also agreed, if we fail, that "Sargent shall go on to Maryland, which is not "at present represented, and prevail on the "members to come on, and to interest them, if "possible, in our plan. I am to go on to Con- "necticut and Rhode Island, to solicit the mem- "bers from those States to go on to New York, "and to lay an anchor to windward, with them. "As soon as those States are represented Sar- "gent is to renew the application. I have "promised Duer, if it be found necessary, I "will then return to New York again.

"*Friday, July 27.*—I rose very early, this "morning; and, after adjusting my baggage "for my return—for I was determined to leave "New York, this day—I set out on a general "morning visit, and paid my respects to all the "members of Congress in the city, and informed "them of my intention to leave the City, that "day. My expectations of obtaining a con- "tract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I "should, however, wait the decision of Con- "gress; and, if the terms we had stated (and "which I conceived to be advantageous to Con- "gress, considering the circumstances of that "country) were not acceded to, we must turn "our attention to some other part of the coun- "try. New York, Connecticut, and Massachu- "setts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and "give us exclusive privileges beyond what we "had asked of Congress. The speculating "plan, concerted between the British of Cana- "da and New Yorkers, was now well known. "The uneasiness of the Kentucky people, with "respect to the Mississippi, was notorious. A "revolt of that country from the Union, if a "War with Spain took place, was universally "acknowledged to be highly probable; and, "most certainly, systematic settlement in that "country, conducted by men strongly attached

"to the Federal Government, and composed of "young, robust, and hardly laborers, who had "no idea of any other than the Federal Govern- "ment, I conceived to be objects worthy of some "attention. Besides, if Congress rejected the "terms now offered, there could be no prospect "of an application from any other quarter: if "an honorable purchase could now be obtained, "I presumed contracts with the natives, similar "to that made with the Six Nations, must be "the consequence, especially as it could be "much more easily carried into effect. These "and such like, were the arguments I urged. "They seemed to be fully acceded to; but, "whether they will avail is very uncertain. Mr. "R. H. Lee assured me he was prepared for "one hour's speech; and he hoped for success. "All urged me not to leave the city so soon; "but I assumed the air of perfect indifference, "and persisted in my determination, which had, "apparently, the effect I wished. Passing the "City Hall, as the members were going into "Congress, Col. Carrington told me he believed "Few was secured; that little Kearney was "left alone; and that he determined to make "one more trial of what he could do in Con- "gress. Called on Sir John Temple, for letters "to Boston; bid my friends, good bye; and, "as it was my last day, Mr. Henderson insisted "on my dining with him and a number of his "friends, whom he had invited. At half past "three, I was informed that an Ordinance had "passed Congress, *on the terms stated in our "letter, without the least variation;* and that "the Board of Treasury was directed to take "order and close the contract. This was agree- "able, but unexpected intelligence. Sargent "and I went, immediately, to the Board, who "had received the Ordinance; but they were "then rising. They urged me to stay. They "would put by all other business to complete "the contract; but I found it inconvenient, "and, after making a general verbal adjust- "ment, I left it with Sargent, to finish what "remained to be done, at present. Dr. Lee "congratulated me, and declared he would do "all in his power to adjust the terms of the "contract, so far as was left to them, as much "in our favor as possible. I proposed three "months for collecting the first half million of "dollars and for executing the instruments of "purchase; which was acceded to. By this "Ordinance, we obtained the Grant of near "five millions of acres of land, amounting to "three million and a half of dollars. One "million and a half of acres for the Ohio Com- "pany, and the remainder for a private specu- "lation, in which many of the principal char- "acters in America are concerned. Without "connecting this speculation, similar terms and "advantages could not have been obtained for "the Ohio Company. On my return, through "Broadway, I received the congratulations of "a number of my friends in Congress, and "others, whom I happened to meet with. At "half past six, took my leave of Mr. Hender- "son and family, where I had been most kind- "ly and generously entertained. Left the city "by way of the Bowery. Although I felt great "anxiety to return, yet I left New York with "reluctance. The attention and generous treat- "ment I had met with here, was totally differ- "ent from what I had ever before met with. "My business and introductory letters were "the occasion of my forming an extensive "acquaintance, and with those of the first "characters. I passed away my time, notwith- "standing all my labor and fatigue, in a con- "stant round of pleasure. Some of my ac- "quaintance, here, I shall ever consider among "the first with whom I have had the happiness "to form a connection, particularly Mr. Duer, "who took his leave in the most affectionate "manner. He is a gentleman of the most "sprightly abilities, and has a soul filled with "the warmest benevolence and generosity. He "is made both for business and the enjoyment "of life; his attachment strong and sincere; "and diffuses happiness among his friends, "while he enjoys a full share of it himself."

We are sure our readers will be grateful for the publication of these full quotations from this Diary of Doctor Cutler, displaying, so clearly, the manners, people, and places which he had the opportunity of observing, and, especially, for the view given of the difficulties he had to surmount, before securing the purchase of lands North of the Ohio, on terms which should be in harmony with the convictions and interests of the men who employed him as their Agent and who, themselves, expected to become actual settlers on the land. As is evident, one point most prominent before his mind, was the enunciation of a fundamental principle, by the Congress with whom he was negotiating the purchase, which would certainly insure to those who should colonize, exemption from the evils of slavery and the enjoyment of privileges, in matters of religion and education, in kind similar to those which prevailed in New England.

What was the precise state of affairs, in this respect, when Doctor Cutler came New York, in 1787? The State of Virginia, in March, 1784, "ceded all her claims to jurisdiction over "territory North-west of the Ohio, and to the "soil also of that territory, subject to the res- "ervation in behalf of her soldiers." Immediately, a Select Committee was appointed, of which Mr. Jefferson was Chairman, to report

an Ordinance for the government of this territory. This resulted in Jefferson's Ordinance, the fifth Article of which declared that, "after "the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall "be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, "in any of the said States, otherwise than in "punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall "have been duly convicted to have been per-"sonally guilty." This Report further advised the division of the territory into ten States, by parallels of Latitude and Meridian lines, these States to bear the names of Assenisipia, Silvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Metropotamia, Illenoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia. The slavery prohibition was struck out, on motion of Mr. Spaight of North Carolina, seconded by Mr. Read of South Carolina —*Journal of Congress, 1784*, 373. In this mutilated form, the Ordinance was passed, on the twenty-third of April. On the sixteenth of March, 1785, Mr. King of Massachusetts succeeded in getting an absolute prohibitory Article committed to a Committee of one from each State; but the effort was again defeated, and the Ordinance passed, on the twentieth of May, 1785, with no fundamental prohibition of slavery in the North-western Territory—*Journal of Congress, 1785*, 481, 520. Up to the time of the Ohio Company's purchase, there had been two attempts to legislate on the modified or absolute exclusion of slavery; but both had proved failures. The Virginia reservation was made in the rich "Scioto Country;" and it may well be doubted whether Mr. Jefferson's prohibitory Article, allowing slavery in the Territory for sixteen years, would not have become the very means of giving slavery a hold from which no force could have dislodged it.

And this was the status of the business, at the time the clerical Agent of the Ohio Company made his proposals to the Continental Congress, for the purchase of several millions of acres of land in the Ohio country. One attempt for a modified plan, to be in force until 1800, and another for an absolute prohibition, at once and forever, had failed. The Agent seemed, with consummate good sense, to perceive what were the opinions and wants of his constituents; and that, when he was conducting his negotiations with Congress, there was not a line on their statute-book which met those opinions and wants. These men were no ordinary land-speculators, buying land and letting it remain to be appreciated by the labors of others. They meant to sell their freeholds, in New England, and cut loose, entirely, from them, as a place of habitation; to carry their wives and children thither; to organize civilization, at once, with families, churches, schools, courts, and laws, very similar to what they were leaving behind. Many of these men had seen slavery in States where it most flourished; and, with keen insight into its actual present and prospective evils, desired to be rid of the system, through all their generations. Doctor Cutler well knew that Putnam, and Tupper, and their companions, in this enterprise, would as soon have planted a Colony in Virginia or Georgia as on the Muskingum, unless there should be fundamental guarantees against the introduction of the hated system; and we strenuously insist that we cannot rightly interpret this Diary of Doctor Cutler, nor his extreme solicitude about the terms of agreement and the Ordinance for the government of the North-west Territory, without viewing the transaction, from this stand point. It was as an honored, living descendant of the Ohio Company's Agent has pointedly put it, when he says, in regard to the policy of the real "Jeffersonian Ordinance" of 1784, "He" [*Jefferson*] "provided that slavery *might remain* "until 1800. If settlements had been effected "under that Ordinance, and the system of slav-"ery had acquired a growth of sixteen years— "from 1784 to 1800—it is idle to suppose that "the prohibition, after 1800, would have been "of any practical value. It must also be borne "in mind, as a collateral fact, tending to prove "a willingness, on the part of Jefferson and his "friends, to accommodate slavery with a 'lim-"'ited period,' that Congress had agreed with "the State of Virginia, that all the lands be-"tween the Scioto and Little Miami, should be "used for the benefit of Virginia officers, sol-"diers of the Revolution. What so natural as "that these men should desire to take their "'servants' with them, to perform the exhaust-"ing labor and toil of new settlements? It is "very evident to my mind, that whatever anti-"slavery notions Jefferson may have entertain-"ed, they were rather the timid vagaries of the "Philosopher than the resolute plans of the "practical Statesman. Under his indulgent "treatment, the curse would have spread over "the entire North-west. When the Puritan "grappled, with the monster, his head rolled "off, instanter. The Ordinance of '87 was the "proper and legitimate fruit of Puritanism. "Whatever credit may be found to belong to "prominent actors, respectively—Doctor Cutler "and Mr. Dane—it must be borne in mind that "they represented a Puritan constituency, the "one as a member of Congress and the other "as their special Agent, sent to look after and "arrange the foundations for their future home-"steads. Doctor Cutler and Mr. Dane were "neighbors and intimate personal friends; and "it is but reasonable to suppose that they acted "jointly and harmoniously, and were faithful

"representatives of an intelligent constituency, "who understood their own wants and were "quite determined to have *Law* as well as *Land*, "for their future heritage. I think it but fair "to claim for Docter Cutler, at least, an equal "participation in the great event of '87. He "was specially commissioned and sent to New "York for the purpose; and I think his Jour- "nal affords ample evidence that he performed "his duty faithfully and well."—*Substance of Hon. William P. Cutler's Speech, at the Pioneer Celebration, at Marietta, April 7, 1866.*

We shall have occasion, in another place, to allude to Mr. Jefferson's relations to the great North-west, at a subsequent stage in its history.

On the thirteenth of July, 1787, the celebrated "Ordinance for the government of the Ter- "ritory of the United States, North-west of the "Ohio River," was passed. This Ordinance contained two Articles of special significance, in their relations to the future States to be organized in that territory. The *third* ordained that "*Schools and means of education shall, for-* "*ever, be encouraged;*" and the *sixth*, that "*there* "*shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servi-* "*tude in said territory.*" The entire instrument is worthy the age and the exigency calling it forth; but those two Articles must make it famous forever. It becomes a matter of great interest, to inquire who was the responsible agent in the introduction of the anti-slavery Article which is, except in one important respect, quite similar to that introduced by Mr. Jefferson, in 1784, and, as Mr. Greeley says, lost only by "a most deplorable and fatal acci- "dent of the absence of a member from New "Jersey."

In his famous rejoinder to Colonel Hayne, Mr. Webster eulogized Mr. Dane, as the sole author of this celebrated Article, and, indeed, of the entire Ordinance. This is the common opinion, as recorded in works and speeches which treat of this important transaction. We do not wish to detract from Mr. Dane's well-deserved honors. There is no doubt that he reported the Ordinance and helped secure its adoption; but we cannot resist the conviction that Doctor Cutler was "the power behind the "throne," who suggested and urged it. It is to be regretted that we have not more accurate records from his and other pens; but it will be remembered that, as already quoted from his Journal, on the tenth of July, the day before Mr. Dane reported the Ordinance, Doctor Cutler made this record, "that as Congress was now "engaged in settling the form of Government "for the Federal Territory for which a Bill has "been proposed and *a copy sent to me, to make* "*remarks and propose amendments, and which I* "*had taken the liberty to remark upon and* PRO- "POSE SEVERAL AMENDMENTS, I thought this "the most favorable opportunity to go to Phil- "adelphia: *accordingly, after I* HAD RETURNED "THE BILL, WITH MY OBSERVATIONS, *I set out, at* "*7 o'clock.*" The next day, Mr. Dane reported the Ordinance; on the thirteenth, Congress passed it; and, on the nineteenth, Doctor Cutler was back in New York, and records, in his Journal, these words: "Called on members of "Congress, very early, this morning—was fur- "nished with the Ordinance establishing the "Western Federal Territory. It is, in a degree, "*new-modeled*—THE AMENDMENTS *I proposed* "*have* ALL *been made except one and that was bet-* "*ter qualified.* It was that we should not be "subject to *taxation*, &c."

With this, now associate the UNVARYING TRADITION—perhaps a stronger term is warranted—handed down, by Doctor Manasseh Cutler, to his eldest son, the late Judge Ephraim Cutler, of Washington-county, Ohio; and, by him, to his son, the Hon. William P. Cutler, of the same place, that, among the most important amendments which he suggested, was *this one excluding slavery*, or involuntary servitude, forever, from that territory, a part of which he was seeking to purchase, for actual settlement, by men who hated slavery and belonged to the only Commonwealth of the original thirteen which then had no slaves, and whose anxieties were, at this very time, excited by the fact that a large portion of that very Western country, which they were expecting to make their home, had been given to Revolutionary officers belonging to a slave State. All these facts bear on the question whether Doctor Cutler is not fully entitled to the honor of an equal share, in the conception which, when legitimated by Congress, has proved the one great cause of what the North-west now is, and of all it promises, in the future, to be.

It may be that, in some old closet or chest, in some old house, in New England, may be reposing the very letters, or diaries, or documents, which may settle this claim, definitely, as false or well-founded. That the name of Mr. Dane is, and that it ought to be, forever, associated with this Ordinance, we shall insist on, most strenuously; at the same time, we feel warranted, also, in the conclusion that the truly able, sagacious, and indefatigable Agent of the Ohio Company, Doctor Manasseh Cutler, also bore a very important part in bringing that instrument into the form which, for its own sake and also for the momentous results flowing from it, must take its place, in history, that is never to be forgotten. We now begin to appreciate the importance of the act, and would emblazon on the great act itself, the two names of Nathan Dane and Manasseh Cutler.

We omit, entirely, the familiar facts pertaining to the actual settlement made at Marietta, the next year; the marked men led by General Rufus Putnam, to take possession of lands which could never be lawfully trodden by slaves; the thrilling adventures which attended the planting of the institutions of civilization, there; the wars with the savages; and the Peace conquered by General Wayne. These facts are accessible, in any library; but it is in point to remark that, among the most assiduous agents in inducing emigration to the good land he had purchased for the Ohio Company, was Doctor Cutler, who used the press, as an important auxiliary. In 1787, soon after his negotiations with Congress had been successfully concluded, he published "an anonymous "pamphlet, which seems, now, to have been pro-"phetic to a degree truly surprising. He haz-"ards the prediction that many, then living, "would see our Western waters navigated by "the power of steam; and that, within fifty "years, the North-western Territory would "contain more inhabitants than all New Eng-"land. What seemed, at the time, a random "and improbable conjecture, has since risen to "the dignity of a prophecy, the fulfilment of "which has astonished the world."—Sprague's *Annals, ii., 17.*

In 1791, it was *guessed* that Ohio had about three thousand people; and, at Vincennes, there were nearly two hundred French slave-holding families. After Wayne's Treaty with the Indians, emigration began to pour into the Territory, rapidly, so that, in 1800, Ohio had forty-two thousand, one hundred, and fifty-six. The first County organized, that of Washington, dates back to 1788; and the first Court, to the same year. The first Territorial Legislature began its sessions, at Cincinnati, on the sixteenth of September, 1799. The late Judge Jacob Burnet, of Cincinnati, was one of the Legislative Council, consisting of four, one being from Cincinnati, one from Vincennes, one from Marietta, and one from the region of Steubenville. The lower house was made up of Representatives from what are now Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. The condition of the country may be inferred from the fact that Judge Burnet's law-circuit embraced not a small part of that immense district, just named. On the third of March, 1800, a Committee of Congress reported on the condition of the country, its Courts, and laws; and recommended the setting off the Indiana Territory. This took effect in 1801; when General W. H. Harrison became the first Governor. In that year, an attempt was made to divide the present territory of Ohio, by making the Scioto the boundary, thus postponing the admission of Ohio as a State. This led to a special mission to Washington, by the late Governor Worthington, who defeated the obnoxious measure and secured the passage of a law permitting the People of Ohio to form a State Constitution, in order to admission into the Federal Union.

The settlers on the Ohio Land Company's purchase were opposed to the formation of the State, at that time. The Convention for forming the new Constitution met in September, 1802; and, on the preliminary question, as to the expediency of forming a State Constitution Ephraim Cutler, the eldest son of Doctor Cutler, stood alone in the opposition. For many facts, relating to this remarkable man, we are indebted to the funeral discourse delivered by Professor E. B. Andrews of Marietta college, and for other facts to the memoranda and conversations of Judge Cutler himself. The Constitutional Convention was divided into three parties—the first, a slavery party, led by a Mr. John W. Brown, an Englishman, naturalized at Marietta, a Dissenting Minister, who represented Hamilton county, in the Convention. The only time Ephraim Cutler was ever known to be in a towering passion, was when, on his way to this Convention, he heard this man, Brown, declare that "Washington was no better than an Atheist;" and he told the libeler if he repeated the offence he would whip him. The second party was anti slavery; and was led by Judge Cutler. The third party was made up of those members who were not identified with either of the others; and who held the balance of power, in the Convention.

In order to understand the nature of this struggle, in that first Constitutional Convention, North of the Ohio, and on which so much depended as to the future Commonwealth of the Great Valley and, indeed, the entire Republic, it must be remembered, as already stated, that a large tract of the best lands in Ohio had been reserved for Virginia soldiers; that, already along the Ohio and Scioto, with their tributaries, including a considerable fraction of the "Scioto and Miami Country," had already settled large numbers of emigrants, from Virginia and other Slave States, who declared to bring their slaves with them, and who, perhaps, in some cases did bring them; but the most of whom regarded with dislike the Ordinance of '87, as doing them a wrong. We know there were slaves in Indiana and Illinois; and we have heard the fact asserted that there were slaves in Ohio, also. Indeed, we have no doubt of the fact.

We have already mentioned the fact that the pro-slavery party in the Ohio Constitutional Convention was led by a Mr. Brown. He, as Judge Ephraim Cutler affirms, openly declared

that his "views were sanctioned by one of the "greatest statesmen of the day."

It now appears that *Mr. Jefferson* was the high authority quoted as sanctioning the limited slavery scheme and using his influence to secure its adoption in Ohio. To some, this may appear incredible; but, in fact, this very element was in his draft of the Ordinance of 1784, "*that, "after the Year 1800 of the Christian Era,* "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary "servitude in any of the said States." This dissolves the improbability of the statement as to the part Mr. Jefferson, through his friends, took in the attempt to introduce a system of limited slavery into Ohio. The question was at once raised by the Convention's Committee on the *Bill of Rights*, of which this John W. Brown was the Chairman and Judge Cutler a member. The Judge records it in his diary that "an exciting subject was immediately brought "before the Committee, the subject of admitting "or excluding slavery. Mr. Brown produced a "Section which defined the subject, in effect, "thus: *No person shall be held in slavery, if a "male, after he is thirty-five years of age; and, "if a female, after twenty-five years of age.*"

In private conversations, Judge Cutler declared his conviction that this momentous sentence, proposed for adoption into the fundamental laws of the new State, was inspired by Thomas Jefferson and was in his handwriting; and he hints this conviction, in the following entry in his Journal: "I observed to the Com- "mittee, that those who had elected me to re- "present them, there, were desirous of having "this matter clearly understood, and I must "move to have the Section laid on the table, "until our next meeting; and, to avoid any "warmth of feeling, I hoped that each member "of the Committee would prepare a Section "which would express his views, fully, on this "important subject. The Committee met, next "morning, and I was called on for what I had "proposed, the last evening. I THEN READ "THEM THE SECTION, AS IT NOW STANDS IN "THE CONSTITUTION. Mr. Brown said that "what he had introduced was taught by the "*greatest men in the nation* to be, if established "in our Constitution, obtaining a great step "toward a general emancipation of slavery; "and was, in his opinion, greatly to be prefer- "red to what I had offered."

Professor Andrews, in his eulogy on Judge Cutler, cites "a letter received, recently, from a "gentleman of high respectability and intelli- "gence," which throws light not merely on the position of President Jefferson, but on the critical position of the embryo States of the West, at that time. "In the Winter of 1846-7," writes this gentleman, "as I think, I had several con- "versations with the late *Governor Jeremiah "Morrow*, who was then at Columbus. These "related, in a considerable degree, to the early "history of Ohio, the Convention that formed "the Constitution of 1802, and the characters of "many of the leading men of that period. I "had then just read, very attentively, the Jour- "nals of the Convention, and, being interested "in the subject, sought to elicit from him such "reminiscences as he had, in relation to these "points. In one of them, he stated that, when "he went to Philadelphia, as a member of "Congress, in 1803, he visited *Mr. Jefferson;* "that their conversation turned upon the new "Constitution of Ohio; that Mr. Jefferson "commended it, highly, in its main features, "but thought the Convention had misjudged, "in some particulars. One of them was in the "structure of the Judiciary, which Mr. J. "thought too restricted for the *future* wants of "the State, using, in this connection, the ex- "pression that 'they legislated too much.' "Another was the *exclusion of slavery. Mr. "Jefferson thought it would have been more judi- "cious to have admitted slavery, for a limited "period*, 'an opinion,' added Governor Morrow, "'in which I did not concur.' His statement "of the conversation with Mr. Jefferson was "much more full and minute; but, as I have "not by me the memoranda I made, at the "time, I can give only the substance. *This I "am sure is correct.*"

With this position attributed to Mr. Jeffsrson, we think many confirmatory statements might be selected from his published volumes. The names of the Committee having this important Section under consideration, as given in the *Journal of the Convention*, were Messrs. Brown, Cutler, Goforth, Dunlavy, Baldwin, Grubb, Wood, Updegraff, and Donaldson. Here were two propositions—the one for a limited slavery, understood and believed in the Convention to have emanated from President Jefferson, and the other, that which was introduced by Ephraim Cutler and as contained in Article VIII., Section II., of the old Constitution of Ohio, absolutely declaring that "there "shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servi- "tude, in this State," etc. These propositions were warmly argued in the Committee, especially by Mr. Brown and Mr Cutler. The latter was not a man of liberal culture, but of large reading and honored as the founder of the first public library in Ohio. He had settled in Ohio, in 1795, a noble Christian pioneer from Massachusetts; a man of singular modesty and yet unbending independence and integrity. He, like many plain men of that day, had reflected, profoundly, on the great questions which were before our nation, during the period

of the Revolution and the formation of the Federal Constitution. On the subject of slavery, as "a political and social cancer," his convictions were clear as light; and, in common with thousands of the best men, in New England, he settled on the North bank of the Ohio, because he had faith that the great Ordinance of '87 would, forever, shelter that land from the curse which rested on the Southern States. He was naturally a lethargic man; and it required extraordinary motives to rouse him to exert his full power. Tradition says that, in that Committee-room, he argued like a great Christian statesman, who felt that the destinies of the future were entrusted to his keeping; and so well did he put the case that, on the final vote, five of the Committee stood with him and four with Brown; and so Cutler's Article was reported to the Convention. But it was by no means yet out of danger. Brown and his friends were active and determined; and, one day, when Cutler was confined to his room, by sickness, they took the opportunity to move and *carry* an amendment, which, in effect, neutralised or set aside, altogether, the Article as reported by the Committee, and introduced the Article rejected in the Committee-room. They were very exultant over their victory; but, the next day, a scene occurred which is worthy of record. Judge Cutler moved to strike out the hateful amendment that proposed to fasten slavery on Ohio; but Brown insolently demanded what he wanted *that* for, and broadly sneered at the gentleman as "hard to please," and patronizingly asked "what he wanted?" The English renegade, whom his antagonist had threatened to whip if he reviled Washington's good name again, now seemed to take special delight in asserting his superiority. The young farmer was thoroughly stirred up and, with masterly power, unfolded the nature of the system sought to be fastened on the young Commonwealth of Ohio, and its influence on the morals, manners, thrift, and political destinies of States—he portrayed, also, the disastrous consequences of introducing that into the new State, which the best men in Old Virginia were deploring, as a curse and calamity. He spoke with great power and the eloquence of conviction; and so well that, to quote from his own journal, "When the vote was called, Mr. Milli-"gan changed his vote and we succeeded in "placing it—the Article—in its original state. "Thus an overruling Providence, by His wis-"dom makes use of the weak to defeat the "purposes of the great and wise."

Thus a Massachusetts farmer, by his firmness and wisdom, defeated a measure which *depended* on the *stability of only one vote* to have entailed, not on Ohio alone, but the other Western States, the calamities which have fallen so heavily on Kentucky and Missouri. And it was singularly fit that these two men, father and son, Manasseh and Ephraim Cutler, should be the instruments of accomplishing such beneficent measures for the West, the one, in conjunction with Mr. Dane, suggesting the immortal Sixth Article in the Ordinance of 1787, and the other carrying it into effect, in the Constitution of the first State included in that North-western Territory, and so determining the character of the rest.

In a historical discussion of the Ordinance of '87, Governor Coles of Illinois says that, after Indiana was organized, as a Territory, several hundred slaves were held there. The same was true of Illinois. After the passage of the Ordinance, the larger slaveholders, in what is now Indiana and Illinois, removed their slaves across the Mississippi or Ohio; but not a few of the more ignorant among them, being unacquainted with the English language, continued to hold their slaves, for many years.

Under date of the twelfth of January, 1796, four persons of Kaskaskia, in a Memorial to Congress, represent that they "now are possess-"ed of a number of slaves which the Article "above" [*Sixth Article, Ordinance of '87*] "seems to deprive them of (perhaps inadvert-"ently) without their consent or concurrence." They argue the question as to the justice and constitutionality of the Article, which "would "deprive them of their most valuable proper-"ty." In view of their reasoning, they "humbly pray that the Sixth Article of Compact, "in the Ordinance of 1787, may either be re-"pealed or altered so as to give permission to "introduce slaves into said Territory, from any "of the original States, or otherwise; that a "law may be made permitting the introduction "of such slaves, as servants for life; and that "it may be enacted for what period the chil-"dren of such servants shall serve the master "of their parents."—*American State Papers, Public Lands, i., 61.* The Committee of the House reported adversely, that they are informed it would be disagreeable to many of the inhabitants of the Territory, "and the petition "ought not to be granted." The early French colonists, who settled at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, held many slaves; and, during the successive occupancy of the territory, by France, Great Britain, and Virginia, up to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, "the right of the "inhabitants of the territory to hold slaves "was not questioned by any legislative author-"ity." Both in Indiana and Illinois, previous to their becoming States, "rules had been pre-

"scribed," by the Territorial Legislature, allowing a limited period of slavery; "but many "slaves were removed from the Indiana Terri- "tory—including, then, Illinois—either to the "Western side of the Mississippi or to some of "the slave-holding States."—Dillon's *Indiana, 410;* Ford's *Illinois, 32.*

General William Henry Harrison, a native Virginian, the first Governor of Indiana Territory, was said to be a pro-slavery man in his sympathies; and, in a letter addressed to Congress, in 1803, he declared that "the people of "Indiana," by their Delegates, in Convention assembled, give "their consent to the suspen- "sion of the Sixth Article of the Compact be- "tween the United States and the people of "that Territory." On the second of March, 1803, John Randolph of Roanoke reported against this "declaration" in the following language: "That the rapid population of the "State of Ohio sufficiently evinces that the "labor of slaves is not necessary to promote "the growth and settlement of colonies, in "that region. That this labor, demonstrably "the dearest of any, can only, with advantage, "be employed in the cultivation of products "more valuable than any known in that quarter "of the United States; that the Committee "deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to "impair a provision wisely calculated to pro- "mote the happiness and prosperity of the "North-western country and to give strength "and security to that extensive frontier. In "the salutary operation of this sagacious and "benevolent restraint, it is believed that the "inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very dis- "tant day, find ample remuneration for a tem- "porary privation ot labor and emigration."—*American State Papers, Public Lands, i., 146.* The memorialists, in this case, present the case as strongly as they can, "as highly advantage- "ous to the Territory," and also because the people of Indiana "were not represented in "the body" which passed the Ordinance. In 1804, some Indiana people sent a similar petition to Congress. To this, Mr. Rodney of Delaware, Chairman of the Committee, reported, recommending the suspension of the Sixth Article—the anti-slavery one—of the Ordinance, for ten years, on condition that the descendants of such slaves should, if males, be free at twenty five years and, if females, at twenty-one. The House rejected the Report. In 1806, a third petition was presented; and Mr. Garnett of Virginia repeated the recommendation of Mr. Rodney, in 1804; and, again, the House voted it down. In 1807, Mr. Parke, the Delegate of the Indiana Territory, made a similar proposition, which the House again refused to adopt; and, in November, 1807, a similar petition was presented to Congress, from the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory. At the same time, was presented a Remonstrance from the citizens of Clarke-county; and, in view of all the facts, Mr. Franklin of North Carolina reported against any suspension of the Ordinance of 1787. This Report was adopted by the House of Representatives.

It was this series of attempts to foist slavery into the territory North of the Ohio and covered by the immortal Ordinance of '87, that led Thomas Benton, on the tenth of June, 1850, to say, in the Senate of the United States, "Thus "five times, in four years, the respective "Houses of Congress refused to admit even a "temporary extension or rather re-extension "of slavery into Indiana Territory, which had "been, before the Ordinance of 1787, a slave- "territory, holding many slaves at Vincennes. "These five refusals to suspend the Ordinance "of '87 were so many confirmations of it. All "the rest of the action of Congress on the sub- "ject was to the same effect and stronger."—Coles' *History of the Ordinance of 1787, 20–22.*

These repeated refusals led to some curious measures in the Territory of Indiana; and, among these, the passing of a law "authoriz- "ing the indenture of slaves, over fifteen years "of age, for a specified term of years. In many "cases, it was extended, in practice, to *ninety- "nine years*, or for a term which was intended "to include the life of the party indentured. "As a slave is not competent, by law, to make "an agreement or contract, he had first to be "made free before he could enter into the "indenture. But this was made a mere matter "of form, being done simultaneously, and the "master taking care that neither instrument "should be valid until the other was executed. "If a slave, after his master had signed his in- "strument of emancipation, and he was nomin- "ally free, should refuse to sign his indenture. "the master had the right to send him out of "the State, to sell him, and to retain over him "all his rights as a master."—Coles' *History of the Ordinance of '87, 22–23.*

Repeated attempts were made to nullify the Ordinance, by submitting cases to the Supreme Court of Indiana; but, in every case, the Court sustained the Ordinance. In the same spirit, both in Indiana and Illinois, the subject was brought into the political arena; and the whole ground was fought over, with the greatest animosity. In some cases, the Ordinance was in peril; but, in the end, it triumphed over opposition. Governor Ford, in his *History of Illinois*, gives a graphic picture of the introduction of a qualified apprenticeship, or slavery; the laws passed in consequence, and

borrowed directly from the Codes of Virginia and Kentucky; and the uneasiness produced among the settlers by the Southern emigrants, who crossed the State, into Missouri, with their numerous slaves. Fortunately, the "new gospel" of the later day had not been proclaimed; and there was enough sagacity and moral rectitude, in high places, to deny the wicked popular importunity, which, first in Ohio, then in Indiana, and then in Illinois, demanded the introduction of that system of human bondage which had so crippled and weakened Kentucky as to suffer Ohio, her younger free-soil rival, far to outstrip her, and Illinois to outstrip her rival, Missouri, and entailed evils of the greatest magnitude on all the new slave-States, from Tennessee to Texas.

But, in the results we have described as having been attained in the nine Western States of the Great Valley, named in the beginning of this article—results which, in our opinion, constitute one of the most remarkable civil developments known in history; results which must mainly be assigned to two potent causes, *Free Soil* and *Free Schools*—history will not do full justice to the agents employed by Divine Providence, in their accomplishment, until she names, with the most honorable approbation, not only that true and pure statesman, Nathan Dane, but those honored and great men, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., and his son, Judge Ephraim Cutler, whose wise foresight, and resolute purpose, and devout virtue, so greatly aided in planting the seeds which have sprung up into universal freedom and Free Schools for the North-west.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND. J. F. T.

IV.—*HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO-COUNTY, NEW YORK.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 101.

BY S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

VII.—*TOWN AND VILLAGE OF NORWICH.*

Among the earliest settlers in the territory now comprised in the County of Chenango, were Avery Power, of Norwich, Benjamin Hovey, of Oxford, and William Guthrie, of Jericho, now Bainbridge.

Mr. Power immigrated hither, with his family, from the Eastern States, as early as 1788, and became the occupant of the "Indian-fields," one mile below the present village of Norwich, paying a small rent, in produce and merchandize, to the Indian proprietors of the "Castle," on the East side of the river, who had already effected a partial clearing on the opposite "fields." In 1790, he perfected his title, by a purchase of his farm, then consisting of two hundred and eighty-six acres, from the State, at three shillings, or seventy five cents per acre; and opened an inn, or house of public entertainment, for his Indian friends and such of the white settlers or travelers as might require temporary accommodation. In 1800, he sold the farm to Captain John Randall, for the sum of forty one hundred dollars, in whose possession and that of his descendants—John Randall, Junior, and Charles York—it remained, until a very recent period, when it passed into the hands of Jedutha Newton, of Norwich. Benjamin Hovey, in 1789, purchased of the State a large tract of land in that part of the original township of Fayette, now included in the village of Oxford; and William Guthrie, in 1790, opened a public house, in a portion of the township of Clinton, afterwards called Jericho, and now known as Bainbridge.

The citizens of Norwich, in 1789, employed Captain John Harris, an early settler, and a man of enterprise and energy, to purchase the land comprised in the present village and other lands situated in the valley of the Chenango. He, however, seems to have engaged in a sea-voyage, after arriving in New York, where the sales were to take place, and committed his trust to an agent, who was outbid by Mr. Leonard M. Cutting, who offered one penny more per lot, and to whom the whole was struck off. He re-sold the lots, to the principals of Captain Harris, for five dollars per acre each, an advance of about four dollars, on his own purchase. On his death-bed, shortly afterwards, he re-conveyed the fifteenth town—Norwich—to Melancthon Smith and John Stiles, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, the former of whom immediately came on and executed contracts to the settlers in possession, with the exception of Avery Power, who had previously purchased from the State.

The first settlers in Norwich, after Power, were chiefly immigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and found their way into the Chenango-valley, in the Fall and Winter of 1790 and Spring of 1791, either, by way of Albany, to the Unadilla-river, and thence, through the wilderness, aided by the marked trees of the early surveyors, to the Power farm and tavern; or, directly, through Whitestown, near the present site of Utica, down the Chenango. Among them were David Fairchild, who took up the "Terry Farm," near the old Gates' Tavern, four miles below the village; Silas Cole, who purchased the tract of land, included in the present village, North of the South bridge across the Canasewacta-creek and East of Main-street to its intersection with the street running East to

the river, subsequently known as the "Elder "Randall" and "Judge Steere" farms, built the house afterwards owned by Elder Jedediah Randall and subsequently by Charles York, and occupied it as a tavern; * William Smiley, who located the farm, next South of "the old "Randall farm," subsequently owned by Elias Breed, and now in the possession of John Fryer and William R. Breed; † Nicholas Pickett, who purchased the large farm, on the East side of the river, known as the "Nathan Pendleton farm; ‡ Thomas Brooks, a Massachusetts-man, compromised by the "Shay's rebellion," who occupied a portion of the land subsequently owned by Peter B. Garnsey, and built a log dwelling on what is now known as the "West Green" of the village; § Israel, Charles, and Matthew Graves, who became the owners of all that part of the present village of Norwich lying North of its southern boundary, and West of South Main-street, to the North line of the old "Seth Gar-"lick property;" Manasseh French, the first clergyman, who settled on what was afterwards known as the "Joseph Brown farm," a little South of Norwich village; Captain John Harris, the purchaser of the "old Harris farm," on the East of North Main-street, and North of the "Judge Steere property;" Samuel Hammond, owner of the farm next adjoining "the Harris "farm," on the North; Hascell Ransford and William Ransford, who became the purchasers of a large farm, lying on both sides of the highway, North of the "Harris" and "Dickinson" farms; Daniel Skinner; William Munroe, afterwards, for many years, Sheriff of the County, who was the purchaser, from the State, of the "Garnsey farm," extending from the "Garlick "farm," on the West side of South Main-street, in Norwich village, to the Canasewacta-creek, and North to the South bounds of the "Dickin-"son farm" and which was, subsequently, purchased by Elisha Smith, Esq., who transferred it to Peter B. Garnsey, in whose possession it remained until his death, and is now occupied by his heirs; * Josiah Dickinson, who became the owner of all the land lying North of the "old "Garnsey farm," and West of North Main-street, to the northern boundary of the village; and Stephen Steere, who purchased, of Silas Cole, all the land North of the South Canasewacta-bridge, on the East side of Main-street, to the "Harris farm," on the North, and extending, easterly, to the river, with the exception of the "Jedediah Randall farm," on the South, and the adjacent dwelling-house and lot of Doctor Jonathan Johnson. Benjamin Edmunds purchased, early in the present century, the lot of ground on the East side of South Main-street, North of the residence of Judge Steere, and extending, North, as far as the North boundary of the lot on which the American Hotel, formerly known as the "Noyes House" now stands. On this lot, Mr. Edmunds built the "old yellow "house," the late residence of Judge Purdy, and the adjoining house, belonging to the Rider family. Thompson Mead, Josiah Brown, John Wait, Martin Taylor, Joseph Skinner, William Ransford, Junior, William Gibson, (the old butcher) Simeon and Job Spencer, John Welch, Lemuel Southwick, Leonard Monroe, Lobben Jaynes, and Richard Miller are also enumerated by Mr. Clark, as among the early settlers of the village and its immediate vicinity—all, without exception, dead, now. "Miss Clara Brooks "came into the town, when a child, with her "father, Major Brooks, and was believed [*1850*] "to be the oldest of the females living, who "first settled in Norwich. Miss Harriet Graves, "afterwards Mrs. Hascall Ransford, Senior, re-"moved into the town, in the year 1791.†"

It will be perceived that the original owners of all the land now included within the bounds of the village of Norwich, at or about the commencement of the present century, were:

* Mr. Cole seems to have become, shortly after, embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and to have parted with his farm to Elder Jedediah Randall, who, on his death, bequeathed to Judge York, that portion now occupied by him. Cole subsequently emigrated to Ohio, where he died, several years since.

† "The 'Smiley farm' included the once famous sul-"phur-spring, which, in times past, was a fashionable "resort for the villagers. The waters were supposed to "possess valuable medicinal qualities; but, by attempted "improvement, its vein was finally destroyed."—*Clark.*

‡ "He occupied it for a few years, when he sold out, "and removed westward."—*Clark.*

§ "His property, East, was confiscated to the Govern-"ment; and he came hither to repair losses. The Major "always admitted his participation in the rebellion, and "justified it. He had also been a soldier in the Revolu-"tionary War, and was at Bunker's-hill. Major Brooks "built a log-house, on the West Green, in Norwich vil-"lage. *There was not a hammer nor a nail used about "the building*—these articles not having then been intro-"duced. Afterwards, the Major removed to Plymouth, "where he suddenly died by the fall of a tree, about the "year 1823-4."—*Clark.*

* This farm extended, on the West, to the Canasawacta-creek, and, for some distance beyond, where the Garnsey Mills were subsequently erected. "Prior to the erection "of these mills," observes Mr. Clark, "the inhabitants "either transported part of their grain to Tioga-point, at "great expense and endless toil, or they constructed mor-"tars, by hollowing out, at one end, a log, from three to "four feet in length, and working them by a sweep above, "with a pestle attached." Such were the hardships, labors, and privations of the pioneer settlers of the Chenango-valley, within the memory of some now living!

† Clark's *History of Chenango.*

On the East side of Main-street, and extending to the Chenango-river, reckoning from South to North, Jedediah Randall, Doctor Jonathan Johnson, Stephen Steere, Captain John Harris, and Samuel Hammond.

On the West side, extending from the Canasawacta-creek, on the South and West, Israel, Charles, and Matthew Graves, Colonel William Munroe, ("the Garnsey farm") and Josiah Dickinson.

Elder Randall sold off the North part of his farm to Doctor Jonathan Johnson. Judge Steere sold "the Benjamin Edmunds" and "the Doc-"tor Joseph Brooks" lots, North of his resi dence; and donated to the village, the East Green. The Graves family sold to Seth Garlick and James Birdsall the lots and land afterwards occupied by them. Colonel Munroe sold to Elisha Smith, and Judge Smith to Peter B. Garnsey; and the latter, after donating to the village the West Green, sold to Joseph S. Fenton, Asa Norton, and Doctor Henry Mitchell, on the North, and to Beriah Lewis, Charles Randall, and Truman Enos, on the West. Mr. Dickinson sold a part of his farm, on the North, to Elisha Smith and Samuel Randall. All subsequent dispositions of property in the village, are believed to be traceable from these roots.

Elder Jedediah Randall devised the northern portion of the residue of his farm to the Hon. Charles York, who, until a very recent period, occupied the homestead originally built by Silas Cole, having previously sold the southern portion to Thomas Prentiss, who, or whose descendants, still continue to occupy it. Judge York subsequently sold off the lot now owned and occupied by Nelson B. Hale, between his own residence and the Prentiss farm. On the North of Doctor Johnson's lot, three or four small plots, extending to the present Chenango-canal, were sold off, by him and the representatives of Judge Steere; and Timothy Steere succeeded, in 1816 or 1817, to the occupation of the old homestead, including, as was subsequently ascertained, the lot on which Mr. Edmunds erected a dwelling-house, in 1819, South of and adjoining the "Yellow "House" lot. This portion of the Steere property was afterwards sold to George L. Rider, in whose family it still remains. The "Yellow "House" property, extending North to that of Doctor Brooks, was conveyed by Mr. Edmunds, in 1808, to his son-in-law, Perez Randall, who built a store and office on the North, and either built or purchased the dwelling-house adjacent to the Brooks property, now forming a part of the "American Hotel," or "Noyes' House." Mr. Randall afterwards conveyed the "Yellow "House" and lot, including the store and office, to Charles York, who conveyed to the late owner, Smith M. Purdy. James M. D. Carr subsequently purchased the intervening lot, between Judge York and the "American," and erected a dwelling-house and shop upon it. The house and lot occupying the present site of the "American Hotel," passed, in 1815 or 16, into the possession of Mr. Edmunds and Perez Randall; and, in 1819–20, into that of Thurlow Weed, then Editor of the *Republican Agriculturalist*, published in the village; and was subsequently purchased, in 1825–26, by Josiah S. Miller, who built the Hotel, and occupied it, until his death, a few years later, when it passed into the possession of Colonel John Noyes, Junior, by marriage with the widow. On the death of Colonel Noyes, it was transferred to its present proprietors, or their immediate predecessors.

On the death of Doctor Brooks, whose large Hotel immediately adjoined that of the present "American," on the North, this property passed into the hands of his widow, who, a few years afterwards, married Lot Clark; and, from her, into the possession of other parties.

The large building, on the North-east corner of the Public Square, on the East side of Main-street—at which point it assumed the designation of "North Main-street"—and since known as the "Eagle Hotel," was originally occupied by Asahel Steere, and passed from his possession and ownership, successively, into those of Moses Doty, Mark Steere, and General Harry De Forest, during whose occupancy it was burnt down, in 1849, and, subsequenty, re-built and occupied as a Hotel.

Adjoining the Hotel, on the North, on the site subsequently occupied by the store of Alfred Purdy and Porter Wood and the law-office of Abial Cook and Smith M. Purdy, and, more recently, by the store of B. Slater & Co., stood, as late as 1822–23, an old paint shop, occupied by Jeduthun Hitchcock, North of which was the residence of a widow Adams, afterwards the dwelling-house and shop of J. K. Duryea, merchant tailor, on which the present "Duryea Block" was erected; and, still further North, the residence and blacksmith shop of Israel Hale, subsequently the residence of David E. S. Bedford. On the North of this, and standing a few rods in rear of the highway, were the printing office of the *Norwich Journal*, edited by John F. Hubbard, and the residence of William Johnson. Next, on the North, was the residence of General Thompson Mead, afterwards occupied by his son-in-law, John F. Hubbard, and, more recently, by Charles A. Thorp. North of that, was the office of Doctor Henry Mitchell; and, next above the present site of the Methodist church, the residence of William Palmer.

Thomas Milner resided a few rods East of Hascall Ransford's, on the East side of the river; John Pellet, on a large farm, a mile or two South,

on the same side; Asa Pellet and Stephen and Smith Steere, on two large farms, nearly opposite each other, on East-street; Colonel Samuel Randall occupied a farm at the North extremity of the village; Charles Randall and Truman Enos, side by side, at the western extremity; and Consider Coomes and Thomas Prentiss, at the southern—all worthy men and good citizens.

The first clergyman in Norwich was Manasseh French, "a practical and unaffected preacher," who settled upon "the Joseph Brown farm," half a mile South of the present village. Was it Mr. French, or old Elder Ransom, his successor, who was accustomed, in those primitive times, to repeat his discourses from the beginning, on the arrival of each tardy member of his congregation, as they came sauntering in, frequently rendering it necessary to go over the same ground, some six or eight times, in the course of his morning or afternoon sermon?

The first marriage which took place in Norwich was that of Miss Harriet Graves, daughter of Matthew Graves, to Hascall Ransford, on the twelfth of July, 1792. At that time, previous to the arrival of the Rev. Manasseh French, there was no clergyman or magistrate, nearer than Tioga-point, who could legally perform the marriage ceremony; and, in this embarrassing situation, it had, at first, been determined to repair, by canoe, to that place, some seventy miles distant, through a howling wilderness. Fortunately, however, a Commission, as Justice of the Peace, for Joab Enos, of Hamilton, arrived in season for the performance of the nuptials, without the necessity of so painful and dangerous a pilgrimage; which was reserved only for the sturdy cultivators of the soil, who, prior to the erection, by Judge Elisha Smith, of the present "Garnsey "flouring-mill," were compelled to carry their grain, by this tedious route, to Tioga-point.

"The earliest physician," says Mr. Clarke, "was Jonathan Johnson, who removed here, "from Connecticut, about the year 1794. Dur- "ing the vigorous portion of his life, he enjoyed "a lucrative, and, at the same time, most ardu- "ous practice. In the earliest years of his ride, "the country was infested with bears and wolves "—the latter hunting in packs—and ferocious "panthers. More than once, the Doctor pur- "sued his lonely rides over the thickly wooded "hills, serenaded by moans, howls, and screams "proceeding from the midnight orgies of these "formidable occupants."

Doctor Johnson continued to occupy his dwelling, in Norwich, until his death, in 1838.

The first male child born in Norwich was Marcus Cole, son of Silas Cole, in the old "Elder "Randall house," now owned and occupied by Judge York; and the second child was Horace Ransford, Junior, the offspring of the marriage, above referred to. The first female child—and the *first native white child* born in the Chenango-valley—was Lucy Power, daughter of Avery Power, the original occupant of the "Randall "farm." The site of the small, rude hut, which then constituted his residence, is still pointed out, on the present farm, in the vicinity of those of the old Randall homestead, now, and for many years, uninhabited.*

We will now proceed to enumerate the most prominent citizens of the town and village, who were the immediate successors of the earliest pioneers, down to the year 1825, with brief sketches of their leading traits of character, occupations, and positions.

During the whole of this period, Doctor Johnson, Elisha Smith, Benjamin Edmunds, Peter B. Garnsey, Hascall Ransford, Matthew Graves, Josiah Dickinson, Casper M. Rouse, and Elder Jedidiah Randall remained among the older residents.

General Obadiah German became a resident, soon after the beginning of the century, in that part of the town now known as "North Nor- "wich." He was a man of imposing presence, great dignity and courtesy of demeanor, superior intellectual abilities, and commanding political influence. He represented the County, in the State Legislature, during the years 1804, 1805, 1807, 1808, and 1809, when he was elected United States Senator. In 1819, he was again returned to the Assembly, and chosen Speaker. He was appointed one of the Judges of the County Court, in 1801; and retained that position, until his election as United States Senator. In 1814, he was appointed First, or presiding, Judge, and continued as such until 1819.

Peter B. Garnsey was a prominent lawyer and politician, and represented the County, in the Legislature of 1800. He was a large land and mill-owner, a public-spirited citizen, and an estimable and worthy man.

Hascall Ransford was also a member of the Legislature of 1814; and took a leading part in all town affairs. In the early portion of the century, he kept a public-house, at his residence, half a mile North of the present village, where town-meetings were then held, when Norwich included all the western towns, and part of the eastern and northern. At an early period, he married one of the daughters of Matthew Graves.

Elder Randall officiated as the Pastor of the Baptist Society, until a few years before his death, and was universally respected and regarded as a pious, venerable, and good man.

Elisha Smith, at an early period in the century, removed from Oneida-county to Greene; was, soon afterwards, promoted to a seat on the Bench

* Clark's *History of Chenango.*

of the County-court; and, in 1813, transferred his residence to Norwich, where he was long known as an influential and highly respected citizen of the village. In all matters pertaining to the title, value, sale, and tranfer of real estate, he was an acknowledged authority; and possessed, in every respect, the entire confidence and regard of the community. His wife was a Miss Wattles, of Unadilla. In latter life, he suffered much from a cancer, which finally caused his death, somewhere about 1824–5.

Josiah Dickinson was a considerable landowner, in the upper part of the village; a carpenter and builder by trade; and a worthy, reputable citizen. The contract for building the first Court-house was awarded to him, and successfully and satisfactorily executed.

Benjamin Edmunds, who came to the village at an early period of the century, was a native of Massachusetts, and served his apprenticeship, as a blacksmith, with a Mr. Walker, of Worcester or Dudley. His wife was Eunice Parker, a sister of Jeremiah Parker, of that neighborhood. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and, up to the period of his death, in 1827, received a pension from the United States. The "old yellow "house," erected by him, and afterwards, for many years, occupied as a tavern, is still remaining, one of the few surviving relics of that early day. Mr. Edmunds was a zealous Universalist; a great reader; and a kind-hearted, benevolent, worthy man.

Casper M. Rouse was an early settler in the town, and resided on a farm just below the southern boundary of the village, on a slight elevation, North of the present Cemetery, which formed part of his farm, and was ceded by him to the village, as a burial-ground. He occupied a seat on the Bench of the County-court, from 1804 to 1809; was a member of the State Senate, from 1810 to 1814; and, subsequently, a Judge of the County-court, from 1815 to 1819. His implication in the celebrated indictment of David Thomas, State Treasurer, for bribery, in 1812, has already been adverted to. He was a man of pompous speech and manners, and inordinate vanity, accompanied by respectable acquirements, as a legislator and magistrate, and a friendly and obliging disposition.

Joseph S. and Loring Fenton, Charles York, Benjamin Chapman, John Lamb, and Asa Norton, were among the earliest merchants of Norwich. The elder Fenton subsequently removal to Michigan; of which State his son, William M. Fenton, became Lieutenant governor. Loring Fenton, an amiable and worthy young man, died at an early age. Messrs. York and Chapman constituted one of the leading mercantile firms, for several years; and, on the withdrawal of the former, Mr. Chapman continued the business, up to a very recent period. Mr. York was, for many years, Supervisor of the town and, subsequently, a Judge of the County-court. Mr. Chapman still survives (1873) at an advanced age, honored and respected by all who know him. Messrs. Lamb and Norton remained only a short period.

Anson Jones, who afterwards succeeded General Samuel Houston, as President of the Texan Republic, was the keeper of the first Drug store established in the village. He was succeeded in 1824–5, by Richard L. Lawrence. Richard L. De Zeng, at about the same time, opened an additional Dry-goods store.

Asahel Steere, Moses Doty, Mark Storm, and General Harry De Forest successively occupied the present site of the "Eagle tavern;" William Palmer, Seth Garlick, Zebina C. Andrews, and James M. D. Carr, the "Brooks' tavern;" and Newman Gates, James Perkins, John Cooke, George B. Champlin, and B. Holcomb, the "Edmunds' tavern."

Doctor Johnson, in conjunction with the practice of his profession, entered into a mercantile partnership with Judge Noyes, about the year 1818 or 1819. He was a man of great intelligence, considerable scholarship, and well versed in his profession; somewhat eccentric and absent-minded, in his professional and social intercourse; but highly esteemed, by all, for his honesty, integrity, and moral worth. Doctor Henry Mitchell was his contemporary, in the medical field, during the latter portion of his practice, and maintained a high reputation, as a skillful physician. He was a member of the State Legislature, in 1828, and represented the district, in Congress, from 1833 to 1835. Of great energy and decision of character, and unimpeachable integrity, he possessed the entire confidence and regard of the community, during the whole of his long and active life. Doctor Harvey Harris, who is still living, also enjoyed an extensive medical practice, during this period, and was always a welcome visitor, by the bedside of the sick, as well as a worthy and highly respected citizen.

The principal law practitioners of this period, were James Birdsall, David Buttolph, Nathan Chamberlain, Abial Cook, Lot Clark, Simeon S. Emmons, and Addison C. Griswold.

Mr. Birdsall was prominently identified with the political affairs of the Clintonian, and Mr. Clark with those of the Republican, or "Buck-"tail," party. The former was a Representative of the district, in Congress, from 1815 to 1817; subsequently Cashier of the Bank of Chenango; and, in 1827, a member of the State Legislature. He was a man of polished manners and great intellectual and financial ability; and exerted a commanding influence, as a politician. Mr. Clark represented the Congressional district,

from 1823 to 1825; was District Attorney, in 1822–23; and, although wanting in the personal graces and scholarship of his rival, was a sound and successful lawyer and an able political leader. While in Congress, he was a confidential friend of William H. Crawford and Martin Van Buren, in the Presidential canvass of 1824; and, for many years, virtually controlled, with skill and ability, the politics of the County. With him was associated, as a partner, at this period, Addison C. Griswold, a young man of fair talents, who was succeeded, soon afterwards, by John Clapp, now of Binghamton. Mr. Cook was just then commencing his long and successful career as an advocate; which, but for his invincible indolence and disinclination to devote himself to the study of his profession and the mastership of its authorities, might have placed him at the head of the Bar. Judge Purdy, a few years later, became his partner; and the firm achieved a high degree of success. Mr. Buttolph was a partner of Mr. Birdsall—a sound lawyer, and most estimable man. Simeon S. Emmons was an eloquent orator, and achieved some distinction, as a politician; but, from ill health, terminating in an early death, he failed to make any permanent impression upon the public mind. According to Mr. Weed's statement, his most important enterprise was the introduction of the culture of *asparagus* into the town. Mr. Chamberlain remained but a short time in the place; but was regarded as a good lawyer and an excellent citizen.

John F. Hubbard and Thurlow Weed were the rival political Editors of the village—the former as the printer and Publisher of the *Norwich Journal*, and the latter of the *Republican Agriculturalist*. Both were able men, who, at a subsequent period, made their mark in the political history of the State, and identified themselves with its leading interests. They were not on intimate terms with each other—some personal animosities having grown out of a business transaction, connected with the establishment of the *Agriculturalist;* but both were highly esteemed by the community; and both are still living, at an advanced age, surrounded by "honor, obedience, and troops of friends."

Mr. Hubbard came to Norwich, at about the year 1816, and purchased the printing establishment of John B. Johnson, Editor and Proprietor of the *Volunteer*, originally the *Olive-Branch*, published at Sherburne, in 1806, by Phinney and Fairchild; and transferred, in 1813, to Norwich, as the *Volunteer*. On the accession of its new Editor, its title was changed to that of the *Norwich Journal;* and its publication, as a Republican and Democratic journal, continued, with great ability and success, by himself and his partner, Ralph Johnson—who became connected with the paper, in 1827—until 1844, when it passed into the hands of La Fayette Leal and J. H. Sinclair, by whom, in 1847, it was merged into the *Oxford Republican*, and its name changed to that of the *Chenango Union*. In 1854, Harvey Hubbard, a son of the former Editor, purchased the interest of Mr. Leal, in the *Union*, and, in 1859, that of Mr. Sinclair, and continued the publication, until his death, in 1862, when it passed into the hands of his brother, John F. Hubbard, Junior, by whom, in 1868, it was transferred to G. H. Manning.

From 1828 to 1836, Mr. Hubbard held a seat in the State Senate, where he distinguished himself as an efficient and successful advocate of the construction of the Chenango-canal and other internal improvements; and, subsequently, he enjoyed the gratification of seeing his only surviving son, J. F. Hubbard, Junior, filling the same high position, for two successive senatorial terms, from 1868 to 1872. He possessed fine literary talents; was a strong and nervous political writer; and his social qualities were universally acknowledged. His wife was a daughter of General Thompson Mead; and, after the termination of his senatorial career and abandonment of his journal, he retired to the quiet and undisturbed repose of a cheerful and happy home.

Mr. Weed was born in Cairo, Greene-county, on the fifteenth of November, 1797, and, in 1808, removed, with his parents, to that part of the town of Cincinnatus, in Cortland-county, now known as Marion. Previous to his removal, he had served two Summers as a cook and cabin-boy, on the Hudson; had enjoyed but one quarter's schooling; and was employed, during the Winter of 1807, in the printing-office of Macky Croswell, in Catskill. During his first Winter, in Cincinnatus, he was employed in an ashery, occasionally attending school, during the daytime. Afterwards, however, in 1811, he obtained another quarter's schooling, in Onondagahollow, paying for his board and schooling by work in the family of Mr. Jasper Hopper; and was, subsequently, employed in the printing-office of the *Lynx*, at that place. In 1812, he was employed as a printer in the office of the *Columbian Gazette*, in Utica, edited by Thomas Walker; in 1813, in that of the *Herkimer American*, by William L. Stone, afterwards of the *Commercial Advertiser*, New York. In the Winter of that year, he volunteered, as a private, in Captain Ashbel Seward's Company, then stationed at Adams, Jefferson-county, and served for six months; afterwards, for another term of three months, at Brownville, in Lieutenant Ellis's Company of Artillery, attached to the Regiment commanded by Colonel Arunah Metcalf, of Cooperstown; and, again, for two

months, at Sackett's-harbor, as Quarter-master-sergeant, in the Regiment of Colonel Myers, of Herkimer. From 1814 to 1818, he was employed, as a printer, at different periods, at Auburn, Spring-mills, Sangersfield, Cazenovia, Cooperstown, Utica, Herkimer, Albany, and New York. In the Winter of 1818-19, he removed to Norwich, where he remained, as Editor of the *Agriculturalist*, until 1821, when he established or purchased the *Onondaga County Republican*, at Manlius. The next year, he removed to the present city of Rochester—then only a flourishing village of the "Great West"—where, after serving for two years in the office of the *Rochester Telegraph*, edited by Everard Peck, he purchased the establishment, in 1824. In 1827, discontinuing the *Telegraph* and uniting his political fortunes with the Anti masonic party, he established the *Anti-masonic Enquirer*, and, in 1830, the Albany *Evening Journal*, which speedily became the organ of the Anti-masonic and, subsequently, of the Whig and Republican party, and which he conducted until the Winter of 1855.

In April, 1818, he married Miss Catharine Ostrander, of Cooperstown, who died at Albany, several years since, leaving two daughters. His son died a few years previous to his mother.

In 1824 and, subsequently, in 1829, Mr. Weed was elected to the Assembly, from Monroe-county. In 1843, he visited England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, and Belgium; and, in 1852, Switzerland, Germany, Saxony, Austria, Sardinia, and Italy. Since 1856, he has resided in the city of New York, where he has occasionally contributed to the columns of the *New York Times*, *Commercial Advertiser*, and other periodicals.

In the Summer of 1872, he re-visited Norwich, where he was called upon by his old adversary and rival, Mr. Hubbard, and by several of his surviving acquaintances and friends of fifty years ago. His present residence is near the corner of Twelfth-street and Fifth-avenue, where, in the society of his eldest daughter, he is enjoying the calm evening of a long and well-spent life, in familiar intercourse with his friends; in occasional excursions; and in the preparation of an Autobiography, which promises to be of great interest and value.

David G. Bright, who, in 1815, succeeded Uri Tracy, as County-clerk, was remarkable chiefly for his immense corpulency; his success in business, as a hatter, and, subsequently, as a merchant, in partnership with Joseph S. Fenton; and his social qualities and genial nature. His son, Michael Graham Bright, occupied the position of Deputy-clerk, under his father, and was specially noted for scholarship, ability, and great future promise. Soon after the expiration of his official term, Mr. Bright removed, with his family, to the present State of Indiana, where his younger son, Jesse D. Bright, achieved a high reputation as a successful business man and lawyer; and was, subsequently, elected for several successive terms, as United States Senator from that State.

Truman Enos and Charles Randall, at an early period in the century, established a tannery and leather manufactory, near the Canasawacta creek, on West-street. For many years, they occupied residences adjacent to their works and to each others; and, there, Mr. Enos remained, until his death, in 1870, at the advanced age of ninety-two. His partner, however, having dissolved the business connection between them, retired to a farm, two miles below the village, on the East bank of the Chenango, nearly opposite the "old" "Randall farm," where he remained until the advance of years and growing infirmities induced him to return to the village, where he continued to reside until his death, in the Spring of 1872, in the ninety-third year of his age. For more than fifty years preceding his death he was an active and exemplary member and officer of the Baptist church, as was his early friend and partner, Mr. Enos, of the Presbyterian. Both were among the earliest pioneers of the County; the former having effected a settlement, as herein before stated, with his father, in the present town of Pharsalia, as early as 1797.

Perez Randall, also, came with his father and brothers to Chenango, in 1797, and removed with them, a few years later, at the opening of the century, to the "old farm," on the West bank of the river. He received his early education at the Academy, in Clinton, Oneida-county, supporting himself and defraying his expenses by teaching, during the Winter; and, on his return to Norwich, married a daughter of Benjamin Edmunds and opened a store in the vicinity. His business relations having been disastrously affected by the monetary revulsion consequent upon the termination of the War with England, he withdrew from mercantile life; and, having been appointed Postmaster, at Norwich, was, in 1817, elected member of Assembly for the County, in conjunction with Tilly Lynde, of Sherburne, and Simon G. Throop, of Oxford. In 1819, he was appointed County-clerk, which office he continued to fill, with brief intervals, till the period of his death, in 1839. As a public officer, he possessed the entire confidence and regard of his constituents; and, as a man and a citizen, he was universally respected and beloved.

Colonel John Randall, Junior, and Samuel Randall, elder and younger sons of John Randall, and brothers of Charles and Perez, were also residents of the village, from an early

period in the century; both enterprising and reputable farmers, worthy men, and good citizens. Their father, about the year 1816, retired from his farm and took up his residence in the village, with his son Perez, on the present site of the American Hotel, where he soon afterwards died.

Samuel Pike, for a long time Deputy Sheriff and Jailer, occupied rooms in the Court-house. He was a brother of Colonel Jarvis K. Pike; and was a most efficient officer and excellent man.

Bela Farr was chiefly conspicuous for his genial social qualities, literary culture, and inventive faculties, as a mechanist. Like Socrates among the Athenians, he was wont to spend the principal part of his time in literary, ethical, and political discussions with his fellow-citizens, in the various places of public concourse; and was always listened to with great respect and deference, except by those who had, perhaps, for weeks and months, been patiently waiting the completion of some half-finished work of gold or silver jewelry. The successive appearance of the earlier of the *Waverly Novels*, which were anxiously looked forward to by all the devourers of the new and brilliant romances, afforded an inexhaustible theme for his critical lucubrations.

Noah Hubbard, an elder brother of the Editor, was, also, with all his faults, a most accomplished devotee of ancient and modern literature, as well as a gifted poetical writer, and a vigorous prose contributor to the *Journal*.

Judge John Noyes went on the Bench of the Court of Common Pleas, in 1815, and remained until 1822. He represented the County, in the Legislatures of 1810 and 1814, and succeeded Judge Rouse, in the State Senate, from 1816 to 1820. Without possessing more than an average share of ability, he uniformly sustained the character of a just man and a good citizen.

General Thompson Mead, who was an early resident of the town, took a prominent part, as has already been seen, in the War of 1812; represented the County, in the Legislature of 1811 and the Second Session of 1814; and was appointed and elected Sheriff, from 1821 to 1825.

Judge York was promoted to the Bench of the County Court, in 1831.

Edmund G. Per Lee was a member of the State Legislature, in 1829 and 1832; and, with his brother, Abraham Per Lee, resided in North Norwich. Both were highly intelligent, estimable, and respected citizens, and exerted great influence on the politics of the County.

Colonel Jarvis K. Pike, of the same neighborhood, also enjoyed a deservedly high reputation. He was a member of the Legislature, in 1830 and 1831; and, in the Fall of the latter year, was elected County clerk.

The Rev. Edward Andrews succeeded Lyman S. Rexford in the pulpit of the Presbyterian-church, in 1820 or 1821, and was one of the most popular clergymen of that period. He was a graduate of Harvard University; a thorough scholar; and an amiable, excellent, and altogether genial man. He subsequently became Principal of Oxford Academy and Rector of St. Andrew's-church, in New Berlin, and of an Episcopal-church, in Binghamton.

In the pulpit of the Baptist-church, at this time, Elders Allerton and Spaulding were, successively, associated with Elder Randall. Elder Spaulding was succeeded by Elder Jabez S. Swan, who officiated in the church, for several years. He was, in all respects, a very remarkable man. Gifted with a voice of thunder; forcible and energetic, in delivery; enthusiastically devoted to his profession and to the cause of Christianity, in accordance with the peculiar views of his sect; and uncompromising in his hostility to every form of vice, impiety, and irreligion, he exerted a powerful influence, for good, not only within the limits of his own congregation, but over the community at large. His incessant labors, combined with the enthusiasm of his temperament, prostrated, for a season, his intellect; and it was found necessary, by his friends, to seclude him, temporarily, in an Asylum, and to separate him from the field of labor in which he had so long and faithfully toiled. After his recovery, he resumed his clerical profession, in Albany and elsewhere, distinguishing himself as an effective exhorter and preacher, in religious revivals and protracted meetings, throughout the State. So late as the Winter of 1872, he was thus engaged in his old church, in Norwich.

The Universalists, headed by the venerable Samuel Hull, Colonel William Munroe, Benjamin Edmunds, and Uriah Avery, held periodical meetings, for many years, in the Court-house, where Hosea Ballou, of Boston, Stephen R. Smith and Mr. Underwood, of Oneida, Nathaniel Stacey, and Messrs. Jones and Flagler, alternately officiated, with great power and ability—the two first-named clergymen being especially distinguished for their eloquence, learning, and zeal.

Stephen Hopkins became a resident of the village, in 1818 or 1819, and, for several years, had charge, in conjunction with his sister, Sylvia, and Miss Fluvia Arnold, of the Public, or District, School, taught in the old Academy-building, then standing on the East side of North Main-street, on a site now occupied by Mitchell-street. Mr. Hopkins was a highly successful and well-qualified teacher; thoroughly versed in the duties of his profession; and enjoying the respect and esteem of the community.

Among those who succeeded, or were, in part, contemporary with these early pioneers, were Peter B. Garnsey, Junior, George Field, Joseph K. Duryea, James M. D. Carr, Joseph H. Moore, Obadiah G. Rundell, George L. Rider, Squire Smith, Burr B. Andrews, Elias P. Pellet, William B. Pellet, Walter M. Conkey, Cyrus Strong, William Snow, Benjamin T. Cooke, James Kershaw, Nelson B. Hale, David Brown, Frederick Byington, Ansel Berry, Levi Ray, Junior, Jonathan Wells, Hascall Rumsford, Junior, William J. Sheldon, Ralph Johnson, Cyrus Wheeler, Sheldon Tomlinson, Nelson C. Chapman, Elisha B. Smith, George M. Smith, William Lewis, Doctors James Thompson, Henry Bellows, and Charles H. Mitchell, Thomas and Amos Lewis, Nathan D. Stanton, Abner W. Warner, George W. Herrick, and others, more or less identified with the interests of the village and town, from 1825 to 1850, and many of them long subsequently. Many of them have already been referred to; and brief and cursory glances only can be given to others, whom professional avocations, political or literary distinction, or other circumstances, do not seem specially to require it.

Peter B. Garnsey, Junior, or Guernsey—as the name was subsequently spelt—was a young man of very amiable character, excellent scholarship, a highly cultured mind, and very promising prospects of future usefulness and distinction. These prospects were, however, fatally blasted by the ravages of consumption; and, after having fruitlessly resorted to a foreign voyage, in the vain effort to check the progress of his relentless disease, he went down to an early grave, regretted by the entire community of which he was an ornament. A few years previous to his death, he had married a Miss Bellinger of Catskill—a very superior woman, who afterwards became the wife of Doctor Henry Mitchell. William G. Guernsey, the only other son, died recently at the age of sixty-four.

Harvey Hubbard, the eldest son of John F. Hubbard, Senior, whose death prematurely occurred in 1862, was a young man of singular talents and genius, and unexceptionable personal character. As a poet, he was distinguished for force, beauty, and brilliant imagination; an intense love and appreciation of nature, in all her aspects; and a pure and lofty Christian morality. A few years previous to his death, he was elected a Judge of the County Court. His brother, John F. Hubbard, Junior, succeeded him, as Editor of the *Chenango Union*, and was twice honored with a seat in the State Senate, where he distinguished himself as a leading and prominent politician.

Hiram C. Clark, eldest son of Lot Clark, was distinguished, both as a sound lawyer, an accurate local historian, and an esteemed and respected citizen. His younger brother, Lot Curran Clark, removed to Richmond county, at an early period, where he achieved signal success for many years, as the public prosecuting Attorney of that County.

Among the members of the Bar who came into the village, as residents, during the ten years, from 1825 to 1835, may be enumerated John Clapp, Smith M. Purdy, Charles A. Thorp, Benjamin F. Rexford, Philander B. Prindle, George M. Smith, and Samuel B. Garvin.

Mr. Clapp succeeded Lot Clark as District-attorney, and became a member of the firm of Clark & Clapp. He was an excellent and well-read lawyer; and possessed a highly cultivated literary taste, genial social qualities, and a kindly heart. Educated "at the feet of Gamaliel," by his brother, James Clapp—the patriarch and highest ornament of the Chenango Bar—he was thoroughly versed in his profession; and in his turn educated such men as Daniel S. Dickinson, the late Governor Metcalf of New Hampshire, Judge Garvin of New York, and others of lesser note but equal professional scholarship. As an eloquent advocate and orator, he was unrivalled in his theatre of action; and is now reaping the well-earned rewards of an upright, useful and honored life, in a dignified retirement, at Binghamton, surrounded by all those domestic and social enjoyments which he can so well appreciate.

Judge Purdy, as has already been said, formed a co-partnership with Abial Cook, and was promoted to the head of the Common Pleas Bench, in 1835, and elected to Congress, in 1843. As a lawyer and Judge, he ranked high in the profession; and, as a citizen, he possessed the entire confidence and regard of the community.

Mr. Thorp had already gained an excellent legal reputation, as a member of the firm of Tracy & Thorp, in Oxford; and in his new capacity, as a partner of David Buttolph, Esq., he secured an extensive practice and the general esteem and respect of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Rexford, at the commencement of his practice, laid the foundation of future prosperity and success, as Attorney for the Bank of Chenango, upon which he subsequently built up an ample business, and became, with all his eccentricities and originality, a general favorite and an influential citizen. His death occurred in the Autumn of 1872.

Mr. Prindle evinced an early disinclination to the routine of the profession, and seldom appeared in Court; but was deservedly popular, in all social, literary, and political societies; and, for several years, between 1840 and 1850, he occupied the position of Clerk of the Assembly.

Mr. Garvin, in 1835, was a member of the firm of Randall & Garvin; subsequently removed

to Utica, where he was appointed United States District-attorney; and, thence, to New York, where he was elected a Judge of the Superior Court and District-attorney. He was a man of fine personal appearance and superior abilities, with great tact and political shrewdness, accompanied with an invincible disinclination to the irksome labor of his profession. As a prosecuting Attorney and Judge, however, both in Utica and New York, he distinguished himself, and secured an enduring reputation.

Mr. Smith succeeded Mr. Clapp, as District-attorney, in 1841; and was regarded as a successful practitioner.

At a later period, E. H. Prindle, Horace G. Prindle, Isaac S. Newton, Lewis Kingsley, David L. Follett, D. H. Knapp, George W. Ray, George M. Tillson, H. M. Tefft, Robert A. Dunning, Elmore Sharpe, Charles Shumway, R. A. Stanton, Albert F. Gladding, Edward B Thomas, George W. Marvin, and several others whose names cannot now be recalled to mind, were enrolled in the list of Attorneys and Counsellors: distinguished, alike, for professional ability and moral and social worth. Mr. Kingsley was transferred, in 1871, to a high and honorable position, in the Naval office, at New York, where, early in the succeeding year, he was prematurely cut off by death.

Doctors James Thompson, Charles H. Mitchell, and Henry Bellows succeeded Doctors Johnson and Mitchell, in the medical field.

Ralph Johnson became co-proprietor of the *Journal*, with Mr. Hubbard; the *Agriculturalist*, after the departure of Mr. Weed, dragged out a feeble existence, for a few years, under the charge of Samuel Curtis, Junior; and the *People's Advocate* was established, in 1824, by J. G. C. Brainard and William G. Hyer—the latter a young man of fine literary culture, and marked editorial capacity. This journal was succeeded, in 1829, by the *Anti-masonic Telegraph*, of which Elias P. Pellet became the Editor and, in company with Benjamin T. Cooke, Proprietor. Mr. Pellet was a young man of superior intellectual ability, industry, vigor, and perseverance; a self-made man, thoroughly conversant with the political affairs of the State and Union; and with the highest promise of future political influence and success; but, soon after 1840, he was prematurely cut off by an incurable malady; and the *Telegraph*—now known as the *Chenango Telegraph*—passed into the hands of others, as did the *Journal*, at about the same period, on the retirement of Messrs. Hubbard and Johnson.

Nelson B. Hale was born in Norwich, in 1805; his father and mother having removed, in that year, from Connecticut, to a small farm in the North-east quarter of the town, about one mile West of the South end of what is known as the "Chenango Lake," or Mathewson Pond, in the town of New Berlin. The family—consisting of his father, Israel Hale, his mother, two elder sisters, and himself—participated, for several years, in all the dangers, sufferings, and vicissitudes of pioneer life, in a sparsely settled wilderness, until, about the year 1809, when they removed to the village of Norwich, where the younger Mr. Hale still resides, at the age of seventy years. His father followed the business of blacksmithing, until his death, sending his son, after affording him all the advantages of an excellent common school education, under the tuition of Stephen Hopkins, to a select academical school, under the charge of the Rev. Edward Andrews, and, subsequently, in 1823, to Oxford Academy, during the Principalship of David Prentice. A few years subsequently, he embarked in the mercantile business—retiring, after a successful and prosperous career, to a rural residence and an agricultural and horticultural nursery, in the southern part of the village. During the angry and embittered controversy, growing out of the enactment of the Free School Law, in 1849–50, Mr. Hale stood almost alone, in his neighborhood, in advocacy of the law; and, among his fellow-citizens, no man has enjoyed a more general or deserved share of respect and esteem, during his whole life, than himself.

William M. Fenton, eldest son of Joseph S. Fenton, preceded Mr. Hale and myself, one year, both in the Norwich and Oxford Academical schools; entered Hamilton-college, in 1822; and graduated in 1826. On his return to Norwich, in the latter year, he became involved in an attachment to a young lady—Miss Adelaide Birdsall, daughter of James Birdsall, Esqr.—disapproved of, by his father, between whom and Mr. Birdsall unfriendly relations had, for some time, existed; and, in despair of obtaining the hand of his betrothed, without a sacrifice of his paternal prospects, he suddenly disappeared from home; entered, as a common sailor, on board a vessel sailing for Europe; and remained abroad, for several years. On his return, he found himself freed from all opposition to the consummation of his wishes; married Miss Birdsall; and removed, with the families of both his father and Mr. Birdsall, to Michigan, where he was, soon afterwards, elected Lieutenant-governor and President of the Senate of that State. There, in addition to the high political honors thus conferred upon him, he succeeded in accumulating a competent fortune, which he continued to enjoy, until his death, a few years since, respected and esteemed by all who knew him.

Ansel Berry came to Norwich, at about the year 1826. He was by trade a hatter; an active

and zealous politician; a pious and sincere Christian; and, in all respects, an exemplary member of society. His son, B. Gage Berry, one of the present Editors and Proprietors of the *Chenango Telegraph*, has achieved an enviable reputation in his profession, and is a worthy follower in the footsteps of his father.

Thomas and Amos Lewis, sons of the venerable Beriah Lewis, one of the earliest settlers in the town, Nathan D. Stanton, Levi Ray (father and son) Frederick Byington, Henry Snow, A. W. Warner, Joseph K. Duryea, David Grilling, Burr B. Andrews, James M. D. Carr, and George W. Herrick, were mechanists, carpenters, cabinet and carriage makers, or actively engaged in other industrial departments, sustaining, one and all, unblemished characters, and laying the foundations of the future prosperity of the village. Thomas Milner, General Henry De Forest, George L. Rider, and Josiah S. Miller fulfilled, reputably and worthily, for many years, the functions of hotel-keepers, while actively and zealously engaged in the promotion of the various social, political, moral, and religious interests of the community.

[To be Continued.]

V.—*FLOTSAM.*

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. His. Mag.]

Broek-klein, the Garden-town of Holland.

One of the most noted places in Holland is Broek, a suburb of Amsterdam. Its history is uneventful: it was never besieged nor burned in the historic Wars of the Dutch; but it has won the name of being the nearest possible approach to a Dutchman's idea of the Garden of Eden; and it is the darling hope of every Amsterdam youth to own a house in Broek, to which is given the pet name of "Brock-klein"—dear little Broek.

This Dutch paradise is situated in the edge of the marshes, about three miles from Amsterdam, and has a population of nearly seven thousand people, many of whom are merchants, landed proprietors, under-writers, stockbrokers, or tradesmen, who have amassed fortunes and retired from business, with a scattering of army and naval heroes on the retired list. Some of them have taken up with the manufacture of exquisite cream cheeses and sweet butter, fully equal to our best Jersey cow butter, in which they take an honest pride; others have devoted their energies to landscape gardening and to horticulture; their orchards are famous for the variety and excellent quality of apples, pears, apricots, and gooseberries; while their hot-houses are filled in Winter with the most luscious grapes, and are redolent with the perfume of the rarest and most brilliant exotics.

The exquisitely kept gardens and lawns, for which Brock klein is so famous, belong mostly to those who have moved into the town, from the neighboring city, within the last twenty five years. There are, however, several families who have inhabited the place from time immemorial, and from their paternal acres have supplied the neighboring city with vegetables; but, at present, the profits of market gardening are not sufficient to pay interest and land taxes.

It has been the established custom of the good people of Brock-klein to exclude all kinds of nuisances, especially slaughter houses and factories, so that no inconsiderable part of the town is owned under restrictions forbidding stables even. As a natural consequence, there are but two classes of people in town—the rich and the poor—with a few of the middle class, who supply them with meat and groceries, shoe their horses, and mend their carriages.

But, as the land belongs largely to the wealthy class and is under high cultivation and care, and the streets are under constant repair, the number of day-laborers is unusually large, several hundred of whom are employed by the Syndicate or town authorities, and as many more by private parties.

The poorer class is quite distinct in habits and manners, and even in speech, as they come mostly from the remote Province of Over Yssel. They live apart, by themselves, in the lower part of the town, called "Maarssen," which, owing to the peculiarities of the inhabitants, does not share in the high reputation Brock klein itself enjoys, for order and cleanliness. All the trink saale (grog shops) of Brock are to be found in the "Maarssen" district; and they are too numerous and well patronized, by the Over Yssel-men, for their own good.

The road from Amsterdam to Brock-klein leads over a broad dike, across the marshes, and like our "mill-dam," is a favorite drive of the citizens of both places. Brock klein derives its name from a sluggish, muddy brook which separates its territory from that of the neighboring city. A stranger will be disappointed upon entering Brock-klein, because he first reaches the "Maarssen" district, reeking with the stench of sewers and pig-pens and the refuse of the gas-house; but if he will press on, he will be amply rewarded by the sight of

sumptuous public-buildings and elegant residences.

The most imposing public-building in Broek-klein, is the new stadhuis or town hall. It is of native stone, one hundred feet high, in the secular gothic style, recently built, at the cost of half a million of florins. It is one hundred and forty-six feet long by ninety feet wide. The upper or grand hall is over fifty feet high, and about seventy feet wide by one hundred long. Though built for the citizens to meet and discuss public measures, this large hall is rarely used for that purpose; but the citizens are allowed to use a smaller hall, underneath it. It, however, is used on great occasions and for banquets after an election. Exactly for what purpose this great upper hall was built does not clearly appear. Some of the citizens seem to think that it was built for public balls, for which it seems admirably suited, with its retiring and dressing-rooms; while others say it was for private theatricals as well as public speaking. But the general impression seems to be that it will stand, forever, a monument of the wealth and pride of this select community and of the taste and broad views of the Building Committee, as it is the finest edifice of the kind in all Holland.

Adjacent is the "Bibliothek" or public library, containing some fifteen thousand volumes. This is managed by a Select Committee. It is contrary to custom to allow the inhabitants of the "Maarssen" to take charge of public instruction or of the library. A place on these two Committees is rather ornamental and highly esteemed. The library building is low, with a flat roof and tall portico, and has the appearance of having been "telescoped," in some way by the weight of snow on its roof. The contrast between the low library and the lofty town-hall is quite striking. The other public buildings of the town are not especially noteworthy for architectural pretensions or elegance, though they are quite numerous.

The form of government of Broek-klein is a modification of our good old New England town system. The Syndics (town officers) are elected, annually; they comprise the Recorder and five Burgomeisters, who meet once a week to transact such business as may come before them. These, with the Town Notary, form the Syndicate, which seems possessed of almost absolute power. The Town Notary, though nominally appointed by the Burgomeisters, seems to be their factotum. It will be readily seen that this office—happily unknown in our New England towns—is liable to great abuse; as it is easy to carry any measure, whether right or wrong, by first obtaining the favor of the Notary. His office is said to be not only lucrative in many respects, but is thought to have quite demoralized the Dutch system of local self government. It is also said to be an innovation which has lately grown up, in several of the local governments of Holland; and its effect has been so perniciously marked, in Broek-klein, that its citizens are beginning to give up the pet name of Broek-klein (dear little Broek) in disgust; and many are thinking seriously of moving to Amsterdam, in consequence of it. Many even attribute the recent great increase of town-expenses to this unfortunate innovation, though, probably, there are other exciting causes; but this much is certain, that the annual expenses have increased very rapidly, until now they are fourfold what they were four years ago; and the taxes are about the same as in Amsterdam; while, in that time, a large funded debt, in addition, has been rolled up. This causes alarm among the peaceful citizens who have to pay the bills, especially as new and expensive projects of public improvement—costing more than a million florins—are being pressed on the town, by the Notary, which cannot, they fear, be checked, except by overthrowing the system.

It is to be regretted that this beautiful town, famous, not only in Holland but throughout the world, as a veritable Garden of Eden, has fallen into the hands of those whose folly may not only kill the goose that lays golden eggs, by forcing Broek-klein to seek the protection of Amsterdam, and in return to become its garden-ward, but will deprive the world of so well-known an example of a pure and simple democratic form of local government.

—*Boston Advertiser.* BROEK-KLEIN.

THE CONTRACT WITH LAFAYETTE.

In overhauling the old documents, in the Treasury Department, recently, the following Agreement, made between our Government and the Marquis de Lafayette, was brought to light. It is interesting in itself, and as showing how great undertakings required short contracts, only, in our early history:

AGREEMENT OF MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

"The desire evinced by the Marquis de Lafay-
"ette of serving in the armies of the United
"States of North America, and the interest
"which he takes in the justice of their cause,
"and wishing for an opportunity of distinguish-
"ing himself in war, and of rendering himself
"useful, to the extent of his ability; but not
"concealing from himself, that he may be un-
"able to obtain the consent of his family to
"his serving in foreign countries, or to cross
"the ocean, unless he shall go there in quality

"of a General Officer, I believe I cannot better "serve my country, and act in accordance with "my power to grant Commissions, than in con- "ferring on him, in the name of the Most Hon- "orable Congress, the rank of Major General, "for which, I pray, the States will confirm, ratify, and promptly bestow a Commission, for him "to assume and hold the rank, from this date, "which belongs to a General Officer of the same "grade.

"His high birth, his connections, the honorable "titles which his family enjoy at this Court, his "very considerable wealth in this Kingdom, "his personal merits, his renown, his disinterest- "ness, and, above all, his zeal for the liberty of "our Provinces, have alone induced me to prom- "ise him the above rank of Major-General, in "the name of the United States.

"In testimony of which I have signed these "presents.

"Done at Paris, 7th December, 1776.

"SILAS DEANE."

"Under the above conditions, I offer my ser- "vices, and promise to take my departure, at "this time and in the manner which shall appear "most suitable to Mr. Deane, to serve the United "States, with all the zeal in my power, without "any pay or special allowances, reserving to "myself only the liberty of returning to Europe "when my family or my King shall recall me.

"Done at Paris, 7th December, 1776.

"LE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE."

— *Washington Star.*

BOSTON COMMON.—It having been announced that the Paddock heirs are about to commence suit at law for the possession of Boston Common, on the plea that certain conditions of the bequest have been broken, the Boston *Transcript* gives the following history of the manner in which Boston became possessed of this piece of real estate:

"This tract comprises the larger part of the "land purchased, in 1634, of William Black- "stone. It was laid out for public uses; and "has, ever since, been devoted to that purpose.

"The Common takes its name from the fact "that it was land common to all the inhabitants "of Boston. It is a reservation out of the "original Grant to the first settlers; and has "always been held by the Government, for the "common benefit of the people.

"By the town-records of Boston, it appears "that the following vote was passed, on the "thirtieth of March, 1640. '*Ordered*, That no "'more land be granted in the town out of the "'open ground, or common field, which is left "'between Sentry Hill and Mr. Colburn's end, "'except 3 or 4 lots to make up the street from "'Dro Robt. Walker's to the Round Marsh.'

"That vote, two centuries and a third ago, "was the origin of Boston Common. Sentry "Hill was Beacon Hill, 'Mr. Colburn's end' "is Boylston street. In addition to the Deed of "release from Blackstone, the town also took a "Deed from the Indian Sachem, Charles Jorns, "son and heir of Josias Wam Patuck, late "Sachem of the Indians inhabiting Massachu- "setts, and grandson of Chickatal, the former "Sachem. This Indian merely confirmed Grants "made by his ancestors, of the land known as "Boston. For two hundred and thirty three "years, the Common has been public property, "not identified with any family name nor devoted "to the special use of any particular class of "the people, civic or military."—*Maine Farmer.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S LOVE.

The following letters will be read with interest:

RICHLAND, STAFFORD CO., VA., /
September 17, 1873. \

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ALEXANDIA GAZETTE:

MY DEAR SIR:—At the request of many persons, I send you, and thus permit the publication of, the enclosed letter.

It is, as you see, from General Washington, written over *one hundred and twenty years ago*, and is addressed to "Wm. Fauntleroy, Sr., in "Richmond," the brother of "Miss Betsy," referred to so tenderly.

I think it reveals an "affair du coeur" on the part of "the Father of his Country"—for it is not said he was ever the father of anything or anybody else—not heretofore known.

Washington, at the time this letter was written, was some twenty years and three months old, and is represented, by all historians and biographers, as a quiet, dignified, bashful, and reticent young man; but, alas! it seems in that, as in this day, that particular kind of young men always did the most courting.

Very respectfully,
your ob't servant,
FITZHUGH LEE.

May 20th, 1752.

SIR:—I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected, and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurise, which has reduced me very low; but purpose, as soon as I recover my strength, to wait on Miss Betsy, in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in my favor. I have inclosed a letter to her, which should be

much obliged to you for the delivery of it. I have nothing to add but my best respects to your good lady and family, and that I am, Sir,

Your most ob't humble serv't,

G. WASHINGTON.

HAS OUR CLIMATE CHANGED?

Considerable has been said, within a few years, that the climate, here, North, has been growing milder. I have had my faith shaken considerable, of late, in that particular, by reading Samuel Champlain de Brouage's account of De Mont's voyage of discovery, in North America, in 1604. He says: "We came "to Richman's Island, near Casco Bay, and "there we found such an abundance of grapes "that they named it 'L'Isle de Bacchus.' The "natives gathered around us and we spent the "night in revelry." From the general reading of his account, in French, from my rendering, I come to the conclusion that, at that time, the climate was similar to that of France.

Now, I think, at this time, it would be most impossible to procure a grape that would ripen on the island; nor is there a sign that there was ever a grape-vine upon the island.

CAPE ELIZABETH. S. P. MAYBERRY.

NOTE.—Mr. Jenness, in his recently published *Isles of Shoals*—a most entertaining little book, and one of special interest to Maine readers—alludes to the incident quoted by our correspondent, when giving an account of the voyage of De Mont, from Nova Scotia, along the coast, to Long Island, in 1604–5. While it would be interesting to know, exactly, what kind of grapes it was upon which these early navigators made such a feast; the bare fact must probably remain unexplained and uncontradicted. It may also be mentioned that, at so recent date as 1815, peaches were grown and ripened, in the open air, at Hallowell, by the Messrs. Vaughan —a thing now regarded as impossible, in any part of Maine. Possibly this may be taken as another fact in support of the theory that the seasons, instead of growing milder, have, in reality been growing colder.—*Maine Farmer*.

SCRAP.—In an article published in the *Christian Witness*, it is stated that Philadelphia can claim the credit of having had the first chime of bells ever used in this country. They were purchased in London, in the year 1754, and, "being the first set of bells that reached this "country, they attracted great attention; and, "when put into the steeple, were rung, for some "time, to the gratification of the natives."

With no particular desire to stop their boasting, I wish merely to state the historical fact, that a chime of eight bells was put into the steeple of Christ church, in Boston, *ten years* before the purchase of those in Philadelphia. They were cast by Abel Rudhall, of Gloucester, England. On the first tenor bell, is the following inscription: "THIS PEAL OF EIGHT BELLS "IS THE GIFT OF A NUMBER OF GENEROUS "PERSONS, TO CHRIST CHURCH, IN BOSTON, NEW "ENGLAND, ANNO 1774, A. R." The third has the following device: "WE ARE THE FIRST "RING OF BELLS CAST FOR THE BRITISH EM- "PIRE IN NORTH AMERICA, A. R. 1744." And, on the eighth, is inscribed: ABEL RUDHALL OF "GLOUCESTER, CAST US ALL, ANNO 1744." The cost of these bells, from the founder, was five hundred and sixty pounds, sterling; the freight from England was generously given by John Rowe, Esq. The other charges, for wheels, stocking, and putting up, ninety-three pounds, sterling. The whole weight of the bells is seven thousand, two hundred, and seventy-two pounds—the smallest weighing six hundred and twenty, the largest fifteen hundred and forty-five pounds.

This church also claims to have had the first Sunday-school established in this country.

J. T. BURRILL.

VI.—*WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.*

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

HOW SOLID LITERATURE IS SUPPORTED.

"That only three hundred dollars is given in "Salem for the support of the *American Nat-* "*uralist*, the *Memoirs* and *Reports* of the Acad- "emy, the *Historical Collection*, and *Bulletin* "of the Institution, all combined, is another "item of which we should, as citizens, feel "ashamed, when these same publications furnish "employment to such a number of our people, "and necessitate an outlay of many thousand "dollars, by these very institutions, that thus "bring such credit to our city; that she is now "spoken of as 'a great scientific centre.'"

We copy the above paragraph from an article, in a recent number of the *Salem Gazette*, complaining of the beggarly support which Salem extends to those publications which, very much to the credit of the scholarship of that ancient city of the Puritans, are published there; and we do so, in order that we may be enabled to suggest that there is nothing new, in that neglect. Indeed, the more merit which a work possesses, no

matter what the subject on which it treats may be, the less will it be thought of and supported by the great body of the people; and if it shall be especially desirable to secure a total failure, in any literary enterprise, the best way to secure it will be to make that enterprise peculiarly worthy of a better fate. The periodicals named by the *Gazette*, are in the highest degree, creditable to Salem and eminently worthy of a liberal support, the country over; but Salem doles out an apology only, for a local support, and that only comes from those who, generally, do so to oblige a neighbor, without caring a particle for the works themselves or the Societies which stagger under their publication; while the country at large is far less interested in the matter.

Let some bare-legged *danseuse*, or some prostituted opera-singer, or some lecturer of questionable morality, or some periodical, bearing the last sensation, appeal to Salem's sympathy and draw on Salem's pocket-books, and Salem no longer pleads "no time," nor buttons her pockets, nor allows the suppliant to go away, empty.

"My country, 'tis of thee," is very easily sung; but there "my country" begins and ends, with nearly every body.

VII.—*BOOKS.*

1.—NOT RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[We are often favored, by publishers and authors, with copies of works which were published years ago, and which cannot, therefore, be properly noticed under the head of "recent publications." We propose, therefore, to notice them as fully and as carefully as we should notice them, were they of more recent date; but we shall place the notices of them under the head of "NOT RECENT PUBLICATIONS."

Publishers and others desiring to bring their publications of former years to the notice of our readers, may send copies of them either to us, direct, or to the "*Care of Messrs.* SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., 654 *Broadway*, *New York.*"

We have recently received the following works, for notice, which belong to the class of "NOT RECENT PUBLICATIONS;" and we have pleasure in inaugurating this department by noticing them in this place.—EDITOR.]

1—*History of North Carolina:* with Maps and Illustrations. By Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D. In two volumes. Third edition. Fayetteville, N. C.: E. J. Hale & Son. 1859. Octavo, pp. [*I.*] 254, [*II.*] 291.

This work, notwithstanding its importance, is very little known; and those who are interested in the history of the early voyages to America and in that of the colonization of the eastern coast may usefully refer to it.

The learned author needs no introduction to our readers; but the system which he adopted in the preparation of this work is so novel that we must notice it. *First*, he divided the period of Carolina's history into epochs, as is often done; then, *Second*, he proposed to write not merely the history of the successive Colonial Governors and their doings, but, "beside, something of the "inner life of the *people* themselves"—"the "religion, laws and legislation, education, agri- "culture, industrial and mechanical pursuits, "commerce, extent and advance of settlements, "wars with native or foreign foes, manners and "customs of the people, etc.;" *Third*, he has *preceded* his narrative with an elaborate collection of the original authorities on which he relies, *printed in full, with occasional Notes of great value, and occupying by far the greater portion of the volumes.* For the thinking few and for the antiquary, of course, these are invaluable, and all may turn to them with usefulness; but to those, scattered over the country, who do not possess first class libraries and cannot reach them, these papers are necessary to all who would judge, for themselves, of the fidelity of the historian. The novelty of this plan will be seen by every one; and we think no one will object to it; and, *Fourth*, after having thus reversed the usual order, by prefixing his documents instead of printing them in an Appendix, Doctor Hawks presents, very briefly, his own "delibe- "rations, suggestions, and reflections" on the material thus spread out, *in extenso*, before his readers. It will be seen, therefore, that those who resort to these volumes will drink unfiltered water drawn directly from the well-springs of historical authority; and that the reputed author of the volume is, in fact, only its editor.

The first of these two volumes includes the Letters Patent granted by Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, supplemented with an elaborate memoir of Sir Walter, the narratives of Barlowe, Greenville, Ralph Lane, Hariot, and White—all copied from the third volume of Hakluyt—and a very brief narrative, based on those papers, by Doctor Hawks.

It will be seen that the first, thin volume contains that portion of Carolina's history, complete, which extends from 1584 to 1591, and includes the five voyages made under the Charter given to Raleigh and the fruitless attempt to establish a Colony, under his direction. The second embraces the period from 1663 to 1729, and includes a history of Carolina, as a proprietary Colony. Its structure is on the plan of the first—the documents preceding the text—and it includes distinct chapters on the Exploration and Settlement of the country, the Law and its Administration, its Agriculture and Industrial Arts, Navigation and Trade, Religion and Learning, Civil and Military History, and the Manners and Customs of the Colonists, in exact conformity with the plan originally laid down, in the preface of the first volume.

Unfortunately for historical students, Doctor Hawks did not write the two remaining volumes which his plan called for; and the history of Carolina, as a Royal Colony and that of the same community as an independent Republic, unconfederated and confederated, alternately, as he designed to write them, are not yet written. As fragments, however, these volumes are of the highest importance; and we have pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to them.

The volumes are very neatly printed; and both are abundantly embellished with fac-similes of ancient maps of Carolina, from De Bry and other contemporary authorities.

2.—*The Life and Speeches of the Hon. Henry Clay.* Compiled and edited by Daniel Mallory. With valuable additions; embracing an epitome of the Compromise Measures. And a full report of the Obituary Addresses and Funeral Sermon, delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Also, various important letters, not heretofore published. In two volumes. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. Octavo, pp. [*I.*] 688; [*II.*] 640. Price $4.50.

There are some middle aged men, scattered over the country, who have not yet forgotten the great statesman of the West; and the "mill-boy of the "Slashes" yet lives in the heartfelt affections of many a grey-headed man, leaning on his staff, and picking his steps along the rugged path on which he is passing to the resting-place of his fathers. There are others, too, who are not unwilling to gather wisdom from the words which fell from the lips of Henry Clay; and more, there are, who will not consent that *he* shall be overlooked, when the materials for our country's history shall be collected for the use of the workmen, even if they were not his supporters, while he lived, and have no sympathy with his teachings, since he is no longer here to enforce them. All these, at least, will be pleased to be reminded of the publication of these volumes, embracing a memoir of Mr. Clay and an epitome of his principal speeches, with many of his letters; and we have pleasure in calling their attention to them.

Mr. Clay's standing, as one of the three master minds of our country, during the last generation, is recognized by every one, without demurrer; but we are sure that "the West," of to-day, does not reflect his sentiments, nor would it, in its resolute opposition to "*protec-*"*tive* tariffs," follow his leading, were he now alive. Indeed, he more closely represents the leading sentiment of manufacturing New England than that of the agricultural West; but, both in the West and in the East, his counsels may be usefully noticed, even if they shall not, ultimately, be followed.

The first of these volumes opens with a well-written memoir of Mr. Clay; and this is followed by his leading speeches, from 1810 until 1832; and the second, besides continuing his speeches, from 1832 until 1850, contains several of his letters.

The volumes are very neatly printed and the first has what is intended for a portrait of Mr. Clay; but is not the Mr. Clay whom we so well remember, just as we saw him, in our younger days.

3.—*Bibliographia Catholica Americana:* a list of works written by Catholic authors, and published in the United States. By Rev. Joseph M. Finotti. Part I. From 1784 to 1820 inclusive. New York: The Catholic Publication House. 1872. Octavo, pp. 319. Price $5.

The man who undertook the task of making a bibliography of Catholic books, published in America, was truly a brave man, if he undertook the task with a clear understanding of the perplexities which would, necessarily, obstruct him and of the labor which would be necessary to complete it; and, undoubtedly, Father Finotti was fully acquainted with all this, before he commenced his work, in the case before us.

It will be perceived that Father Finotti proposes, in his title-page, to confine himself to a description of "works written by *Catholic* "authors;" and of these only such as were "*published in the United States*"—certainly a limited field; but he has collected a mass of material, outside of the limits of ordinary bibliography, which is, at once, important and interesting. It is, indeed, true that his Notes, in which all that Father Finotti has written necessarily appears, are not always written as an experienced writer would have written them; but, because of that peculiarity of style, the world has saved a great deal of biographical and bibliographical material, *in its original form*, which, otherwise, would have been, very soon, lost, for ever. It is, also, true that Father Finotti sometimes seems to strain his cords in order to include, as those of Catholic writers, the writings of men who were very questionable Catholics if they were really Catholics; but the world of literature has gained, from that error (if it is an error) the publication of well-authenticated facts, in biography and bibliography, which that world cannot but be grateful for.

For these reasons, the volume before us will be found exceedingly useful to others besides mere bibliophiles; and we hope the demand for it will be such as to induce the patient and industrious author to continue it, to the latest day.

As a specimen of typography, with its dainty tinted, laid paper and uncut edges, it is worthy a place on any library table.

4.—*Among my Books.* Second Edition. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 270.

We believe it is no secret that the author of this work is our old and honored friend, Hon. William B. Reed, once our Ambassador to China; and to those who know the intimacy of that gentleman with his books and the ability which he possesses to write with grace and power, the information that this little volume is a choice one will not be a surprise.

It is a series of essays, based on some of Mr. Reed's books, and originally published in *The World;* and we have never opened a volume which is more enticing, in the attractions which are offered in its text, nor one which we have laid down with greater reluctance.

It is neatly, but not extravagantly, printed.

5.—*Creation a recent work of God.* By the Rector of St. Mary's Church, New York. New York: Pott & Amery. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 239.

We have received through the mail, probably from its author, a copy of this very interesting volume; and both because of its author—who occupies the old pulpit, in the village church which we used to occasionally attend, while a boy—and because of its own peculiar merits, we have pleasure in noticing it.

The author, in this volume, insists that the narrative of the Creation, as set forth in the Bible, is literally true; that the "day" of that narrative is the same as the "day" of our almanacs; that the past six thousand years have witnessed the origin of all earthly things; that a "law of motion in the sea," apart from the law controlling the tides, has prevailed, and still prevails; that water, controlled by that law, was, therefore, the grand dynamic which originally laid the foundation of the earth and overlaid it with successive sedimentary strata; and that the science of the schools is, therefore, entirely false.

All these points are urged with boldness, and yet with entire kindness. The Bible, of course, is the foundation of the arguments presented; but the author sustains those arguments with stern facts, drawn, mostly, from the scientists who have urged the opposite theory; and, as far as our judgment goes, he appears to have done his work well, if not successfully.

We cannot pretend to judge between Mr. Adams and Sir Charles Lyell; but we are perfectly competent to say, as we do, that the former is a bold adversary; that he seems to be well-armed, both with Revelation and Science; that he has battled, manfully, against the veterans whom he has opposed; and that, if he has not come off the field, triumphant—which we do not pretend to deny—he has not been carried off, either on his shield or a captive.

Our readers who are interested in the subject, whether as scientists or theologians, may profitably turn to this work.

6.—*The Comet:* or, the Earth in her varied phases, past, present and future, as delineated from the highest and most reliable authorities. In three parts. By Sum quis? Sed Quid? A Cometite. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 347. Price $1.25.

Like the volume last noticed, this, also, relates to the Creation of the World and its subsequent physical changes. It is unlike that, however, in this, it, evidently, has an undercurrent of satire, adroitly turning to ridicule, in those portions of it, those scientists who are advancing theories of the Creation and structure of the earth which are inconsistent with the facts recorded in the Scriptures; and, in other portions of the work, quite as adroitly, it appears to sustain the scriptural theory of the Creation and the Flood—on the basis, however, of the "day" of Genesis having been periods of time vastly beyond that which we call a "day."

We have neither time nor space to follow the author through his extended work: we leave that to those of our readers who are interested in that particular class of studies.

7.—*Life of Henry Dunster, First President of Harvard College.* By Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D.D. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xx., 315.

It is known to many of our readers that the first President of Harvard college—a learned, amiable, blameless, and God-fearing man—after having examined the subject from an honest scholar's stand-point, ceased to practice the sprinkling of babies, as an apology for baptism, and insisted that that only was Christian Baptism which was preceded by the personal profession of faith in the Savior, and which was performed, as it could only be done with due respect to the law which established it, by *dipping* the convert. It is known, too, that, for this cause, he was deposed from office, treated with great personal disrespect, and defrauded of much which was due to him, for monies expended and personal services in behalf of the College; and it is not improbable that, harassed by these abuses, his gentle spirit was broken and his life shortened. But, great as he really was, and worthy of the widest renown, as a scholar, his puritanic persecutors did not consider him worthy of a biography; and, we believe, not until the appearance of

this volume was such a biography before the world.

It was, undoubtedly, a welcome task for Doctor Chaplin to collect the materials for a memoir of this early Baptist martyr, and to arrange them for the press; and the memoir itself, now before us, will form a very welcome addition to the literature of New English history and to the martyrology of the Baptists in America. It is well and, as far as we can see, accurately written; and, if we except a half-way apology for the puritanic persecutions, which disfigures the Preface—a New Englander ceases to be anything else than a New Englander when he begins to discuss the outrages perpetrated by the Established Church of New England, in the name of religion—it is all that we can reasonably expect, on such a subject.

The Appendix contains a very extended *Genealogy of the Dunster family*, from the pen of our respected friend, Professor Edward S. Dunster and his father, and copies of various papers, hitherto unpublished, which serve to illustrate the text and confirm the author's narrative.

Altogether, this volume is a very acceptable addition to the literature of New England and Baptist history; and it will unquestionably take its place beside the standards, in both of those departments.

It is printed with all the neatness which characterizes all the books which bear the imprint of J. R. Osgood & Co.

8.—*The Life of Jesus, the Christ.* By Henry Ward Beecher. Illustrated. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1871. Imperial octavo, pp. xvii., 387. Price $7.50.

This volume, by the distinguished Pastor of Plymouth church, Brooklyn, contains "the earl-"ier scenes"—the first half—of a memoir of the Savior's life, which is "scholarly enough to "attract scholars; free from controversial temp-"er; and fresh, instructive, and attractive to "readers of every class."

It is said that its author has bestowed greater care on this work than on any other; and it is intimated that he desires to be measured, by those who shall follow him, from what shall be found in its pages. It is different, in some of its features, therefore, from his ordinary writings; although, necessarily, it bears a family likeness of all of them—it is eminently loyal to the majesty of Jesus, it sparkles with his sturdy love of nature, it avoids controversy, it is practical rather than speculative, it seeks to present the Savior just as he really was rather than as some would have him appear to have been. It is, therefore, a volume to be read rather than to be merely looked at; and it will be laid down, even by the greater number of those who do not admire Mr. Beecher's looseness in theology, with increased respect for the great ability of the author and for his bravery in walking in other authorial paths than those which are well-trodden by travellers of other days or other countries.

As a specimen of elegance in book-making, too, it is eminently noteworthy, and reflects the highest credit on the good taste and business liberality of its excellent publishers.

2.—Recent publications.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of The Historical Magazine, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "Henry B. "Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y.," or to Messrs. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Address at the dedication of the new Town Hall of Brookline, on the 22d of February*, 1873. By Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1873. Octavo, pp. 42.

We are indebted to the distinguished author of this address, for this copy of it; and it affords us pleasure to call the attention of our readers to it.

It appears that the ancient town of Brookline has built for itself a second "new Town-hall;" and that, last February, it was dedicated to the purposes for which it had been erected. Mr. Winthrop, who is now a Brookline-man, was invited to deliver the dedicatory address; and, in doing so, he not only referred to the particular object for which the Town had assembled, but to the Town itself, to its founders, to its earlier and later history, and to some of the causes of its extraordinary prosperity.

After referring to the former "new Town "Hall;" to the dedicatory services with which that structure was opened to the service of the town, in October, 1845; and to the venerable Doctor Pierce, by whom those services were conducted, Mr. Winthrop traced the local history of Brookline, from the time when, as "Muddy River," in 1632, it was the meeting-place of "ten Sagamores and many Indians," through the Bay Colony, until our own day. He varied the narrative, it is true, with digressions, here and there; but they were always appropriate to the principal subject, carefully prepared, and admirably told; and what he said of John Eliot, and independent homesteads, and local self-government, and local names for local places, and Samuel Sewall, and the Gardners, the Whites, the Stedmans, the Aspinwalls, the Devotions, and the Boylstons of old Brookline—to say nothing of his admirable

remarks on the "Town System" of Massachusetts and kindred subjects—may be read, with profit, by all who are interested in those subjects. We wish all, in this vicinity, who are so unduly anxious to merge their respective Towns in the City of New York, would read the lesson, concerning local self-government, which our honored friend, in this Address, so admirably presented to his townsmen of Brookline.

Mr. Winthrop has never produced a paper of greater merit than this; and not only his townsmen, in Brookline, but all who are interested in local self-government, every where, are largely his debtors, for it.

As it was printed by Messrs. Wilson, it will need no other commendation, for its typographical neatness.

2.—*A Sermon delivered at the funeral of the Hon. Thomas Fitch, Esq., late Governor of the Colony of Connecticut,* by Moses Dickinson, A.M. New Haven: Thomas & Samuel Green. 1774. Octavo, pp. 35.

Governor Thomas Fitch was one of the most distinguished of the colonists, in Connecticut—a native of Norwalk; a graduate of Yale-college; Judge; Chief-justice; Lieutenant-governor; Governor; and Codifier of the Laws of the Colony—and died, at Norwalk, in July, 1774, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by the venerable Pastor of The First Church in Norwalk; and it was printed by Thomas Green, in the form which has been re-produced in the first twenty-four pages of the handsome pamphlet before us.

The well-known member of the New York Bar, Hon. John Fitch, who is a lineal descendant of the Governor, has re-printed that sermon, for private circulation, adding thereto, for the further illustration of the life and character of the Governor, copies of his two Fast-day Proclamations, 1756 and 1765, and some memoranda concerning the earlier members of the family, both in Europe and America. It is a very graceful tribute to the memory of his deceased kinsman; and we thank him for our copy of it.

3.—*The New York City "Ring:" its origin, maturity, and fall, discussed in a reply to* The New York Times. By S. J. Tilden. New York: 1873. Octavo, pp. 52, [*Appendix*] 31.

There need be no surprise that New York politics are not understood outside of New York. They have always been mysterious in their workings: they always will be so. We are not wholly ignorant of the origin and character of much of that mystery; and we have learned, in the best of schools, that a professional politician is the same dirty creature, wherever you may see him.

The *New York Times* seems to have turned on its former ally, our old friend Tilden, and charged him with divers badnesses, just as if, were its charges true, a venerable Democrat must necessarily become a modern Republican, for all time, because, for the public good or some other reason, he has temporarily co-operated with Republicans in getting rid of a nuisance, in his own party, which has offended the entire community, Democrats as well as Republicans, and has demanded the services of every honest man in securing its removal. Of course, having completed the good work which he had undertaken, our excellent Barn burning friend, Tilden, retired from the alliance; but the *Times* demurred and accused him of treachery and what not.

The pamphlet before us is Mr. Tilden's defence; and, inasmuch as it is a family quarrel, the secrets of the family, not unfrequently, are brought out and exposed. Thus, we have a history of the "Ring" of which we have heard so much—not Tom Murphy's "Ring," but Bill Tweed's "Ring"—and its subsequent history, in great detail; and if the Democrats suffer through Tweed, Connelly, Hall, Sweeney, Bradley, Fields, etc., the Republican Legislatures, from 1857 to 1869—who organized the powers, year after year, which Hank Smith, Ben Manierre, and other Republicans controlled, and directed, and received dividends from; which the *Times* then applauded; and which Tweed and his fellows *duly* exercised—will, most certainly, share in the obliquy which attaches to the combination of the two adverse parties, for the purpose of plundering the city, quietly, "according to law."

As a "local," this tract will always be valuable because of its exposures of political combinations of doubtful character and with yet more doubtful objects; and it will be valuable, also, because *it unwittingly exposes the bare faced usurpation of the chartered authority of the city, by the Legislature of the State, in behalf of political scrapegraces, for corrupt purposes, all the time under the plea of virtue and with the sanction of legislative approval.* The Parliament of England dared not thus have interfered with the Charter which London has, because London's rights would have been protected by English Courts and English respect for vested rights: New York, with a Charter of no less weight, confirmed, over and over again, by the sovereign power, is now made the foot-ball of political gamblers, through a partisan legislature, and a government is thrust upon her, in this "republican" (!) republic, *without her con-*

sent; and, yet, not even our friend has a word to say against the outrage, *per se*, although he says enough against the wrong-doers, in their disputes concerning the distribution of the shame which belongs to them, and their attempt to deprive him of his share of it.

We commend the tract to our readers, or those of them who are interested in New York "locals."

4.—*The early out-posts of Wisconsin. Green Bay for Two hundred years*, 1639-1839. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 26, 1872. By Daniel S. Durrie, Librarian. Sine loco, [*Madison?*] sine anno. [1873?] Octavo, pp. 12.

The early out-posts of Wisconsin. Annals of Prairie du Chien. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 26, 1872. By Daniel S. Durrie, Librarian. Sine loco, [*Madison?*] sine anno [1873?] Octavo, pp. 15.

The hard-working and intelligent Librarian of the Wisconsin Historical Society has placed Green-bay and Prairie-du-Chien under the deepest obligations for his careful collection of the fragments of their respective histories, which he has presented to the world, in these tracts; and all who shall become interested in the early history of Wisconsin, will not cease to be thankful that so useful a work was undertaken by so competent a hand and has been executed so successfully.

In these modest tracts, Mr. Durrie has made no attempt to become the historian of either Green-bay or the Prairie-du-Chien: he has simply assumed the part of a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the "coming man," whomsoever he may be, who shall put on airs of scholarship; quietly absorb, without giving any credit, what Mr. Durrie has collected; and become fat and kick, as one of the great men of Wisconsin. As the annalist of the two "out-" posts of Wisconsin," however—as the delver in the quarries where only the hidden raw-material for Wisconsin's history may be found—Mr. Durrie is entitled to the highest praise; and we most earnestly hope that not only praise but profit may be his reward.

5.—*Roger Williams and the Massachusetts Charter* A paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society by Charles Deane Cambridge 1873 Octavo, pp. 19.

It is known that Roger Williams impeached the Charter of Massachusetts Bay, on the ground, *first*, that the King had made false declarations, in the Preamble; *second*, that the King had blasphemed, in the same Preamble; and, *third*, because the land was the Indians' and not the King's; and it is known, too, that he experienced trouble because of it, from Governor Winthrop and the Colonial authorities. Of the merits of this controversy, we do not propose to take especial notice, in this place—not because Mr. Williams had not some reason on his side; but because we have not room nor time which we can devote to a careful examination of it.

In the tract before us, Mr. Deane has carefully noticed the subject, from the Massachusetts stand-point, introducing a paper from the pen of Governor John Winthrop, hitherto unpublished, in which the latter discussed the questions raised by Mr. Williams, carefully noticing the opinions, on the same subject, of Mr. Cotton and others of the Bay Colony, as well as presenting his own conclusions, thereon.

As we have said, there are two sides to this well-canvassed subject; and, if we do not mistake, Mr. Deane has proved too much, if he has proved anything, against Roger and his doctrines. If the premises were not true, the conclusions drawn therefrom must have been, at least, of questionable worth; and if, as Mr. Cotton and Mr. Deane admit, the fee of the soil was really in the Indians, what value, as a legal conveyance of it, was there in a Grant of that soil, by the King of Great Britain, and what right to that soil could that Grant convey to the grantees, without the assent thereto, formally expressed, of the legal proprietors? That the Europeans could *legally* occupy and hold what was not actually occupied by the resident proprietors, nor required, by them, for their maintenance, for no other reason than such non-residence, is very poor law, as Mr. Deane may learn by consulting any Massachusetts lawyer; and if there is no better reason than that to be urged, it seems to us the better way would have been to have acknowledged the truth of Mr. Williams's objections and admitted, squarely, that the settlers seized and occupied lands, owned by others, only under the warrant of the highwayman—the power of the stronger. Nor is it any argument against Roger and his doctrines that, subsequently, he experienced trouble, in Providence, from men who had less respect for the right, *per se*, than he; nor does any supposed inconsistency in Roger, at any time, impair the merit of the naked questions, on other subjects, which he had raised, in this case. They were either true or false, absolutely; and that truth or falsehood could not be changed, a whit, because of the inconsistency, in his practice, of him by whom they were urged. Governor Winthrop and Mr. Cotton conceded the absolute truth of the objection raised against the title to lands; and Mr. Deane does not attempt to deny it: of what use, therefore, were the arguments of either, even in ex-

tenuation, that Roger was equally a violator of the law of property, recognized by both parties, and of the rights of those who held property under it? But we must go no further.

6.—*General Meade and the Battle of Gettysburg.* An Oration, delivered before the Society of the Army of the Potomac, at its Re-union, at New Haven, Connecticut, May 14th, 1873. By Major-general Charles Devens, Jr. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., 30.

Our readers will remember the Oration, published in our July number, which distinguished the last meeting of the Society of the Army of the Potomac beyond the greater number of such meetings, and which was so joyfully received by all who heard it. It was an eloquent exposition of the character of General George G. Meade, as that character was seen in his conduct of the Army, at Gettysburg; and all who heard it will not cease to remember it nor its distinguished author, who, since that time, has been elevated to the Bench of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.

The pamphlet before us contains that Oration, as it was corrected by the Author and printed in the Magazine; and was printed, in this form, for private distribution, among the friends of the Author.

The edition numbered two hundred and eight copies.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

7.—*In Memorium. Matthew Fontaine Maury, LL.D. University Cambridge, England.* Proceedings of the Academic Board of the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va., on the occasion of the Death of Commodore M. F. Maury, LL.D., Professor of Physics, in the Virginia Military Institute. 1873. Octavo, pp. 32.

We are indebted to Colonel Richard L. Maury, for a copy of this very appropriate memento of his distinguished father; and we have read it with much interest. It is a record of the action of the Academic Board of the institution in which Commodore Maury was an instructor, on the occasion of his decease, embracing, besides a copy of the general Minutes of the Board, on that occasion, a copy of the special Minute which was then ordered to be spread upon the records of the Board—that affectionate testimonial which his associates in office erected, within their own circle, to the memory of the senior and most eminent member of that body.

Of Professor Maury, the readers of the Magazine need no reminder. He was a Virginian, by birth; a Virginian, in all his sympathies; a Virginian, in death. Virginia claimed him as her son: he recognized the demand, honored it, reflected honor on the relationship, and died in her service. He was born in January, 1806, appointed a Midshipman in the Navy, in 1825—making his first cruise in the *Brandywine*, when that vessel bore General La Fayette back to France—by transfers, continued at sea, until 1834, when he returned to the United States, published the first edition of his *Navigation*, which was immediately adopted, as a text-book, by the Navy; was married to Miss Ann Herndon; declined the appointments, respectively, of Astronomer and Hydrographer to the Exploring Expedition to the South Seas, under Lieutenant Wilkes; was promoted to a Lieutenancy, in 1837; was accidentally crippled, and devoted his energies to literature—especially urging reforms in the Navy, the establishment of a Naval Academy and a Navy yard at Memphis—investigated the flow of the Mississippi and proposed a system of observations, for the benefit of commerce on that important outlet; urged the propriety of opening a communication between the Mississippi and the Lakes, of a disposition of the drowned lands, belonging to the United States, on the banks of the Mississippi; inaugurated what is known as "The house system;" and, in 1842, was appointed Superintendent of the Depots of Charts and Instruments, at Washington. In his new connection, Lieutenant Maury very soon opened new fields of labor. His depot became an "Observatory;" and the "Naval Observatory" became known, throughout Christendom. Besides these labors, he undertook to unravel the winds and currents of the ocean and to measure its depths. Old log books were pored over, and studied, and compared, and combined; old ship-masters were consulted and brushed up, in their memories; and old facts were presented, in new dresses and in younger company, to give weight to the later-born offspring of his fertile mind. His first revised chart—*Fair way to Rio*—was so far ahead of the times that those, for whose especial benefit it had been quarried, shook their heads, in doubt, and preferred known difficulties to unknown advantages, until Captain Jackson, of the *W. H. D. C. Wright, of Baltimore*, honored the truth and brought immortality on himself and his ship by daring to be singular and convincing mariners of their ignorance and folly. The Brussels Conference followed; and its action marked the era of international adoption of his system of observation. His system of Deep-sea-soundings, also, is that which established, beyond doubt, the feasibility of ocean telegraphs; and his *Physical Geography of the Sea* made as clear to the landsman as to the mariner the wonderful mechanism of the sea, with its contents and its atmosphere.

The author of these wonderful works was admitted to the intimacy of the learned of all countries; the Academies of Science in Paris, Berlin, Brussels, St. Petersburg, and Mexico conferred on him the honor of membership; and the sovereigns of France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Denmark, Belgium, Portugal, Sweden, Sardinia, Holland, Bremen, and the Papal States bestowed Orders of Knighthood and other honors on him.

When Virginia seceded from the Union, Lieutenant Maury resigned his distinguished position, at Washington, in order that he might the more completely discharge his duty to her; and he was selected as one of "The Council of "Three," which was appointed to assist the Governor; and he continued to occupy that position until the Army and Navy of Virginia were transferred to the new confederacy.

Looking only at the loss which the world would experience by the withdrawal from its service of such a master mind, the Emperors of Russia and France, respectively, hastened to invite Lieutenant Maury to those countries, where, undisturbed by War and sustained by imperial resources, he could continue the great work to which his life had been devoted; but his love of country and his sense of the duty which he owed to Virginia led him to decline both these distinguished honors. He went abroad, however, in the service of the Confederate States, remaining there until the close of the War; and then, disheartened and uncertain of the future, he went to Mexico, where he was cordially received by the Emperor Maximilian, called to a place in his Cabinet, and sent on a special mission to Europe. The overthrow of the Empire, of course, terminated his relations with Mexico; and, in straightened circumstances, he resumed, as a means of support, his scientific and literary labors. In this condition was he when the Emperor of the French invited him, again, to the Superintendency of the Imperial Observatory, at Paris; but he conceived that his first duty was to Virginia and he accepted, instead, the Chair of Physics in the Military Institute of that State. He entered on his new duties, zealously; and he promptly presented the necessity for a physical survey of Virginia, in connection with the establishment of through routes, by rail, and of a great and free water-line, uniting the East and the West. He also urged the establishment of a system of observations and reports on the crops of the world, in order to reduce fluctuations and destroy the falsities of trade, in the staple productions of agriculture. Such, in addition to his daily duties, as an instructor, were the self-imposed labors of this distinguished man, when he was summoned to his rest.

As a memento of one of the most unselfish of American citizens and one of the most illustrious of American scholars—to say nothing of his high character as a man and a Christian—this pamphlet will find an honored place in our collection; and we thank Colonel Maury for remembering us, in his distribution of the copies.

8.—*Society of the Army of the Cumberland Sixth Reunion Dayton* 1872 Published by Order of the Society Cincinnati Robert Clarke & Co 1873 Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 208.

We have noticed, from time to time, the published reports of the re-unions of this Society; and we have pleasure in noticing the last-issued of the series.

It contains the Minutes of the proceedings of the Society, at its sixth meeting; the Treasurer's Report; the Oration, by General Wood; a report of the banquet proceedings; memorials of deceased officers; the Society's Constitution; and other papers of interest to its many members, the whole being illustrated with a portrait of General Anderson, by Buttre.

It is uniform in style with those which preceded it; and, as a specimen of book-making, it is, certainly, very beautiful.

9.—*Proceedings, Resolutions, and Communications, commemorative of Hon. Edward J. Harden, Attorney for the City of Savannah, and President of the Georgia Historical Society, who died April 19th,* 1873. The Georgia Historical Society: June, 1873. Octavo, pp. 31.

This is a "memorial pamphlet," issued by direction of the Georgia Historical Society, in order to gather into one, the proceedings and Resolutions of various public bodies, etc., commemorative of its late lamented President, Hon. Edward J. Harden; and includes the notices of his death, in the Savannah newspapers; the proceedings of the City Council; the memorial Sermon delivered in the meeting-house of the First Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Doctor Porter; the proceedings of the Session of that Church, of the Savannah Bar, and of the Georgia Historical Society.

The Society has done well in thus preserving, in a single tract, the record of Judge Harden's worth and that of the esteem in which he was held by his neighbors and professional, and literary, and ecclesiastical associates. He was evidently worthy of that respect, both as a man and a scholar; and in honoring such a man the Society secures respect for itself.

The pamphlet is a neat one; but without any pretension to typographical beauty.

10.—*Historical Sermon preached by the Rev. John H. Leek, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass., At the Occasion of its 158th Anniversary, on St. Michael's Day, September 29th*, 1872. Published by request. Peabody: 1873. Octavo, pp. 25.

Marblehead exults, it is said, in "the Oldest "Parish Church in New England"—St. Michael's, of which Mr. Leek is the faithful Rector. It is a quaint structure; erected in 1714; and, with slight alterations, is yet in excellent condition.

In September last, on the one hundred and fifty-eighth anniversary of the erection of this old house, the Rector preached a "historical "Sermon," in which he noticed the settlement of the town and its rapid growth in population and opulence; the devotion of its inhabitants to the revolutionary party and its consequences on the prosperity of the town; the origin of the Church, in 1707, and the measures adopted to secure a preacher; the successive Missionaries who supplied the church, prior to the War of the Revolution; the outrages to which the Communicants and their Pastor were subjected, by the insurgents in Massachusetts—in which portion of his address, Mr. Leek also reviewed the puritanic oppression, in that Colony, of those who, in the earlier period of its existence, had dared to dissent from the principles and practices of the "Stand-"ing Order." He noticed the impertinence of the Pastor of the Congregational Church, in interfering with the ordination of a Rector, and the success which attended his effort thus to establish "freedom to worship God," (?) in a sister church, of another denomination. The "sad "struggles and sorrowful experiences" to which the parish was subjected, immediately after the close of the War—its small means, difficulty in procuring pastoral aid, and its consequent decline in membership. Then followed notices of those who, since the close of the Revolutionary War, have successively served as Rectors—Revs. Thomas Fitch Oliver, William Harris, James Bowers, John Prentis Kewley Henshaw (afterwards Bishop of Rhode Island) Joseph Andrews, Benjamin Bosworth Smith (afterwards Bishop of Kentucky) Lott Jones, Thomas S. W. Mott, Joseph H. Price, George V. C. Eastman, William H. Lewis, John P. Robinson, Moses P. Stickney, Nicholas Powers Tillinghast, our late friend Edward Ballard, John B. Richmond, Edwin B. Chase, William B. Woodbridge, and John W. Leek—and these are interspersed with notices of the loss of the Glebe and Rectory, by the illegal action of the church's representatives; of an attempt which was made, subsequently, to swing the Church and its property around into the Unitarian fold, in the same manner in which many other churches were then swung around, into that communion; and of the resolute and successful opposition to that proposition, which was made by one of the Wardens, sustained by a sturdy old ship-master, who swore that "it "should not be done." An Addenda, devoted to several collateral subjects, closes the tract.

It is seldom that a more complete general review of the past of a congregation has been presented in so small a space; and Mr. Leek has done well in preserving the annals of his parish in so convenient form.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

11.—*Address delivered at the opening of Court in the new Court House in Greenfield, Mass., May 13, 1873*, by Hon. Whiting Griswold. Greenfield, Mass.: E. D. Merriam. 1873. Octavo, pp. 51.

We are indebted to the learned author for a copy of this exceedingly interesting and valuable historical address, delivered at the opening of the first session of the Court, in the new Court-house, in Greenfield; and we have read it with great pleasure.

Commencing with a reference to the organization of Franklin-county, in 1811, Mr. Griswold describes, successively, the opposition which was made to the division of *old* Hampshire, for that purpose and for the subsequent formation of Hampden; the earnest contest for the County-seat, by Greenfield and Cheapside, in which the latter was defeated; the history of the first Court-house; and the organization of the Courts and their place of meeting, before that Court-house was completed. That particular Court-house still stands—the village Post-office and, we suppose, the village "sanc-"tum."

Mr. Griswold then presents the early Bar of Franklin-county—William Coleman, Jonathan Leavitt, Rodolphus Dickinson, Ephraim Williams, George Grennell, etc.—sliding down, gradually, to that of a later period, including Daniel Wells, Benjamin R. Curtis, and Emory Washburn, and remembering, as he passes, Epaphras Hoyt, the historian and Sheriff of the County, and a long line of other faithful servants of the County. Then, the Bar of to-day is introduced—including David Aiken, Almon Brainard, George T. Davis, Charles Allen, Henry L. Dawes, General Charles Devens, Jr., etc.—and, having photographed the Bar, the new Court-house receives his attention, in a most appropriate dedication to justice and the right. An Appendix contains a list of the various County-officers of Franklin-county and of the Franklin Bar, from the earliest day to the present time.

We have seldom seen an address in which there is so much to be approved and so little to be condemned, either in the character of the material or the manner in which it has been employed, as this. The historical portion is evidently the result of careful research and is pleasantly told; the personal sketches of the Bar is a mine of genealogical and biographical information, which time will make more valuable, day by day; and the statistics are welcome additions to the working materials of those who do not possess that greater storehouse of information, a file of the *Annual Register* of Massachusetts, during the past seventy or eighty years.

Mr. Griswold has done well: we hope he will not repose on the laurels which he has already won, but seek new honors in new labors.

12.—*Catalogue of the Michigan State Library, for the years* 1873–4. Prepared by H. A. Tenney, State Librarian. January 1, 1873. By Authority. Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. viii., 293.

We are indebted to Mrs. Tenney, the excellent State Librarian, for the copy of this work which is before us. As a Catalogue of what Michigan actually possessed, at that time, it is interesting; but it is quite as interesting as indicative of what she had not—of the literature which should have been found in her State Library.

Under the judicious management of Mrs. Tenney, we are sure there will soon be improvements in that collection which will be both useful and ornamental.

13.—*Annual Reports of the Brooklyn Park Commissioners.* 1861–1873. Re-printed by order of the Board, with such Acts of the Legislature, in their amended form, as relate to the Brooklyn Parks and their management. January, 1873. Octavo, pp. 528.

On the seventeenth of April, 1860, an Act was passed, by the Legislature of New York, for laying out a Public Park and a Parade-ground, in the city of Brooklyn, and appointing Commissioners for the purpose of carrying out the project. The Statute required those Commissioners to report, annually; and thirteen annual Reports have been accordingly presented. Some of these annual Reports have become exceedingly rare; and, as it has been next to impossible to make complete files of them, a year or so ago, the Board ordered the first twelve to be re-printed, in a small edition, for the use of the Commissioners and those who were especially interested in the subject.

We are indebted to Hon. John N. Taylor, the Comptroller of the Commission, for a copy this re-print; and, as a complete record of one of Brooklyn's most notable improvements, it is a choice and valuable volume. Not only are the twelve Reports re-produced, with, we imagine, all their illustrations, but we find, also, the various Statutes bearing on the subject; and, if the Ordinances governing the visitors to the Park had been added, there would, probably, have been very little to be desired which could not have been found therein.

As a specimen of elegant typography, this volume is worthy of high praise; and as the edition is understood to have been a very small one, it has already become rather a scarce one. We hope we shall not be regared as ungracious, after having been favored with a copy of this scarce volume, if we respectfully suggest that, in such a case as this, wherein so many are likely to be interested, through all time, a larger edition of this work should have been printed than, if report speaks truly, was printed.

14.—*Proceedings of the Laying of the Corner Stone of the New Capitol of Michigan, On the 2d Day of October,* 1873, *at the City of Lansing.* Compiled by Allen L. Bours, Secretary of State Building Commissioners. Lansing: 1873. Octavo, pp. 145.

The State of Michigan, that "beautiful peninsula," having outgrown the buildings occupied by her public officers, determined to construct a new capitol which should be more worthy of her increased importance and better adapted to the wants of the day.

On the second of October last, the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid with appropriate ceremonies. The Governor of the State delivered the Introductory Address, welcoming the visitors and fitly alluding to the occasion of the gathering. Bishop McCoskry asked the blessing of Almighty God. Hon. William A. Howard delivered the Oration—an admirable paper on Michigan, as she was and is. The Masonic ceremonies followed, under the direction of the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Michigan, by whom, of course, addresses were made, before the stone was laid as well as after. The ceremonies concluded with the Benediction, by Rev. Noah Fassett.

In the handsome volume before us, we have an official record of this important event, in which have been preserved full reports of all that occurred; and it is made more complete than such records generally are, by embracing an elaborate *History of Michigan from its settlement by the French to the Laying of the Corner-Stone of the New Capitol, October 2d, 1873,* which was "compiled, under a Resolution of

"the Committee of Arrangements," by Mr. Bours, their Secretary, and "the original copy, "enrolled upon parchment, was deposited in "the Corner-stone."

This History occupies eighty-one octavo pages, and embraces, as well as a historical sketch, a pretty complete statistical survey, of Michigan. It has been prepared with evident care and at much cost of labor; and, when the new Capitol shall have become old and the corner-stone be made to give up its treasures, Mr. Bours will be thanked by the inquisitive lookers-on, for the trouble he has taken to tell them what Michigan was, in 1873.

The volume is a very handsome one, considered typograhically.

15.—*Papers relating to the Treaty of Washington.*

Volume I.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the Case of the United States: the Case of Great Britain; the Counter Case of the United States; and a portion of the additional Documents, Correspondence, and Evidence which accompanied the same. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1872. Octavo, pp. 4 (unpaged) 856.

Volume II.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the remainder of the papers accompanying the Counter Case of the United States; Counter Case of Her Britannic Majesty's Government; Instructions to the Agent and Counsel of the United States, and proceedings at Geneva, in December, 1871, and April, 1872; Correspondence respecting the Geneva Arbitration and the proposed Supplemental Article to the Treaty; and Declaration of Sir Stafford Northcote at Exeter. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1872. Octavo, pp. xvii., 604.

Volume III.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the Argument of the United States; Argument of Her Britannic Majesty's Government; and Supplementary Statements or Argnments made by the respective Agents or Counsel. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Octavo, pp. xvi., 653.

Volume IV.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the Report of the Agent of the United States; Protocols of Conferences; Decision and Award of the Tribunal; Opinions of the Arbitrators; Reply of the Secretary of State, acknowledging the receipt of the Report of the Agent of the United States, and commenting upon the Opinion of the Arbitrator appointed by Her Britannic Majesty; Report of the Counsel of the United States; and Opinions of Statesmen, Magazines, and Journals of Great Britain and the Continent on the construction of the Treaty. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1872. Octavo, pp. xi., 573.

Volume V.—Berlin Arbitration. Containing the Memorial of the United States on the Canal de Haro as its boundary-line; Case of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty; Reply of the United States thereto; Second and Definitive Statement of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty; and Correspondence. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1872. Octavo, pp. 271.

These volumes possess great interest to every one who professes to regard either international law or the political history of the United States with the least possible interest; and to every one, especially, who is interested in the history of the recent Civil War, they are peculiarly important.

The very elaborate title pages, which we have copied in full, convey to the reader a minute a description of the contents of the several volumes as can be given; and it will be perceived that they are entirely documentary, without note or comment. The first four volumes contain the record of the Geneva Arbitration, including the Cases and Arguments of the two contesting powers: the fifth contains the Case and Arguments presented to the Emperor William of Germany, in the adjustment of the North-western boundary of the United States.

We have read, very carefully, the Case of both parties, in the matter of the North western boundary; and, although Mr. Bancroft did not employ the material which was presented to Congress, some years since, by the heirs of Captain Kendrick—which we re printed in The Historical Magazine for September, 1870—his argument was well-sustained and dignified, while his copies of the various maps were perfectly conclusive. His allusion to the fact that, of the Cabinet of Mr. Polk, who signed the Treaty of 1846, as well as the British Cabinet who prepared it, *all are dead*, except himself and one of the British, is peculiarly touching; and, under the circumstances, there was a fitness in the employment of his pen, in concluding the long-pending controversy.

We have not yet waded through the elaborate papers presented to the Arbitrators at Geneva; but we have glanced over them and measured their contents. We shall have no reason to be otherwise than proud of them, whenever they shall be compared with those presented by the opposing power, if the principles of law which our legal representatives urged there, and which seem to have been established, shall not become a boomerang, and return, hereafter, to torment ourselves. We are not quite sure, indeed, that the ancient doctrine of neutrality, which the Continental Congress insisted on and sustained, has not been abandoned, in the case before us; and we are not quite sure, too, that Great Britain cannot well afford to pay fifteen and a half millions for the authoritative decree which, one of these days, will cripple American "enter-"prise" and protect British weakness. It will be well if "our chickens shall not come home "to roost," before we shall care to see them.

We are indebted to the honorable Secretary of State for these very important volumes and desire him to accept our thanks for them.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

16.—*University Edition. The Fœderalist:* a collection of Essays, written in favor of the new Constitution, as agreed upon by the Fœderal Convention, September 17, 1787. Reprinted from the original text, Under the supervision of Henry B. Dawson. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. lvi., 615.

There are very few who will not profess to know all about *The Federalist*, as the title of this volume is usually written; and yet how few there are who have ever read it, and yet fewer who have ever studied it, while scarcely any yield obedience to it, when such obedience would come in conflict with own or their party's present interests. There are very few who will not insist that the *Constitution for the United States* is as familiar to them—in its history, its meaning, and its effects—as the hats which cover their heads; and yet very few can say, positively, they have ever read the whole of it and yet fewer can tell, accurately, what meaning those who created it, intended to apply to it nor what result *they* intended should be produced by it.

It is a patent fact that the Republic, immediately after the close of the War of the Revolution, opened a career of unexampled prosperity and happiness, with the smallest possible amount of what is called "Government"—indeed, it proved, beyond a doubt, that that People is governed best which is governed least. It is an equally patent fact that, at that time, the United States were afflicted, *as they are now afflicted*, and ever will be afflicted, *immediately after a War*, with a body of men in their midst, who assumed to be of better blood than those who surrounded them—men who considered they were born to command, while all other men were born to obey: men who regarded labor as degrading, if *they* labored, but fit, when *others* toiled: men who were non-producers, aspirants to office, and good-livers on the products of others' labor: tax-*collectors* rather than tax-*payers*—whose opportunities for living, *without work*, and for bearing rank and authority among their neighbors, *without their bidding*, found few opportunities where all were equal before the law and when the law was founded on justice and the rights of man. It is a patent fact, too, that, in the face of this general prosperity and happiness, these parisites who had fastened themselves on the communities among whom they lived—drinking wines which they never paid for, and aping a style which they had no means of their own to sustain—preferred a Monarchy, such as England had, rather than a Republic, with the authority in the Peoples of the respective States; and that they determined, by fair means or by foul, to effect such a change in the organic law of the United States as should throw them to the surface, with the masses, below them, as the sources of their coveted supplies. It is matter of history, that, to secure that end, the clacquiers of this faction assailed the integrity of the Republic, in its most vital part—discrediting its resources and integrity, embarrassing its operations by captious comments and unfounded falsehoods, and insisting that the result of its malevolence was the consequence of defects in the organic law. At length, by pertinacious badgering of the several State Legislatures, a Convention of the States was secured to recommend to the several States such amendatory clauses to the *Articles of Confederation*, which constituted the organic law of the Republic, as would afford to the aspirants an opportunity to obtain a foot-hold and to enable them to prepare for still further elevation: by a similar course of effrontery, not wholly without admixture of fraud, that Convention was led to assume authority which had not been delegated to it, to nullify the supreme law of the Republic, and to recommend a new fundamental law, in open defiance of the Constitution and of the sovereign powers constituting the Confederacy.

There was serious opposition to this movement, throughout the entire Confederacy, but especially in New York; and to remove, as far as possible, the arguments of that opposition, which threatened to defeat the scheme and send back the parisites to the daily labor which other folks were engaged in, a series of papers was prepared and published, under the title of *The Fœderalist*, by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, and addressed, specifically, "To the People of the State of New York."

Those papers were ably written—as they needed to be, in order to effect anything against the antagonism of such writers as Richard Henry Lee and George Bryan, such orators as Mr. Lee, Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, and Luther Martin, and such influential statesmen as John Hancock, George Clinton, Chancellor Lansing, and Edmund Randolph—and they went to the very verge of Fœderalism, while their real intent was to fasten on the Republic what was the very worst antagonist of a *Federal* Constitution. The particular "People" to whom the papers were addressed, *knowing two of the principal writers of* The Fœderalist, *personally, spurned the parisites, rejected their proffered advice, and almost unanimously voted against the "new system;"* but, from that day to this, *The Fœderalist* has been regarded as the best existing commentary of the Federal Constitution, *as it was originally proposed, and before* ANY *of the various* Amendments *had been made to it*, as the authors of that Constitution were constrained to consider it, *publicly, and while they were seeking to secure its ratification.*

Fourteen years after they were originally pub-

lished, John Wells, a distinguished "Federalist" of New York, revised the several papers and re-published them, but without the approval of either of the original authors; and, occasionally, from that day until 1864, other re-prints of them, always in their corrupted form and, sometimes, yet more corrupt, were issued from various presses. At that time, a new edition of the work, *exactly in its original form*, was prepared by us and printed; and few volumes have proceeded from the American press, during the last quarter of a century, which have enjoyed a heartier welcome, from one portion of the public, or a heartier condemnation, from another. The venerable Josiah Quincy, Chief-justice Chase, Attorney-general Bates, Secretary-of-State Seward, the Faculty of Harvard-college, and others little less distinguished, cheered us by their hearty approvals; while such men as John Jay, John C. Hamilton, and Henry T. Tuckerman made themselves ridiculous by deprecating it. It met with a wider sale than such works usually enjoy; and it passed though several editions, before the demand for it was entirely supplied.

The volume before us is another re-print of that restored version of *The Federalist*—the exact words of the authors, themselves, having been restored—and all who shall incline to read it will read exactly the language employed by the three distinguished authors, in their original communications to the press of New York, without the least alteration, interpolation, or abbreviation, with the additional advantage of a *Synoptical Table of Contents* of the entire work and a *Comparative Exhibit of the Claims to the Authorship* of it.

The typography is that of the Riverside Press, and is neat without claiming to be more than that.

17.—*Woman in Sacred History:* a series of sketches drawn from scriptural, historical, and legendary sources. By Harriet Beecher Stow. Illustrated with sixteen Chromo-Lithographs, after paintings by Raphael, Batoni, Horace Vernet, Goodall, Landelle, Kochler, Portaels, Vernet-Lecomte, Baader, Merle, and Boulanger: printing by Monracq, from stones executed by Jehenne, Paris. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1874. Imperial octavo, unpaged. Price $7.50.

Mrs. Stow, like her distinguished father and brother, wields a powerful pen; and we opened this volume with a reasonable hope that she would boldly and honestly meet the issues which faithful notices of the leading "women in sacred history" would necessarily force before her, for notice and judgment. Sarah and her Egyptian maid, Hagar, with Abraham's *adultery;* Leah and Rachel, the *purchased* slave-wives of the *bigamist*, Jacob—to say nothing of Zilpah and Bilhah, whom he also *adulterously* co-habited with; Sheba, also, the *murderess*, and Delilah, the *courtesan;* Michal, also, with Abigail and Ahinoam, the Jezreelitess, Maacah and Haggith, Abital and Eglah, Bath-sheba (the mother of Solomon) and Abishag, the nine wives of *bigamous* and *adulterous* David—adultery, property in women, bigamy, murder, certainly we supposed, would have afforded themes for Mrs. Stow's denunciations, such as she hurled at "whom it might concern," in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and in her various other writings. Of course, what is *sinful*, in our day, has always been just as *sinful* as it is now; and Jacob and David must have been as bad as Brigham Young is; Samson's association with Delilah could not have been less blameworthy than similar associations of the "fast" young men, of our time, with similar characters; and the outrageous sacrifice of Uriah, the honorable and patriotic husband of Bath-sheba, by the lascivious King, in order that she might be added to the Royal harem, was, assuredly, not less sinful than the *crimes*, of like character, for which less distinguished men are hung, as *criminals*, now a days. Yet, as far as we can see, Mrs. Stow has failed to look the fact in the face that traffic in flesh and blood—the purchase, for a price, of leading "women of sacred history," was not condemned, as sinful, *per se*, nor was bigamy, nor even adultery, discountenanced, as *wicked*, in themselves, if they were condemned at all, by the Almighty law-giver, who, neither now nor then, can look on sin with allowance.

With all due respect to Mrs. Stow, we conceive that she has failed, in the instance before us, to discharge, completely, the duty which she assumed when she undertook to tell of the "women of sacred history," in this that she has failed to tell of Leah's and Rachel's wrongs and of Laban's and Jacob's sinfulness, in selling and buying flesh and blood, and they, in Laban's case, the recognized and legal off-spring of himself. What a glorious supplement would such a narrative, bravely stated, in all its horrors, have made to Mrs. Stow's glowing narrative of Eliza and her child Harry, when Haley undertook to carry them into new scenes of captivity. As we have said, Haley must have been only the legitimate successor, in wrong-doing—*sin*, without discount—of Jacob; and as for Laban, his *sin* must have been immeasurably greater than Jacob's. But not a line of censure, as far as we can see, is offered against either the one or the other; and, as far as Mrs. Stow is concerned, the slave-breeder, Laban, and the slave-buyer, Jacob, continue to be classed among the most respectable and respected citizens of the old world—real, genuine "gentlemen of the old school." We might say the same of her reticence concern-

ing Jacob's bigamy and adultery; but we have filled our allotted space.

The narratives, *as far as they go*, are, of course, admirably written; but the great feature of the work is the series of sixteen magnificent chromo-lithographic figures, after recognized masters of art, representing, ideally, as many of the "women of sacred history" concerning whom Mrs. Stow wrote. They are exquisite specimens of color, being closely copied from the originals; and we have seen nothing from the American press, thus illustrated, which can be compared with this volume.

18.—*Pre-Historic Man. Darwinism and Deity. The Mound Builders.* By M. F. Force. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 85.

If we do not mistake, the author of this volume is a son of our late friend, General Peter Force, of Washington, D. C., so widely and so justly honored by every student of American history; and the three papers which it contains were prepared for and read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, 1868–73.

The first of these relates to the subject of the primitive inhabitants of western Europe, as that subject has been presented, since the discovery, in Lake Zurich, in 1829, of the remains of those by-gone races; and it is one of the best of the shorter descriptions of them.

The second is a discussion of the Darwinian theory and its relation with Deity, in which the modern philosopher and his propositions appear to be favorably considered.

The third relates to the Mound-builders, their works, when they lived, how they lived, who they were, and what became of them. It is a calm, dispassionate, and unusually careful examination of the general subject; and, under each of the sub-divisions of it, to which we have referred, Mr. Force has carefully presented the evidence which throws light on it and as clearly presented his judgment.

The tract is very neatly printed.

19.—*A Complete Narrative of the Mysteries of New York City. The Dark Side of New York Life and its Criminal Classes from Fifth Avenue down to the Five Points.* Numbers III–IX. New York: Frederick Gerhard. 1873. Octavo, pp. 65–288. Price 10 cents per part.

In our July number, we referred to this work as one of peculiar merit, notwithstanding its sensational title; and a careful examination of this portion of the work confirms that judgment.

In the numbers before us, the "Detectives," the various classes of "Thieves," the "Fences," the "Rogues' Gallery," the "Street-robbers and "Garotters," and the multitude of "Swindlers," in all their various forms, are carefully described; and both as a narrative of low life, in New York, and a description of the various classes of crime and criminals, it is exceedingly noteworthy. It may very properly find a place in every collection of New York locals and be carefully read by all who live or have occasion to visit the great metropolis.

20.—*Michigan.* Being condensed popular sketches of the Topography, Climate, and Geology of the State. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. Extracted, by permission, Walling's *Atlas of Michigan*. Printed by the Claremont Printing Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 121.

The title-page describes the character of the sketches which are collected into this volume: the name and well-earned reputation of the learned Chancellor of the Syracuse University afford ample guarantees for the accuracy of their statements.

We are not quite sure that they ought to have been called "popular," because they are too precise and deal too minutely in unfamiliar subjects to be acceptable to the populace; and the use of that word may lead some, to whom they will be acceptable, to suppose they are mere wish-washy paragraphs of glittering generalities, meaning nothing. The populace, in Michigan, as well as elsewhere, cares nothing for such excellent reading matter as this work contains; and it is worse than folly to suppose otherwise.

As the title-page indicates, the work is divided into three distinct sections, treating, respectively, of the *Topography and Hydrography*, the *Geology*, and the *Climate* of the State; and we know of no other work which presents as complete a picture of Michigan, in those features of her composition, as this.

The typography of the tract is very neat; and reflects credit on those who printed it.

21.—*History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic.* By William H. Prescott. New and Revised Edition, with the author's latest corrections and additions. Edited by John Foster Kirk. In three volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1873. Crown octavo, pp. [*I.*] xxxv., 504; [*II.*] xvii., 508; [*III.*] xv., 574. Price $7.50.

The writings of Prescott, like those of Irving, are known and admired wherever the English language is spoken or read, the world over; and we need not, therefore, attempt to describe them nor to praise their beauties. But it is a subject of congratulation, and one which our readers will feel a deep interest in, that a new edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged by its

distinguished author, himself, and carried through the press, by his faithful and learned assistant, John Foster Kirk, is in progress of publication, with three volumes already published; and we have pleasure in presenting that information to our readers.

We are told that, "in the intervals of composition, especially during the last years of his life, Mr. Prescott devoted much time to the revision of his published works. The changes he made included, besides many verbal amendments and some alterations of greater moment, numerous additions, principally to the notes, from the fresh material accumulated in the progress of his researches. Successive English editions, published during his lifetime, profited, to some extent, by this labor; but his purpose to incorporate the whole of its results in a new American edition was, unhappily, frustrated by his death. He had intimated a desire that the task should, in this event, be undertaken by the writer" [*Mr. Kirke*] "who had shared in the previous labor and was cognizant of the details; and to him it has accordingly been intrusted by the publishers, the present proprietors of the copyrights." The duty of the Editor "has consisted, mainly, in collating the editions, errors having crept into the later and otherwise more perfect ones; inserting emendations and additions, from the author's manuscripts; verifying doubtful references; and securing, by a careful supervision of the proofs, that high degree of typographical accuracy which is especially desirable in reprints of standard works. Occasional notes, confined to points of fact, have been appended by the Editor, where statements, in the text, based on insufficient authority or called in question by recent investigators, needed to be substantiated or corrected." We have employed the Editor's own words, in order that our readers may be informed, correctly, of the importance of this new edition, in its literary character; and to those who are acquainted with Mr. Kirk's capabilities to discharge his particular duties with fidelity, no additional voucher will be required.

Nor can the publishers be justly forgotten in this place. Always noted for the beauty of their publications, they will be entitled to renewed praise for their liberality in the mechanical execution of this. It is to be printed with great care, from new plates, on toned paper of fine quality; and it is to be appropriately illustrated with beautifully engraved portraits, maps, and fac-similes.

The volumes before us are the earliest of the series, constituting the whole of the history of Ferdinand and Isabella; and these are to be followed, monthly, by other volumes, twelve in number, which, with these, will constitute the entire published works of their author.

Our readers will need no invitation from us to seek this new version of Prescott's writings, as left by Prescott himself; and we may safely leave the subject with them.

22.—*The Church Hymn Book, with tunes, for the Worship of God.* New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 580.

Those who know the capacity for labor of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly—our esteemed friend, Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield, D.D.—and the entire willingness to labor, which he always manifests, when he has anything to do, will be apt to expect more from him, in whatever he undertakes, than from most others; while his known qualifications, as an accomplished hymnologist, serve to ensure, in a work devoted to that subject, compiled by him, unusual accuracy as well as unusual completeness.

With these facts before us, we reasonably opened this volume with great expectations; and, quite as reasonably, the measure of our expectations was completely filled. It is as complete a "hymn-book" as may reasonably be desired by any one—fourteen hundred and sixty-four of the best hymns in the language, with thirty-two doxologies, thirty chants, and five hundred and thirty-six tunes, selected from the very best authors, being enough, we imagine, to satisfy the most craving of musical Deacons; while those who sit in the back pews and do not catch the number, as it is announced from the distant pulpit, will rejoice over an index of subjects, an index of scripture texts, an alphabetical list of tunes—designating the author of each and when he lived—an index of chants, a metrical index of tunes, an index of authors of hymns—each with the era of the author—an index of authors of tunes—with the era of each—an index to the hymns—each with its author's name—and an index to the chants. We would that some other authors would see this complete apparatus of indices—those blessed comforts which every one must enjoy, sometime—and hide their heads, in shame for their own lazy negligence, in the first ash-barrel they can find in the back streets of a city.

But the completeness, in numbers and indices, is not the only good quality of this book. These fourteen hundred and sixty-four hymns are not thrown together, helter-skelter, nor is one class of them unduly weighted with specimens, at the expense of others. Thirteen different classes, each with its sub-divisions, are duly represented; and to each of these, relatively, with the ripe experience of a long pastorate to help him, Doctor Hatfield has apportioned its due proportion.

In these peculiarities, our readers who are interested in church music will perceive the practical good-sense which has controlled the mechanical part of the compiler's labor; while all, young and old, will rejoice in the historical information, concerning its origin, which quietly accompanies each tune and hymn and is repeated in the indices, together with the abundant completeness of the collection and the critical accuracy with which every hymn and tune is copied.

We congratulate our honored friend on the successful issue of this result of his many years of anxious study and untiring labor; and we congratulate those churches who shall be favored with the use of it, on the accession to their stores of hymns and tunes, of this addition, so eminently worthy of its subject and of their favor.

23.—*Expression: its anatomy and philosophy.* By Sir Charles Bell, K. H. With Original Notes and Illustrations designed by the Author; and with additional illustrations and notes by the Editor of *The Phrenological Journal.* An entirely new and enlarged edition. New York: Samuel R. Wells. 1873. Octavo, pp. 201.

This volume, the work of one of the most accomplished men in Europe—whose observations of the nervous system led to discoveries therein which have immortalized his name—is one, of which the importance cannot be too highly estimated.

It is not a mere re-hash of well-known facts; nor is it made up of theories having no foundation beyond the mere imagination of an active brain. On the contrary, it is the result of the life-long observations and study of one of the most profound thinkers and accomplished scientists of his times, verified by a careful study of the works of the great masters of ancient and modern art; and it commends itself to all who feel interested in the causes of movements in the countenance and in the frame of the body, under the influence of passion or emotion—and who is not? Especially important is it to those who affect either to study art or to practise it.

The volume is a very handsome one, both in typography and illustrations.

24.—*A Cyclopedia of the best thoughts of Charles Dickens.* Compiled and alphabetically arranged by F. G. de Fontaine. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1873. Octavo, pp. 564. Price $5.

This magnificent volume contains the gems of Dickens's works, picked out from their settings and arranged, in order, for the admiration of connoisseurs—those who admired him and those who did not.

The selections appear to have been made with admirable good judgment and great fidelity; and the arrangement of those extracts is by subjects, in their alphabetical order. As the editor happily remembered the importance of a good index, he closed his work by adding one, leaving nothing more to be desired from the Editor of such a volume.

Typographically considered, the volume is a very beautiful one; and its illuminated cover adds, materially, to its general attractions.

25.—*The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore.* By J. L. Spalding, S.T.L. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1873. Octavo, pp. 468.

The family of Spaldings is said to have originated at Spalding, in Lincolnshire, England—in the ancient market-place of which old market-town our mother was wont, on Tuesdays, to find sale for her butter, eggs, and poultry, while our childish curiosity was attracted to the various shop-windows, in the same locality—and from that town, the first of the Spaldings who emigrated, went to St. Mary's-county, Maryland, prior to 1650. In 1790, Benedict Spalding led a colony of Catholics from that County into Kentucky; and, there, in May, 1810, his grandson, Martin John, was born. A delicate child, but "as remarkable for the sweetness of his dis-"position as for the quickness of his mind," in 1821, when only eleven years of age, he entered St. Mary's College, near Lebanon. When he was fourteen, he was made Professor of Mathematics, in that institution; and, at twenty, when he went to Rome, there was said to have been no better mathematician in Kentucky than he. He entered the Seminary, at Bardstown, in 1826; went to Rome, and entered the Propaganda, in 1830; graduated and returned to Kentucky, in 1834; became Pastor of the Cathedral and Professor in the Seminary, in 1838; was elected to the presidency of St. Joseph's College; was sent to Lexington, Kentucky, as Pastor of St. Peter's Church, in 1840; was called to the office of Vicar-general of the Diocese of Bardstown, in 1844, and to the episcopacy, as Coadjutor of the Bishop of Louisville, in 1848; became the Bishop of the Diocese, on the death of Bishop Flaget, in 1850, and Archbishop of Baltimore, on the death of Doctor Kendrick, in 1864; and died in February, 1872, our honored friend, Doctor Bayley, succeeding him in the archepiscopacy.

The life of such a man—endowed, as he was, with great practical good-sense, gifted with sound and varied learning, of irreproachable moral character, devoted to the best interests of the Church in which he was an overseer, a true American, and an active participant in some of

the most stirring events of American Catholic history—to be properly narrated, would require a pen of unusual and varied ability; and we have pleasure in saying that the demand has been fully met, in the volume before us.

Besides having furnished a very notable addition to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in America and to the local history of Kentucky, Mr. Spalding has placed himself in a very prominent place among the writers of American biography; and we are sadly mistaken if this volume shall not be resorted to, as an authority, on some of the most important subjects connected with the history of the Republic, at the same time that it will serve as a memento of one of the most distinguished of American divines.

The typography of this volume is very superior; and the portrait, which serves as a frontispiece, is an excellent specimen of steel-engraving.

26.—*Theological and Philosophical Library:* a series of Text-books, original and translated, for Colleges and Theological Seminaries. Edited by Henry B. Smith, D.D., and Philipp Schaff, D.D. Vols. I. and II. of the Philosophical Division: Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy.* New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

History of Philosophy. From Thales to the present time. By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, by Geo. S. Morris, A.M. Vol. II. —History of Modern Philosophy. With Additions by the Translator, an Appendix on English and American Philosophy, by Noah Porter, D.D., and an Appendix on Italian Philosophy, by Vincenzo Botta, Ph. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Octavo, pp. viii., 561.

Several months since, we noticed the appearance of the first volume of this elaborate *History of Philosophy* in which that of the ancient school of philosophy was carefully presented; and the second, now before us, embracing the history of modern philosophy, completes the work.

The first volume, as we have said, was devoted to the history of ancient philosophy: this embraces the history of that more modern philosophy which is distinct from theology, and has for its subject the essence and laws of nature and mind. It embraces, therefore, the histories of, successively, what are called "the transitional "period," "the epoch of empiricism, dogma-"tism, and skepticism," and "the epoch of "Kantian criticism and the systems" growing out of it; and it ranges, in time, from the renewal of Platonism, under the lead of, successively, Pletho, Bessarion, and Ficinus, in the fifteenth century, until the present time.

It is difficult to conceive how, in so compact a form, a more complete history and bibliography of the philosophy of the past five hundred years could have been given; and, without concurring in all that is presented, in these portions of the subject with which we are acquainted, we are free to say that, to all who are interested in any branch of studies, concerning the essence and laws of nature and mind, this work will be invaluable, both because of its temper, its completeness, and its convenience.

The first article of the Appendix, on English and American Philosophy, by President Porter, forms a very important addition to the original text of Ueberweg; and the second, on Italian Philosophy, by Professor Botta, seems to be equally minute in its description, and is said to be equally important. A very elaborate Index completes the volume.

The neatness of the typography will serve to make the volume more attractive to every reader.

27.—*Silver and Gold:* an account of the Mining and Metallurgical Industry of the United States, with reference chiefly to the precious metals. By Rossiter W. Raymond, Ph. D., Commissioner of Mining Statistics, etc. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 566.

This volume contains the sixth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Mining Statistics to the Secretary of the Treasury, and embraces detailed reports on mines and mining, in California, Nevada, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming, together with a general review of the history of the mining interests, in each of those States and Territories, during the year 1871; their condition and prospects; and various comments and suggestions which seemed likely to be useful to miners, capitalists, legislators, metallurgists, and others.

28.—*Education abroad, and other papers.* By Birdseye Grant Northrop, LL.D., Secretary of Connecticut Board of Education. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. vi., 3–176. Price $1.50.

A collection of papers by "a Yankee school-"master," mainly on Education and kindred subjects.

He resolutely opposes, in the first paper, the habit of sending American boys to Europe, to be educated; and he does well. "For our "youth," he says, very correctly, "American "schools are better than European;" and he is entitled to the thanks of his countrymen, for his manly defence of his country's institutions.

He wanders from propriety, however, when he pleads for the introduction, into republican America, of the system of compulsory education which is employed in monarchical Germany, as if "the Government" ought not to rest in the People, itself, but in those who are merely the

People's agents; and as if the People is not the best judge of what is most for its own benefit. We rather suspect Americans have not yet so far descended from the grade of manhood which their fathers occupied as to allow "the Yankee "school-master" to rule over them, to that extent.

"The Object of the Common School" is also discussed; and it is determined to be, "not to "finish the education, but to lay the foundation "for future and higher attainments," as if those "future and higher attainments" are accessible to the children of one in ten of those who, as tax-payers, pay for those Common Schools; and as if there is any propriety of taxing the great body of the people for the support of those preparatory schools of which not one in ten can enjoy the full benefits.

He pleads, too, for Mental Philosophy as a branch of Common School education; and he pleads, also, for labor as an educator.

The various papers are well-written; and, whether the reader shall agree with the author or not, in his conclusions, his arguments are entitled to a respectful reading and a careful consideration.

The volume is very handsomely printed.

29.—*I go a-fishing* By W. C. Prime. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Octavo, pp. 365.

A readable book, for a summer-day's amusement, by the jolly ex-editor of the *Journal of Commerce;* and we have no doubt it will find a ready welcome from all who, like himself, are inclined to seek a "Rookery" and enjoy the pleasures which generally await those who "go "a-fishing."

It is a very neatly printed book; but entirely without illustrations.

30.—*Sigillologia. Being some account of the Great, or Broad Seal of the Confederate States of America.* A Monograph. *Non omnis moriar.* Dedicated to the sacred memory of

"The gallant cavaliers who died in vain,
"For those who knew not to resign or reign."

By Joannes Didymus Archæologos. Washington, D. C.: Kervand & Towers. 1873. Octavo, pp. 23.

In this tract, we find a history of the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America, in which are introduced various papers, evidently copied from the originals, illustrative of the subject. All this is interesting, as a fragment of the history of that great contest for the supremacy of local self-government—for the right of the People to rule themselves—of which the end is not yet seen; and, as such, it is welcome. But it is supplemented by nearly an equal quantity of reading matter which has as little to do with the Confederate States' Great Seal as a chapter of *Solomon's Song* would have; and we decidedly object to any such interpolations, in such a work.

31.—*Mission of the North American People, Geographical, Social, and Political.* Illustrated by Six Charts delineating the physical architecture and thermal laws of all the Continents. By William Gilpin, late Governor of Colorado. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 217.

This very beautiful volume is, certainly, a very singular one, combining, in its contents, very much information concerning the structure of the Continent—especially that portion of it which is West from the Alleghanies—which, if true, is entitled to careful consideration, with very much more of that slam, bang, spread-eagle literature which has made George Francis Train so notorious, the world over.

Throwing aside the mere buncombe of the work, the author professes to describe, in general terms, but very minutely, what he regards the "mountain foundation of North America;" but he confines his attention to what he calls the Cordilleras—including the Black-hills, the Sierra Madre, or Rocky-mountains, the Sierra Nevada, the Sierra Mimbres, the Sierra Wasatch, the Okennagan-mountains, and others of less importance—without even mentioning the Alleghanies. He next describes, in still greater detail, the peculiarities of the Rocky-mountains, with their passes, their cañons, their basins, etc.; he then describes the Plateau of the Table-lands, its formation, its climate, and its soils, and he speculates on its destiny; and these are followed by similar detailed descriptions of, successively, the Sierra San Juan, the South Pass, the Great Basin of the Mississippi, the Great Plains, and the series of parcs, or basins in the Rocky-mountains. Next comes a discussion of the Climate of America; and, finally, "the North American "mission," as the author understands it, is spread before the reader, with all the earnest grandiloquence of a western stump-speaker.

An *Appendix* contains various speeches and orations which the author has pronounced, from time to time; and the end is reached.

We do not know that William Gilpin, the author of this volume, is a descendant of John Gilpin, "of famous London town," of whose adventures the gentle Cowper was the historian; but if we may judge of their respective exploits and compare one with the other, he must be a lineal descendant of that distinguished linen-draper; have inherited the venerable pony on which his ancestor rode out of town; and met

with the same fate, while using that runaway nag, in "the mountain formation of North "America." At any rate, like his distinguished namesake, he undoubtedly knows something, on some subjects; but, also like that gentleman, he knows very little on some others. One could undoubtedly talk about the qualities of linen, as the other evidently can about "mountain form "ations;" but it would have been fortunate for both, before undertaking to display their dexterity, had they been favored with curb-bits, on their respective bridles. They could, then, have held in their horses and avoided, in both cases, the exposure of their own ignorance, on matters which were unconnected with their every-day lives.

Both in its typography and its illustrations, the volume is worthy of the press of the Lippincotts, whence it came.

32.—*The Story of Wandering Willie.* By the author of *Effie's Friends* and *John Hatherton.* With Frontispiece by Sir Noel Paton, R. S. A. Reprinted from the third London Edition. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo pp. 104. Price 50 cents.

The third of Messrs. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co's. *Library of Choice Fiction;* and one which is said to be worthy of the place it occupies in this excellent series.

33.—*The Re-union of '73.* The second reception of the Sons and Daughters of Portsmouth, resident abroad, July 4, 1873. Also, an account of the High School Re-union, July 5, and the Great Praise-meeting on Sunday, July 6. Published by Charles W. Gardner, Portsmouth, N.H. Sine anno. [1873?] Octavo, pp. 96.

In 1853, the project was broached of gathering the various emigrants from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, then residing in other States, in a pilgrimage to their former homes, in that city; and they went, and the stay-at-homes received them, joyfully, and gave them a hearty welcome.

In 1863, the War occupied the attention of everybody, and Portsmouth was neglected; but, in 1873, the emigrants returned to the charge and, during three days, Portsmouth entertained the modern prodigals who had thus returned to their fathers' tables.

In this beautiful tract, from the press of the Claremont Manufacturing Company, we find a detailed record of this second re-union, from its inception to its close, including the poems and speeches delivered on the occasion, and a minute description of the private as well as the public arrangements and decorations. It leaves little unsaid, on that subject; and, as a Portsmouth local, it possesses a marked importance.

As we have said, the tract is a very handsome one, typographically considered, and we beg to call the attention of our readers to it.

34.—*A Journey to the Centre of the Earth.* From the French of Jules Verne. With Fifty-two Illustrations by Riou. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Octavo, pp. viii., 264.

This is, certainly, a very remarkable volume, although it is not such an one as is calculated for a very wide circulation.

Purporting to be the narrative of a young German student, descriptive of a journey from Hamburg to Iceland, and thence, by way of the crater of an extinct volcano, through the centre of the earth, to the summit of Stromboli, the well-known volcano of it is full of the wildest adventure, by sea and by land, on the face and under the surface of the earth, and, at the same time, it appears to present, in the most vivid terms, the dry and uninteresting teachings of Palæontology and Geology, concerning the structure of the earth and its pre-historic inhabitants. Such a work, notwithstanding the attractions with which it is surrounded, must, necessarily, find a limited circle of readers; but it is not, for that reason, any less entitled to a careful reading.

Both the typography and the illustrations of the volume are of a very superior class, and the binding is very handsome.

35.—*The Chapel Hymn Book, with tunes: for the Worship of God.* New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 292.

Our esteemed friend, Rev. Doctor Hatfield, the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, has devoted great labor and care, to say nothing of his excellent judgment, in the compilation of a hymn-book, with tunes, for the use of the churches of the country, of which hymn-book we have had something to say, in another place, and he has also exercised his skill, in hymnology, by abridging that CHURCH *Hymn-book*, and producing this CHAPEL *Hymn-book*, for the use of "missionary and feeble churches which demand "a book less expensive than the more compre"hensive and complete work."

The hymns and tunes contained in this minor volume are among the choicest in use among the churches; and their classification is similar to that employed in the other and larger volume, permitting them to be used together. But, as we have noticed the larger volume more fully than we can this, which is an abridgement of the other, in bulk, but hardly so in excellence, we must forbear, with the remark that, for the particular purpose for which

it was designed, this volume, as far as we may be allowed to judge, has no superior.

It is very neatly printed.

36.—*Sub-tropical Rambles in the land of the Aphanapteryx.* Personal Experiences, Adventures, and Wanderings in and around the Island of Mauritius. By Nicholas Pike. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873. Octavo, pp. xvili., 511.

The author of this beautiful volume having been appointed Consul of the United States for the island of Mauritius, he carefully observed the strange things which, both on his passage and after he had reached his destination, which were constantly presented to his notice; and from his notes, taken at the time, and from his own experience and recollections, this very interesting volume has been written.

Two chapters are occupied with descriptions of the author's outward voyage; and the remainder of the volume is devoted to Mauritius, in all her varied characters. Her towns are minutely described, as, also, are her history, geography, geology, climate, commerce, agriculture —especially her sugar-growing feature—the manners and customs of her inhabitants, the diseases which prevail there, the cyclones which scourge her, her government, her educational institutions, etc.; and there appears to have been nothing, worth notice, which the author has not noticed and illustrated.

In every respect, this volume is a valuable addition to the literature of eastern geography, geology, climatology, agriculture, commerce, and history; while, in its vivid descriptions of scenery, manners and customs, etc., it is as attractive as a novel.

As a specimen of typography, both in its text and its many beautiful illustrations, it is very handsome and worthy a place on any table.

37.—*Library of Choice Fiction. The Burgomaster's Family: or, Weal and Woe in a little World.* By Christine Muller. Translated from the Dutch, by Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., F.R.S. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 195. Price $1.

The fourth volume of the series of choice fiction, published by Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., which was referred to in our number for . It is the work of Mrs. E. C. W. van Walrée, of Brummen, in Gelderland, an authoress hitherto unknown, in America. It was received with great favor, on its first appearance, in Holland, and she was eulogized by the Press of the Netherlands, for her flowing narrative; the simplicity, clearness, and grace of her style; the reality and nationality of her heroes and heroines; and the faithful delineation of Dutch character and family life.

Such a work must find many admirers among those, in this country, who boast of their Dutch descent.

38.—*The Atlantic Almanac,* 1874. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. [1873?] Quarto, pp. 80. Price 50 cents.

A very beautiful yearly, containing the usual Calendars and Tables, together with a variety of literary articles, by well-known writers, and a greater variety of excellent wood-cuts, many of them full-page specimens.

With its beautiful, illuminated cover and profusion of illustrations, it is, certainly, a very attractive affair.

39.—*The Poems of Henry Timrod.* Edited, with a sketch of the poet's life, by Paul H. Hayne. New revised edition. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 232. Price $1.50.

Henry Timrod was one of Carolina's most devoted sons and one of her sweetest songsters.

The son of a verse-writing mechanic of Charleston, he evidently inherited the spirit of poesy without the determination to labor with his hands which had secured for his father, at once, both respect and respectability; and his life, as portrayed by his friend, Mr. Hayne, was, therefore, a constant struggle for life, as a purely literary man. He seemed, very often, to need the necessaries of life; yet he seldom seemed to look beyond *his pen* for the means of supplying them, although, all around him, there were calls for labor, in various departments, which he could have honorably and usefully responded to. He lived, therefore, in constant discontent with his lot; and, it is probable, his life was shortened by the effects of his disappointment.

But it is at his works rather than himself that we are invited to look; and we have examined this beautiful little volume with pleasure. There is nothing in it which has particularly startled us; but his love of country, his love of family, and his love of nature have been sung in such tones of delicate sweetness, that we can excuse the want of vigor which generally prevails throughout the work.

The remains of such a man should not be wholly buried, to be soon forgotten, for ever: it is well, therefore, that this portion of them has been thus preserved; and it will be better, if they shall find a permanent lodgement on the memory and affections of the Carolinians for whom they were originally written.

40.—*The Parents' Guide:* or, Human Developmente through inherited tendencies. By Hester Pendleton. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. New York: S. R. Wells. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. 203. Price $1.50.

The author of this volume insists that there are laws of hereditary transmission in the moral, as well as in the physical, constitution; and, while she does not pretend to state just what these laws are, she insists, too, that their teachings, as far as known, shall be honestly and earnestly regarded.

She is evidently a sensible woman and entitled to the respectful attention of parents, everywhere; and her subject is one which neither parents nor those who are not parents can disregard with impunity.

41.—*The Bath: its history and uses, in health and disease.* Illustrated. By R. T. Trall, M.D. New York: S. R. Wells. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 70.

A very excellent work, whether considered in a sanitary or an economical sense; and one which may usefully find a place on every family book-shelf, as well as in the trunks of those who have no book-shelves.

42.—*Sea-gift.* A novel. By Edwin W. Fuller. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 408.

A novel founded on Southern life and Southern incidents, and, as far as it is political, with Southern tendencies.

It is well-written; the plot is well sustained; and its moral teachings are worthy of all praise. Its pictures are exceedingly graphic; and we have rarely seen descriptions of persons and incidents which have been written with such minute precision, in their little details, as in this volume.

It is very neatly printed.

43.—*A Compendium of the History of the United States from the earliest settlements to* 1872. Designed to answer the purpose of a text book in Schools and Colleges as well as to meet the wants of general readers. By Alexander H. Stephens. New Edition—Revised. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. 513.

It is singular, but not less true, that a general impression prevails that there is nothing in the history of our own country which is not known to every intelligent person; and that it requires neither special study nor special means to write accurately—and without *accuracy*, history becomes fiction and is valueless—on any particular part of it or on the subject generally.

In that spirit, Mr. Stephens, among others, has written what he presumes to call *A Compendium of the History of the United States, from the earliest settlements to 1872*, although no one ever heard of Mr. Stephens as a *historical* student and who ever heard of him visiting a Historical Society, for purposes of research? A "history" can no more be written accurately without the latest results of research that can a work on chemistry; and yet, comfortably seated in his back country home, Mr. Stephens has given the weight of his name to what, in this case, he calls "history," or a "compendium" of that article. Let us see what the result is.

Mr. Stephens professes to write of the *United States*, which did not exist, either in law or fact, until the first of March, 1781—instead, the constituent *States* of which that confederation is composed had no existence prior to the fourth of July, 1776—and yet Mr. Stephens goes back to "the discovery of America" and occupies one hundred and eighty-five pages of his four hundred and eighty in telling what forms no part of the history of the *United States*, which is the specific subject of his work. That portion would have been appropriate had Mr. Stephens been writing a history of Colonial Great Britain or the histories of the American Colonies; but it was out of place in this volume, from his pen, especially.

Mr. Stephens is equally at fault in his details. He repeats the exploded story of "Pocahontas rescuing Captain Smith;" and the old story of her alliance with Rolfe, her voyage to England, and her death, there, are repeated in the same old form, and in utter defiance of the undoubted fact of her early lasciviousness and marriage to an Indian, her subsequent adultery with John Rolfe, who was another woman's husband, and her ultimate death while the wife, so called, of one Thomas Wrothe—both her former husbands, so-called, being yet living. He makes Henry Hudson the discoverer of the Hudson river, instead of Estevan Gomez; and Colonel Nicholas is made the conqueror of New York, instead of Colonel Nichols. He makes the Colony of Plymouth a settlement of the Puritans, in well known defiance of the fact and of well established history; and he makes the Puritans "dissenters "from the Church of England," also without any warrant. He entirely misrepresents the opinions of Anne Hutchinson, for which she was banished from Massachusetts; and he unwarrantably assumes that the Colonists, in New York and New Jersey, had the political rights of citizens—"the rights of the people," he says—as early as 1673. He is silent concerning the open day tea-party, in New York; and makes the Boston tea-party operate "in open "day," instead of late at night, and in the dark. The "Boston Massacre," so-called, is

made the first conflict between the Colonists and the Royal troops, regardless of the "Battle "of Golden-hill," so-called, two months earlier; and his narrative of the "Battle of Lexing- "ton," so-called, is simply ridiculous. He leaves out one-half of the story of Bunker's-hill; he entirely misrepresents the vote on the Declaration of Independence, which did *not* receive "the unanimous vote, not only of *all* "the Colonies, but of *all* the Delegates in Con- "gress," as stated on page 184; "*all* the "Delegates from *all* the Colonies" did *not* sign "the Declaration thus made," *nor did any of them*, except John Hancock; and "the "Declaration thus made" was *not* entitled, as Mr. Stephens supposes, *The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America.* It is very doubtful if the vote was take in Independence-hall, as stated; and, if Doctor Rush —one of those who signed it and who was a lifelong resident of the city wherein it was signed—is to be believed, it certainly was not. Although Mr. Stephens does not say so, the untutored reader would conclude from what he does say, that the Confederation was concluded and the confederated States *legally* united, on the twelfth of July, 1776; although they were not, either in fact or in law, for nearly five years after. Mr. Stephens has evidently heard nothing of the treason of General Charles Lee, while a prisoner within the British lines; he seems to be without information, also, concerning the commerce of the Republic, 1783–1788; and he evidently forgets there were not *twelve* "States" present, in the Convention of 1787, when the proposed Constitution was approved by that body.

Had Mr. Stephens written with the precision and intelligence which should mark the real historian, he would not have said of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, "they wrote a series of very "able articles explaining its" [*the proposed Constitution's*] "provisions, over *the signature* "of 'Federalist,'" etc., since the only *signature* employed was "*Publius*," and the general *title of the series* only, was *The Federalist.* Mr. Stephens, with strange oversight, overlooks those portions of the *Articles of Confederation* which had not been supeseded by "the new sys- "tem," and so remained in force; and, quite as singularly, he appears to overlook the effect of that retention of those Articles, on the States and the Confederacy. Mr. Stephens misunderstands the action of M. Genet, the French Ambassador, and his authority for what he really did do; and he mistakes when he supposes that gentleman was recalled—he was superceded by another; but he was not recalled. Very evidently, Mr. Stephens has not fully informed himself concerning the relations of the United States with France, in the era of Washington and Adams; and if there were any fortifications on Queenstown-heights, when Captain Wool captured those heights, *he* did not see them. Mr. Stephens surely knows that the "Free-Soilers," of 1848, were entirely different from "anti-slavery" in their "elements;" and, knowing it, he ought not to have written of that party as he wrote on page 393. He ought to have read the exact words of the *Constitution for the United States*, concerning the rendition of those from whom labor is due, before writing on them or on the subject; and as close a constructionist as he should have hesitated before making the catching of runaways a *Federal* duty. We cannot comprehend why he should regard and style the Convention of the People of South Carolina as a "*Sovereign* Con- "vention," since no merely delegated body can be sovereign while it is subordinate to those who created it and whose mere representative it is; and the People of that State—South Carolina, as such—was, in the case referred to, the only existing Sovereign. But we must stop.

The tone of this history is dignified; the view taken of the character of the Constitution is generally accurate; the relations of the States and the Confederacy are generally stated in terms which the Fathers of the Republic would have approved. Had greater attention been paid to the details of the narrative it would have been one of the very best small histories of the Republic; and, with the advantages afforded by his position, as Vice-President of the Confederate States, to aid him, we imagine his narrative of the events of the Civil War is entitled to unusual respect.

The volume is very neatly printed.

44.—*Digestion and Dyspepsia:* a complete explanation of the physiology of the digestive processes, with the symptoms and treatment of dyspepsia and other disorders of the digestive organs. Illustrated. By R. T. Trall, M.D. New York: S. R. Wells. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 160.

An exceedingly useful little volume to all, in this fast age, who are too reckless to think *what* they shall eat and *how* they shall eat, without inflicting misery and premature decay, on themselves and their posterity.

45.—*Tacitus* by William Bodham Donne. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. vi., 194. Price $1.

We have hitherto referred, with approbation, to the series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*, edited by the Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A., of which sixteen handy volumes have been

published; and we have before us, now, the seventeenth, containing an admirable epitome of the great Roman historian, preceded by a sketch of his life.

It will not be expected, of course, in so small a volume as this, that more than a general description can be given of the various works of Tacitus, with here and there an extract; but it contains vastly more than the greater number of graduates can communicate, on this subject, and quite as much as the greater number of readers care to know. Indeed, if we except rare cases, this volume will serve instead of the complete text; and in family and school libraries, it will be more generally useful

46.—*The Christian Trumpet;* or, previsions and predictions about impending general calamities, the universal triumph of the Church, the coming of Anti-christ, the last judgment, and the end of the world. Divided into three parts. Compiled by Pelligrino. Boston: Patrick Donahue. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xvi., 272.

A collection of warnings and predictions, made, from time to time, by Catholics, concerning the future of the Catholic Church and of Catholic communities, and concerning matters which are interesting to Catholics, generally.

47.—*Instructions in Madame Herman's method of making Wax Flowers.* New York: Madame Herman. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 36. Price, "with an entire sett of Moulds," $2.50.

Instructions in Foliage. In two Parts. By Madame Herman. New York: The Author. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 34. Price $3.

There are few accomplishments, in a lady, which are more generally attractive than a practical knowledge of the art of making wax-flowers; and it is surprising that so few have acquired it. There are different systems, as there are different teachers, for making these beautiful ornaments, all tending, however, to the same elegant result.

Among those who have mastered the art, with greater success than usual, it is said, is Madame Herman, of New York City; and the two little volume before us, with their accompanying models, contain her instructions for making both flowers and foliage. They are plain enough, in their directions, to be understood by any one who will read them attentively; and, with the necessary practice we are told, by one of our own family who has carefully examined them, the art may be acquired by any one who will carefully follow those directions.

As we have said, wax-flower-making is an exceedingly attractive accomplishment, when it is well understood; and, with these volumes before us and the approval of one character we desire to commend, as a teacher of it, the enterprising author of these volumes, Madame Herman, 111 West Forty first [illegible], New York City.

48.—*The Pastoral Office: the various Offices, powers, duties, and responsibilities, of the Christian Priesthood.* By the Right Rev. Alonzo [illegible], D.D., Metropolitan of Canada. New York: Thomas Whittaker. [illegible]. Duodecimo, pp. 47, 48.

This excellent little volume is devoted, chiefly, to a plain, common sense exposition of the peculiar duties which belong to the pastoral office—its nature and importance, the preparation for it, ordination, the ministerial character, preparation for the pulpit, the object and subject of preaching, the manner of preaching, parochial work, etc.; and, as far as we can perceive, it may be used as profitably by those who are not Episcopalians as by those who are.

We have never examined a volume on this important subject which was written with greater simplicity of language or with greater prospect of wide spread usefulness.

49.—*The New Magdalen.* A Novel. By Wilkie Collins. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 329. Price $1.50.

Another volume of the elegant series of the writings of this popular author, which the Harpers are presenting to the American public, at so low a price that all may buy it, and yet in so handsome a form and so well illustrated that no one need be ashamed to lay it on his center table.

50.—*American Pioneers and Patriots. Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam.* By John S. C. Abbott. Illustrated. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 342. Price $1.75.

This volume appears to be one of a series; but we have seen only this, and are unacquainted with the others and their subjects. A series of biographies, well written and attractive in appearance, would be very useful and, we imagine, remunerative; but, with the exception of Sparks's *American Biography*, we know of none.

In the volume before us, Mr. Abbott has undertaken to narrate the early history of the Colony which, in its maturity, is now known as New York; and, with O'Callaghan and Brodhead before him, it would have been inexcusable, had he not, generally, told the story of that Dutch community with accuracy and tolerable completeness. But, we regret to say, Mr. Abbott is too careless, as a writer, to do good service as a historian; and those who read his work must, necessarily, do so with little confi-

dence in his fidelity and greater dread of being ill-directed through his misstatements of facts. We have space for notices of only two or three examples of that carelessness, although there are others.

What would Mr. Abbott say of an annalist of New York, as it is in our day, were the latter to style Governor Dix the Governor of *Albany*, the capital of the State, instead of Governor o *New York*, the State itself, of whic he is t uly and only the 'Governor?" We need not wait for the indignant reply; and yet Mr. Abbott is not less ridiculous when he styles Pe er Stuyvesant the "Governor of *New Amsterdam*," which was only the principal city in the Colony, instead of Governor of *New Netherland*, the Colony itself.

Again, he must have known that Henry Hudson, when he made his celebrated voyage to America, was neither a *Baronet* nor a *Knight*, and so had no title to be regarded as a nobleman, of any degree; and when he calls that simp e shipmaster, "*Sir* Henry Hudson," he wri es what should not be written, as history.

Again, it is not reasonable to suppose that Mr. Abbott is unacquainted with the fact that Esteban Gomez visited and described the country, hereabouts, before Henry Hudson came here; and we cannot understand why, with that fact before us, he has regarded Hudson as the *discoverer* of Hudson's-river.

Again, and the least pardonable of Mr. Abbott's blunders, in view of his own eastern origin, is his constant mis-description of the settlers of Plymouth, Massachusetts, as "Puritans," instead of "Pilgrims"—churchmen instead of dissenters, persecutors instead of tolerant. "In the "year 1620," he says, "*the Puritans* founded "their world-renowned Colony at Plymouth;" and he repeats the phrase, whenever he has occasion to refer to the "Old Colony" of the *Pilgrim* Fathers. The "Pilgrims," as Mr. Abbott must know, if he knows anything of Massachusetts history, were *neither Puritans nor persecutors*—those characteristics belonged only to the founders of "the Bay Colony" and its offshoots.

Once more. Mr. Abbott must have known that Albany is not far from, although less than, one hundred and fifty miles from the City-hall of New York and something less than one hundred and thirty-four from Spuyten-duyvel-creek, the northern extremity of "Manhattan-island;" and yet, on pages 59–60, he says, "another for- "tified post, called Fort Orange, was established "upon the western banks of the Hudson-river, "about *thirty-six* miles from the island of Man- "hattan;" on page 63, he says this fort was "about thirty-six *Dutch* miles above the island "of Manhattan;" and on page 70, he says a "Dutch mile" equals four English miles—that is, if Mr. Abbott is to be believed, Albany is either *thirty-six* or *a hundred and forty-four* miles "above Manhattan-island," as the reader may determine, unless he shall know, from other sources, that it is *neither the one nor the other*.

But we have overran the space which we had allotted to our notice of this volume, and must conclude with a hope that Mr. Abbott will go over the work; carefully correct the blemishes which he has carelessly allowed to appear in it; and, bearing in mind how great a responsibility rests on him, as a writer of *history*, make it as perfectly trustworthy, in the narrative, and perfectly honest, in its teachings, as a careful research and his duty, as a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, can possibly secure for it. *Without these, it cannot be regard d as history*.

Both in its typography and binding, this volume is a very neat one.

51.—*Hans Brinker: or the Silver Skates*. A Story of life in Holland. By Mary Mapes Dodge. Illustrated by F. O. C. Darley, Thomas Nast, and others. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 347.

A re-print of this excellent work, originally published in 1865, which has retained its hold on the popular favor, notwithstanding the attractions of more recent publications.

Its descriptions of Dutch localities, customs, and general characteristics are said to be perfectly accurate; and all who desire to acquire "a "just idea of Holland and its resources, or to "present true pictures of its inhabitants and "their every-day life, or free them from certain "current prejudices concerning that noble and "enterprising people," will find pleasure in reading it. Besides, it appeals to the favor of all old New Yorkers, by the additional fact that its author is a daughter of that well-known New Yorker of a quarter of a century since, Professor James J. Mapes, whose varied accomplishments, as a practical man of science, is well remembered by those who were then New Yorkers.

The illustrations are appropriate and neatly executed.

52.—*What Can She Do?* By Rev. E. P. Roe. New York: Dodd & Mead. [1873.] Duodecimo, pp. xii., 509. Price $1.75.

An excellent story, by the author of *Barriers burned away*, illustrative of the evils of genteel society, as it is now, in the United States; and teaching the great truth that *labor* is not only useful, but honorable; with incidental lessons on collateral subjects. The heroine of the story is Edith Allen, who disarms adversity by her resolution *to work*, rather than either to beg, or to be degraded, or to starve; and by a judicious use of

the facts of recent events and their teachings—the Phelps, Dodge, & Co. Custom-house matter and the recent panic, for instance—the author very adroitly, and yet with perfect propriety and good taste, brings his lessons home, not only to the heads but the hearts of his readers, with a power which no mere fancy-sketch can possibly produce.

It is an admirable story, well told; and the lessons which it teaches may be studied, usefully, by every one, whether already stricken by adversity or, like Edith Allen, in her younger days, only liable to feel the weight of the blow, hereafter.

The volume is neatly printed and bound tastily.

53.—*An Elementary Algebra.* By D. B. Hagar, Ph. D. Philadelphia: Cowperthwaite & Co. Sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 263. Price $1.25.

One of a "Mathematical Series" of text-books, by the Principal of the State Normal School, at Salem, Massachusetts; and a competent scholar, to whom we handed it, for careful examination and report concerning its merits, authorizes us to say it is a work of a very superior character, and admirably adapted for the elementary purposes for which it was prepared.

54.—*An Outline Study of Man; or, the Body and Mind in one System.* With illustrative diagrams and a method for blackboard teaching. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., LL.D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 308.

The substance of a series of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, by the distinguished head of Williams-college, on Man—his place in creation, relatively to other beings; his body, considered in all its various parts and systems; and his mind and faculties.

Such a volume appeals, of course, to only a small class of readers; and to all such, President Hopkins is already well known, as one of the few thinkers of our country. To all such, among our readers, we respectfully commend this volume.

55.—*Old Rome and New Italy. (Recuerdos de Italia.)* By Emilio Castelar. Translated by Mrs. Arthur Arnold. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 301.

This is not a book of travels, but what the author calls a "record of the lively emotions "awakened in my soul by the marvelous specta-"cles of Italy." It is a series of pen-pictures, each perfectly independent of the others; and most graphic pictures they are, of Italy and those who live there. There is no sympathy with the Pope, nor, particularly, any animosity; and, consequently, while the author seems to respect the Pope, personally, he evidently regards his surroundings with disgust and Italy, generally, with contempt. He criticises Michael Angelo, spits on the Papacy, explores and describes the catacombs, and analyses characters with great severity. He has no regard for "new "Italy," as such; but for Rome, "old Rome," he entertains due regard.

Altogether, it is an exceedingly interesting volume to all who care about knowing Italy and the Italians, as these subjects are seen from a Castilian standpoint; and one which may be read usefully by all who desire to learn of that interesting country and its present inhabitants.

56.—*A Manual of Analytical Geometry.* Designed for the use of Schools of advanced grades. By N. K. Rogers. Philadelphia: Cowperthwaite & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 360.

This is, certainly, a very excellent text-book, although the "General View," which precedes the principal text of the work, is not always written with due regard to the facts. When, for instance, ever heard of John Jay as an orator? In its historical "view," why was Sullivan singled out at the expense of Williamson, or Hutchinson entirely overlooked, or Smith's *History of New Jersey* and Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* disregarded? Were not McSherry and Bozman, Beverly and Kercheval, Martin and Lawson, Simms and McCall quite as worthy of notice as Minott, Gayerre, and Young? So, too, of "warfare," anywhere, why should Winthrop, Cheever, and Upham have been noted among the most notable of "annalists" at the expense of Gordon, or Thacher, or Henry Lee, Charles J. Ingersoll, A. L. La Tour, or Thomas O'Conor; George W. Kendall, or R. S. Ripley; John T. Sprague, or E. A. Pollard; or Jubal A. Early, Orville J. Victor, or Frank Moore? Why, too, were Weems, Tudor, or Wirt regarded as among the chief of biographers, while Allen, Drake, Sparks, and Irving were omitted, altogether? It is rather amusing, too, to find Story and Chancellor Kent among the prominent orators, as such, and John S. C. Abbott, Jacob Abbott, Horace Greeley, and John T. Headley among the later prominent historians, while Ogden Hoffman, John Whipple, and David Paul Brown, among the former, and Samuel G. Drake and William Willis, J. Russell Bartlett, Charles J. Hoadley and J. Hammond Trumbull, E. B. O'Callaghan, J. Gilmary Shea, and Joseph W. Moulton, William A. Whitehead, Bishop Stevens and Ebenezer Hazard, Brantz Mayer, Thomas H. Wynne and President Swain, William Gilmore Simms, Hugh McCall, and Buckingham Smith, Charles Whittlesey, N. B. Craig, and William

Darlington, Lyman C. Draper and Henry R. Schoolcraft were not even mentioned. So, too, with George Ticknor, the distinguished historian of Spanish Literature—what has he done that his honored name should be forgotten, except as the biographer of Prescott?

The names selected as especial exponents of American literature—Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Holmes, Poe, Halleck, Willis, Saxe, Lowell, Cary, Cooper, Hawthorne, Stowe, Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, Taylor, Webster, Clay, Everett, Calhoun, Emerson, and Whipple—are unexceptionable; the specimens of their writings have been selected judiciously, although favor is sometimes displayed in the *extent* of those specimens; and, generally, this portion of the work has been done well.

We earnestly hope that those portions of the preliminary Chapter which are really obnoxious to propriety and the truth of history will be so far corrected that the volume may be used with that real benefit to its readers which such a work is so well calculated to secure and which, with that amendment, this work would unquestionably secure.

57.—*The Liberal Education of Women: the demand and the method.* Current thoughts in America and England. Edited by James Orton, A.M. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. x., 9-328. Price $1.50.

This volume contains a collection of articles, by European and American writers, concerning the collegiate education of woman; and that subject is discussed, in all its varied phases, by writers and thinkers of the very highest class.

Teachers, and parents, and the country at large are interested in this grave question; and it is well that it has been presented, in its most favorable form, by those are most competent to support it, in order that it may be duly considered and properly determined.

58.—*Yale Lectures on Preaching.* By Henry Ward Beecher. Delivered before the Theological Department of Yale-college, New Haven, Conn., as the first series in the regular course of the "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on "Preaching." From phonographic reports. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xii., 263. Price $1.25.

——— ——— Second Series. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 330. Price $1.50.

In 1871, Mr. Henry W Sage, of Brooklyn, established a Lectureship on Preaching, in the Divinity School at Yale-college; and, in honor of the father of his Pastor, it was called "The "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching." To this new-constituted Chair, Henry Ward Beecher was called, as the Lecturer; and, in the first of these volumes, we have the first year's Lectures, which are devoted, chiefly, to a discussion of the personal elements which bear an important relation to preaching, while the second is devoted to a "consideration of social and religious ma-"chinery, as connected with preaching."

The peculiarity of Mr. Beecher's style is seen, of course, in every line of these volumes; and the display of practical good-sense which is manifested, throughout, is really surprising. In the second volume, especially, the Lecturer appears to have exhibited and minutely described the varied machinery of the Plymouth-church and, as far as that machinery was concerned, the secret of much of his own attractiveness, as a preacher; and we can easily understand how important the teachings of such a preceptor, on such a subject, are to every student in divinity, as well as to every Pastor.

If we understand the matter correctly, these volumes form portions of a uniform series of Mr. Beecher's Works; and we may add, the style in which they are issued is a very neat one.

59.—*The Fair God; or, the last of the 'Tzins.* A tale of the Conquest of Mexico. By Lew. Wallace. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. [xiv., 586.

This is a work of fiction, based on the received narratives of the Conquest of Mexico; but we freely confess it puzzles us. We really cannot get the run of the story; and a veteran reader of this class of literature, to whom we subsequently consigned it, having been no more successful, we "give it up."

The volume is a very handsome one.

60.—*The Story of the Earth and Moon.* By J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S, F.G.S. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xv., 403. Price $1.50.

As the author justly remarks, "the science of "the earth, as illustrated by geological research, "is one of the noblest outgrowths of our "modern intellectual life;" but just what those researches have illustrated, seems to be an open question, which very few, in the aggregate, can possibly understand and yet fewer even pretend to answer, intelligently.

In the volume before us, Principal Dawson presents the entire story of that science, from "the Genesis of the Earth" to the introduction of man, as that story is understood by the anti-Darwinian school of scientists—those who regard man as created rather than evolved, those, in short, who favor the biblical theory that man's bodily form is a product of mediate creation and his spiritual nature a direct emanation of his Creator. Of course, the range of the

inquiry extends from the primary condition of the primitive world, through those epochs, or ages, which are known, among geologists, as, respectively, "the Eozoic," "the Primordial," "the Silurian," "the Devonian," "the Carboniferous," "the Permian," "the Mesozoic," "the "Neozoic," and "the Post-Pliocene;" and the reader is led, quietly, through these periods of the earth's life, if we may call it such, which, if surrounded by the technicalities of mere science, would puzzle all except the veriest devotee.

We have not space, nor would it be useful, to follow the author through all his argument; but we are pleased to add our testimony to that of others, better informed on the subject than we can be, concerning the attractiveness of the narrative and its great usefulness, as a popular textbook, on the great subject to which it relates.

Both in its letter-press and its illustrations, this work is very attractive.

61.—*The Ancient Hebrews:* with an Introductory Essay concerning The World before the Flood. By Abraham Mills, A.M. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 443. Price $1.75.

The author of this volume, with unusual modesty, pretends only to have aimed, "after drawing a general sketch of the history of the "world, from the Creation to the Call of Abraham, to give a simple and unambitious narrative of all that transpired in connection with the "history of the Hebrews, from the latter event "to the final destruction of Jerusalem, by the "Romans;" and he candidly admits that, as far as it goes, the Bible has been his principal authority.

We have examined the work, carefully, and we are pleased to say that the author has evidently done all that he promised and has done it well His narrative is clear and well arranged; his style is simple, but effective; and his work is well calculated for the general purpose for which it appears to have been intended.

62.—*Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Marjorie Daw and other People.* Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 272. Price $1.50.

Nine short sketches, by this well-known author—probably contributions to some periodical, gathered into this sheaf and, in a new form, presented, again, to the reading world. We incline to the belief, also, that this is one of an uniform series of volumes, embracing all the "works by the same author;" but of this we write only "by guess."

The style of Mr. Aldrich's writings is so well known that it were useless to attempt to describe it: we content ourself, therefore, with this simple description of the volume before us, for the information of such of our readers as incline to that class of literature.

The typography of the volume is very neat

63.—*Irish Emigration to the United States: what it has been, and what it is.* Facts and information especially addressed to Irish People intending to emigrate from their native land and to those living in the large cities of Great Britain and the United States. By the Rev. Stephen Byrne, O.S.D. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 252.

The title page, of which we have given a complete copy, will indicate to the reader just what kind of a book this is—a handbook for the Irish emigrant, or him who thinks of becoming one.

The first portion of the volume is occupied with information and directions, of a general character, respecting the prospects, duties, dangers, and mistakes of emigrants; the second furnishes information to enable those emigrants, on their arrival in America, to select new homes, discreetly and intelligently.

This work must become a very useful guide to every new-comer, *if he will only read and be guided by it;* but we fear the cities of the Eastern and Northern States have more attractions for poor Pat than the untilled acres of the Western country.

64.—*Church and State in the United States;* with an Appendix, on the German Population. By Joseph P. Thompson. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 166. Price $1.50.

This essay is the response of an American divine—the former Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York—to inquiries made in Germany, where he now resides, by Germans, concerning the relations of Church and State in the United States; and we are astonished and regret that so ripe a scholar and so unequivocally an American as Doctor Thompson professes to be, has considered it his duty to answer so grave a question in so unmanly a manner.

Opening with a quotation of Section 3, Article VI. of the Federal Constitution and one of the First Amendment of that instrument, Doctor Thompson continues by asserting, with perfect looseness, "These two Articles embody all that "is contained in the *National* Constitution "upon the subject of religion; but, brief as "they are, *they proclaim religious liberty*, in the "broadest sense, *as a fundamental right of citi-* "*zens of the United States;*" notwithstanding he must have known, *First*, that there is not, nor can there be, such a thing, in the United

States, as a "*National* Constitution"—that having been a subject formally determined against, by the Federal Convention which framed that Constitution; *Second*, that those Articles established nothing beyond the prohibition of *the United States*, either through the President, the Congress, or the Judiciary, from making a test of religious faith, in the selection of their public officers and, through the *Congress*, from making any law establishing a Federal Religion or prohibiting the free exercise of all religions—the Chinese or the Mormon not excluded; *Third*, that the several *States*, each for itself, are not thereby prohibited doing either the one or the other, whenever and however they shall, each for itself, be pleased to do so; and, *Fourth*, that, as a New Englander and a Congregationalist, Doctor Thompson were vastly more ignorant of the history of the greater number of the New England States and of the history of Congregationalism in those States than we think he is, if he does not know that "an establishment of re-"ligion" *did* exist, both *de jure* and *de facto*, within at least two of those States, within the memory of living men; and that neither the President, nor the Congress, nor the Supreme Court, nor the Federal Constitution, nor all combined, nor any other power on earth, *except the respective States referred to*, each for itself, within its own boundaries, possessed competent authority, in law, either to repeal the laws which authorized it, or to modify them, or otherwise to rescue the victims of oppression from the clutches of the persecuting "Standing "Order," his rhetorical flourish of "religious "liberty, *in the broadest sense*, as a *fundamental* "*right* of citizens of the United States" to the contrary notwithstanding.

Again, Doctor Thompson says "Liberty of "opinion, liberty of worship, liberty in all "matters pertaining to religion, is not a privil-"ege created or conceded by *the State*, but is a "right inherent in the personality of the indi-"vidual conscience; and *the State* is pledged "not to interfere with that right. *Such is the* "*theory of the National Constitution.*" Now all this is very fine, but it is very meaningless, since, *First*, the United States, as such, are the only power referred to, in that portion of the Constitution; and only a reckless man or a very slovenly one, among Americans, would presume to call the United States, which are nothing more nor less than a confederation of several independent States, "THE *State; Second*, that if the Federal power was not referred to, by him, he must have known that no "State" of that confederation was limited in its authority over those subjects, a single iota, by the provisions referred to; and, *Third*, that neither the Federal Constitution nor the Federal officers—executive, judicial, or legislative—possesses the least earthly authority to prevent either of the States from establishing, by Statute, at any moment, *any* creed, religious or irreligious, as the Established Religion of that particular State, and of enforcing obedience to that Statute, on all who shall pass into her territory.

Again, England and Scotland are confederated—"united," they called it, as we do—just as New York and Massachusetts are confederated; yet Doctor Thompson recognizes one kind of an "Established church of *the nation*" in England and another in Scotland. Does not his idea of what constitutes a nationality in the United States meet with a sudden collapse when he reaches England or Scotland? If two or more independent States, united as States, in America, become, in the aggregate, "*a Nation;*" we should like to know why, in Doctor Thompson's vocabulary, England and Scotland, united, are not, also, "*a Nation*" instead of two distinct nations; and why, in such case, there can be one kind of "national "religion" on the southern bank of the Tweed and a radically different and radically antagonistic "national religion" on the northern bank of the same paltry stream? We detest that kind of religion which impels a man—more so when that man is a D.D.—to have one set of principles for Europe and another for his own country—which tells a different story to different men, when different purposes prompt him to tell any story—and it might be well were Doctor Thompson to ascertain just what constitutes a "nation" and then stick to that definition, in America as well as in Scotland or Germany.

On page 13, after all his talk about "funda-"mental rights of citizens of the United States" and provisions of the "National Constitution," Doctor Thompson is constrained to write of "Laws of *Particular States* upon Religion;" but he has sadly neglected to tell of the Established Churches, in Maine, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and of the persecutions by those Churches, long since the establishment of the Federal Constitution.

There are various other points on which Doctor Thompson has too loosely recited the facts of his country's history or too unjustly failed to recite them at all; but we have neither the time nor the space to devote to a more extended notice of them, at this time. Suffice it to say that, as he has responded, his paper is less of an exposition of the relations of Church and State, in the United States, than an apology for the outrages committed in New England by the Puritanic element of our earlier countrymen, in the name of religion, and

for the outrages against freedom of conscience, in the authorized persecution of the Roman Catholics, in modern Germany, which is now in progress, in that country—indeed, there is an undercurrent, running through the entire work, inviting, and justifying, in advance, a Federal onslaught on the Mormons, the Chinese, and the Roman Catholics, in the United States, and an emphatic endorsement of the Emperor of Germany and his modern persecutions, for conscience sake.

It is very evident that Doctor Thompson has ceased to be a republican, *per se*, if he ever was one; and that he has not sought a home under the shadow of an Emperor, a moment too soon. We trust he will find the change an agreeable one.

65.—*The Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for the United States, for the year of our Lord* 1874. Calculated for different parallels of Latitude, and adapted for use throughout the country. New York: Catholic Publication Society. [1873?] Duodecimo, pp. 144.

A very neatly printed and very well illustrated annual adapted to the use of Roman Catholics throughout the United States.

66.—*School History of South Carolina.* By Jas. Wood Davidson, A. M. Columbia, S. C.: Duffie & Chapman. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. Sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 288.

A neat little history of South Carolina, very well adapted, in form and style, to the purpose for which it is intended; but it is marred, in many cases, by inaccuracies of statement, which turn what otherwise would have been *history* into what is worse than fiction. Thus: the moving cause of the Revolutionary War is said to have been the "*heavy* taxes" inflicted on the Colonists; while the fact is those taxes were mere trifles when compared with many inflicted since that day. It was the principle of *taxation without representation* which was urged; but the *real* moving cause was something far less creditable to many of the leaders. Again, while James Otis and Christopher Gadsden are entitled to high praise, there were others who *led them*, in opposition to the King's measures, and are worthy of a passing notice, where any are noticed. Again: the "Sons of Liberty" existed, and led the opposition, long before the tea-tax was enacted; and it is wrong to say otherwise. Again: "the first actual fighting be-"tween the Colonists and the regular British "military authorities," occurred in January, 1770, on Golden Hill, in New York City; not at Alamance, as stated. Again: the Declaration of Independence was *not* voted for, by "every Colony," on the fourth of July—New York never voted for it, *in the Congress;* on the contrary, she declared her own independence, by her local Provincial Convention, at White Plains, in this County, on the *ninth* of July, 1776. But we have room for only another instance of its inaccuracy; and we mention that only because every Carolinian ought to know what the truth is, concerning it. The garrison of Charleston harbor did not occupy Fort Sumtem "on the night of the 20th of December, "1860," as stated on page 245, but on the *evening*—it was all over before eight o'clock—of the twenty-*sixth* of that month.

67.—*Saxe Holm's Stories.* New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. iv, 350.

A series of short stories, gathered from *Scribner's Monthly*, by a well-known author, who, for this purpose, is *incog.*

They are well-written, teaching excellent lessons, and eminently worthy of a wide circulation. The story of *Draxy Miller's Dowry* and the supplement to it, *The Elder's Daughter*, may be usefully read and applied by other men's daughters than Reuben Miller's, the country over.

It is beautifully printed, on tinted, laid paper; and will not discredit any centre-table.

68.—*Old-time Pictures and Sheaves of Rhyme.* By Benj. F. Taylor. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. 194.

A volume of poems, probably by a western poet, as it was introduced to the reading public by a distinguished western publisher.

The leading piece, *An old time picture, July 4, 1776–July 4, 1873*, occupies the first twenty-five pages; but, while we have felt anxious to find the author's meaning, and have carefully looked for it, we confess that we have not yet discovered it, so elaborate are his sentences and so overburdened with ornaments. Indeed, we do not remember that we have ever seen a poem which has presented such a profusion of rhetorical decoration; and the same overgrowth of imagery is seen, wherever we open the volume. It would be remarkable, in such a case, if some of these figures, thus employed, were not appropriately selected and gracefully worded; and we are free to say that there are enough of that character, scattered throughout the work, to satisfy the reasonable demands of the author, for three such volumes as this, were he to cast aside, as surplusage, all the rest, of which we have so poor an opinion.

If our advice is worth anything to a poet,

we respectfully suggest that he shall use a *curbbit*, whenever he shall, hereafter, attempt to mount his Pegasus; and if he will keep his steed well in hand, without allowing him to prance so unreasonably, he may enjoy his ride better, while those who shall see him, in his flights of fancy, will take more comfort than they can now take, and feel no anxiety concerning the safety of the poet's neck.

The typography of the volume is very fine—indeed, with its fine, clear text and neatly rubricated borders, we have seldom seen a more beautifully printed volume, either from the English or the American press.

69.—*Hester Morley's Promise.* By Hesba Stretton. New York: Dodd & Mead. Sine anno. Dnodecimo, pp. 526. Price $1.75.

An elaborate story of filial affection, adultry, self-righteousness, revenge, contrition, forgiveness, love. It is too elaborate to be life-like; but Hester Morley and her father are characters which, apart from the remainder of the story, are worthy of study.

The volume is a very neat one.

70.—*Our Western Home.* A story from life. By the author of *Twenty-five cents*, *Fernwood*, etc. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, N. d. 16mo., pp. 175.

One of those attractive little volumes which capture the young reader and, while they amuse him with their pleasing narratives, impress lessons of virtue on his young mind.

Our dear little daughter has carefully read every line of it; and we have enjoyed the pleasure of seeing her enjoy herself, greatly, as she read the narrative and was taught the moral which it inculcated.

Both in the letter-press and the illustrations, the volume is a very neat one.

71.—*Stories of a Grandfather—about American History.* By N. S. Dodge. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1874. 16mo., pp. 176.

A series of stories "about American history," if those stories related *facts*, would be exceedingly useful and heartily welcomed; but those stories which repeat *fictions*, over and over again exploded, cannot properly be said to be "about American" nor any other "*history*."

The series of "stories," before us has a cut of *The Baptism of Pocahontas*, in an arched church-edifice, by a surpliced priest, before a Gothic font, all of which is simply absurd. The third Chapter relates to "Captain John "Smith, who *founded Virginia;*" repeats the old yarn of Pocahontas rescuing that adventurer from impending death; makes her the *married wife*, instead of the *concubine*, of Rolfe; and makes her last days joyful and happy instead of just the opposite—all of which, as every one who pretends to historical knowledge could have told the writer of these stories, is mere fiction. There are other fictions, scattered throughout the volume, which should not have been allowed to find places there; but we have not the space nor time to devote to them.

We deeply regret that the excellent publishers of this work have been misled, in this instance, and induced to expend so much care and taste on a volume which, because it will tend to the inculcation of falsehood in the minds of the young people who will read it, concerning the history of their own country, is not honestly entitled to a tithe of the money which it has cost.

But typographically considered and concerning its beautiful covers, this little volume is a little gem.

72.—*How to Paint.* A complete Compendium of the Art. Designed for the use of the Tradesman, Mechanic, Merchant, and Farmer, and to gnide the professional Painter. Containing a plain, common-sense statement of the methods employed by painters to prodnce satisfactory results in plain and fancy painting of every description, including Gilding, Bronzing, Staining, Graining, Marbleing, Varnishing, Polishing, Kalsomining, Paper-hanging, Striping, Lettering, Copying, and Ornamenting. With formnlas for mixing paint in oil or water; descriptions of the various pigments used, their average cost, and the tools required. By F. B. Gardner. New York: S. R. Wells. 1873. 16mo., pp. 126.

The title-page sufficiently describes the varied contents of this little volume; and, as far as we are capable of judging, the contents fully sustain the promise of the title-page.

It appears to be a very perfect hand-book of the art; and, if we do not mistake, both professional painters and would-be amateurs may use it, profitably.

73.—*Points of History. The Inquisition. The Albigenses and the Waldenses. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Fifth of November; or, Gunpowder Plot. Galileo and the Inquisition. Religious Toleration a question of first principles.* Boston: Patrick Donahue. Sine anno. 16mo., pp. 260.

A series of lectures, on the "points of his-"tory" described in the title-page.

We do not know by whom these lectures were written nor when nor where delivered—they are, probably, of English origin—but they are written with evident care, in a tone which is creditable to the author's manhood, and with a seeming desire to meet the questions discuss-

ed, with frankness and entire fairness. They relate to "points of history," in Catholic administrations, which are often referred to and discussed, but seldom in kindness, on either side; and they tell of "the other side," with remarkable good temper, unusual candor, and an amount of intelligence which seems to have exhausted the Catholic history of the stories.

Truly, "one side is good until the other shall have been told."

74.—*Jessie's Work; or, Faithfulness in Little Things.* A Story for Girls. By Mary E. Shipley. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. Sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 232. Price 90 cents.

Dorothy's Ladder. By the author of *Burden Bearing, a Story of Jenny Ellis.* Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. Sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 252. Price $1.

Two excellent little stories, well told, and admirably adapted to the understanding and wants of little people.

The first is a story of a lame child, and the work which she accomplished, with a little timely assistance and a good temper, not only to help herself but to assist her widowed mother: the second is one of a little orphan, who, by truthfulness and fidelity to her trusts, not only overcame the envy and bad temper of those who were with her, but secured for her the respect and confidence of those whom she served.

Both are religious in their tendencies: the latter, in addition, is sprinkled with plain lessons in Botany, adding to its attractions. Both are very neatly printed and illustrated; and they form very acceptable additions to the library of our little daughter.

75.—*The New Hampshire Register, Farmers' Almanac and Business Directory, for* 1874. Claremont: Claremont Manufacturing Company. 1874. 16mo., pp. 258. Price 25 cents.

The New England States, with the exception of Rhode Island, are each supplied with a yearly publication, embracing, respectively, an almanac, together with the statistics of the several towns and counties, their several officers, churches, pastors, hotels, etc., and, not unfrequently, a complete business-directory of those who reside there. It is an old fashion, there—our files of the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut Registers* extend back almost to the Revolutionary War, and that of New Hampshire into the last century—and it is one which, because of its extreme usefulness, might be beneficently extended, outside of New England.

The little volume before us is the New Hampshire volume for 1874; and both to those living within that State and to those who have business relations therewith, it is an indispensable necessity.

Our Exchanges.—The late date at which this number of the Magazine is issued enables us to notice, in this place, the few Magazines which we have retained under the new system inaugurated by the new postal Act.

—*The Bibliotheca Sacra, and Theological Eclectic* published by Warren F. Draper, Andover, Mass., at Four dollars per annum, has just commenced its thirty-first annual volume, in style uniform with the volumes which have recently preceded it. It is widely known as a quarterly of the very highest class, devoted to the discussion of questions in Theology, Biblical Literature, Church History, Philology, Biblical Geography, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Classical Learning. Although an exponent of Protestantism and of the orthodoxy which is taught at Andover and Yale; it is not sectarian, in a minor sense; and not only clergymen but intelligent laymen, of all denominations, may find matter in it which will serve to make them more useful, both within their respective churches and in every-day life.

—*The Catholic World, A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science,* published by the Catholic Publication House, New York, at Five dollars per year, is in its eighteenth volume. It is entirely without pictorial illustrations and depends, wholly, on its literary merits for the success which it ought to enjoy. The name it bears will indicate, of course, the stand-point occupied by its Editor; but no one, Catholic or Protestant, will dispute the great ability and bravery, as well as the courtesy and general fairness, with which it is conducted. It is one of the most scholarly of American monthlies; and without assenting to all its teachings, we always welcome it to our table.

☞ *The remainder of our exchanges will be noticed in our next number.*

VIII.—"*LIKE CAUSES*" *WHICH DO NOT* "*PRODUCE LIKE EFFECTS.*"

GENTILITY. RUFFIANISM.

The great end and purpose of every Editor and Publisher is to retain the readers he has already secured for his publication and to add to his subscription-lists and transient purchasers, from those who are not already his supporters, as many as he can secure. For this, his every effort is made, whether in his literary or his business labors: and his "enterprise," in

all its phases, is altogether directed to that all-important end. This has been, and still is, the object of our earnest toil; and we have not hesitated, nor shall we, to profit by any suggestions, from others, which seem to promise any assistance, in our work.

While our honored friend, General Jefferson C. Davis, of the Army of the United States, was stationed in New York, at the head of the Recruiting Service, he was alive to the importance, to us and to our family, of securing a more extended support to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which he honored with his earnest approval and rendered more interesting by his invaluable communications on the subjects to which it is devoted; and, among other suggestions, he advised us to send specimen numbers to officers of the Army as well as to those who, after having served as such, had returned to the occupations of civil life—he especially suggested that commandants of posts would be glad to receive and read such a work and to add it to their Post Libraries; and, with his usual zeal, in well-doing, he assisted us, at Head-quarters, in acquiring a knowledge of the localities of those officers to whom we have referred. His suggestions were made for our benefit; and he neither pretended nor desired to do more than this.

Profiting by this advice, we sent to each of several hundreds of officers, within and without the Army, a copy of the first number of Volume I., *postage pre-paid*, and accompanied with a letter, *also pre-paid*, in which we informed him by whom and at whose suggestion the number had been sent, and that it was "*for "your examination only;*" at the same time expressing our "full confidence that you would "so far approve the work and its historical im- "portance as to order its continuance, on the "terms of the enclosed prospectus," and continued, that, for reasons assigned, "if, *from "any cause* whatever, you shall not desire it to "be thus continued, I shall esteem it a favor if "you will inform me thereof, at your early con- "venience; and, in such case, if you will also "return the specimen number and accompany- "ing Extra, through the mail, *I will refund the "expense incurred in doing so.*"

We saw no objection in thus inviting attention to the Magazine, inasmuch as we neither desired nor expected to expose any one to the smallest possible expense, in any case—we considered all to whom we sent them as gentlemen, and, as far as we know how, treated them with that courtesy which gentlemen are entitled to.

Many replied, as gentlemen naturally would reply, and returned our number, as desired—we, as far as we know, returning stamps for the postage expended in doing so, except in cases wherein there was no sign to enable us to judge by whom the numbers were returned. In every case, where we were enabled to do so, we erased the name of him by whom the number was returned, from our lists; and there the experiment, as far as he was concerned, ended.

To those who did not return the numbers, we sent the February number, *also pre-paid*, with an exactly similar letter, *also pre-paid*, with a request to return the numbers, *at our expense*, if not desired; and many who had neglected to return the first number, when thus reminded, promptly returned both, with the same result.

Reasonably supposing that those who had not returned the numbers, at our expense, as requested, were retaining them, as subscribers—as many did—but desiring to guard against mis-carriages or other contingencies, we subsequently sent the March number, *also pre-paid*, and accompanied with a letter similar in character to the other two, and referring to them; and, again, some who had previously neglected to do so, returned the three numbers and were dropped from the lists.

To all who retained the three numbers, we subsequently sent the April number, without letters; and, still later, to all who had retained the other four, we sent the subsequent issues, mostly to August inclusive.

We had made no pretensions of forcing our Magazine on any one, as a subscriber. We had sent it "for examination only." *We hoped the work would tell its own story, and so far win the confidence of those who saw it, that they would authorize us to add their names to our lists, as subscribers. We were not deceived, in the aggregate; and some of the most distinguished of our fellow citizens, soldiers and civilians, thenceforth became our willing supporters and among our warmest friends.*

Some two months since, in order to ascertain who among our readers desired to be regarded as subscribers, *and yet without, ourself, regarding them as under any pecuniary obligations to us, if we had "mistaken their intention," and if,* "for any reason," *they did not, themselves, "desire "to be regarded as yearly subscribers to the work,"* we addressed each of those readers, as follows:

"HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OFFICE,
"MORRISANIA, NEW YORK CITY.

"DEAR SIR:

"Some months since, at the instance of" [*General Jefferson C. Davis*] "and with the "postage pre-paid, I sent to your address, '*for "'your examination only*,' the first number of "the current series of the Magazine, with a "separate letter, in which I informed you by "whom and for what purpose the number had

"been sent, expressing my 'full confidence that "'you would so far approve the objects of the "'work and its historical importance as to "'order its continuance, on the terms of the "'enclosed prospectus,' at the same time re- "spectfully requesting, for reasons assigned, that "'if, from any cause whatever, you shall not "'desire it to be thus continued, I shall esteem "'it a favor if you will inform me thereof, at "'your early convenience: and, in such case, if "'you will also return the specimen number "'and accompanying Extra, through the mail, "'I will refund the expense incurred in doing "'so.'

"As you retained the number thus sent, I "reasonably supposed you desired to be regard- "ed a subscriber; but, to guard against mis-car- "riages of letters and numbers, I subsequently "sent the second number of the series, also "pre-paid, with a similar letter and request for "its return, at my expense, if not desired. "That second number was also retained; but, "to put the matter beyond doubt, I sent the "third number, also pre-paid and accompanied "with a letter, similar in character to the other "two, and referring to them.

"As the third, as well as the other two, was "retained, I considered that you, thereby, sig- "nified your desire to receive the Magazine "regularly, as a subscriber thereto, and have "sent" [*four*] "other numbers, which you have "received, without dissent, and, now, in full "confidence that you have retained the num- "bers only as a yearly subscriber to the Maga- "zine, I enclose the bill therefor, and will feel "much obliged if you will transmit the amount, "at an early day. If any of the numbers have "been mis-carried, I will very cheerfully send "duplicates, as far as I can do so without "breaking my files.

"*As the Magazine is not stereotyped, and as "my circumstances in life require the exercise "of economy in the conduct of my business, if "I have mistaken your intention, and*, for any "reason, *you shall not desire to be regarded as a "yearly subscriber to the work, I beg you will "advise me*, by postal card, *and return the num- "bers of the Magazine which I have sent to you, by "mail.*

"Very Truly, Yours,
"HENRY B. DAWSON.

"P. S.—As the least writing, beyond the "address, on the wrapper of the Magazines "will subject me to *letter postage* thereon, be so "kind as to do no more than *direct the numbers "to my address, and advise me thereof, by post- "al card.* D."

To this letter, sometimes, we received uncivil answers, which were afterwards apologized for, when the writer's attention was called to their oversight of some portions of it: a *very few* were neither courteous nor decent: by far the greater number answered, as they had been addressed, with courtesy and kindness. *We had made no pretence of any claim, if the person addressed,* "for any reason," *did not, for himself, assent to it; and, we had afforded no reason for either ill temper or ill manners.*

From a mass of letters, *courteously* ordering or declining to order the Magazine, each of which was received and acted on, as therein requested, with perfect good feeling, we select one which we received from that venerable Christian gentleman, the Right Reverend W. R. Whittingham, D.D., Bishop of Maryland, from which, as a specimen of others, may be seen how our letters were read and understood by those who were really what they professed to be:

"BALT. 17 Dec 73

"HENRY B. DAWSON Esq
"DEAR SIR

"I had fully intended, long ago, to have "declined subscribing to the HIST MAG (with "thanks for the compliment paid in sending the "Proposals)- not for want of interest in the "work, but, to be frank, because my means "would not justify me in the self-indulgence, "under the pressure of other and higher claims.

"But I have so long delayed execution of "my intention, that the expenditure will now "be one of justice to you rather than indulgence "of myself; and I am not loath to take refuge "in that pretext.

"Your very handsome offer to take back the "numbers sent, would shame one into a refusal "to allow myself to be so advantaged at your "cost, were I not already determined on other "grounds

"I am
"with great respect
"your friend & servant
"W R WHITTINGHAM"

We need not offer any comments on this letter nor on the distinguished Prelate who wrote it—it tells its own story; and it tells, too, how little occasion we had given for any one to treat us with rudeness or to accuse us of wrong-doing.

Among the *very few* who were neither courteous nor decent—exactly the opposite of the Christian gentleman whose letter we have just copied—we regret to say, were some officers of the Army of the United States, all of whom *profess to be*, AND OUGHT TO BE, *gentlemen;* and as a specimen of the literature of one portion of that expensive public luxury, and in order to enable our readers to understand just what kind of tuff is required for an "Aid-de-camp to the

"Lieutenant-general" of the Army of the United States, we copy the following, received by us, in response to the courteous letter which we have copied above:

"HEADQUARTERS MIL. DIV. OF THE MISSOURI,
"CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,———187–

"HENRY B. DAWSON
"MORRISIANIA N. Y.
"SIR:

"For cool downright impudence I think you can 'take the rag off the "'bush.' Your circular and bill making me "your debtor in the sum of $5 00 reached me "this morning and any one who reads it will "readily believe you have attained the front "rank amongst 'confidence men.' You are particular to state that you have sent me your "book—and that you have done so at the instance of Genl Davis, which I don't believe. "If however you have sent it at his instance I "have no doubt he will pay for it. At all events "I won't and don't intend to remit—nor do I "intend to return your book—nor do anything "else you desire of me. You can in fact go to "the d—l. The only thing I might be persuaded to do for you would be to give you the "benefit of a little shoe leather should you ever "come in my way. Hoping and believing your "effort at swindling will not meet with any "better success in other cases I subscribe myself

"M. V. SHERIDAN
"Lt. Col. & A.D.C."

[*Addressed:*]
"MR. HENRY B. DAWSON
"MORRISIANIA
"NEW YORK"

[*Postmarked:*]
"CHICAGO ILL.
"Jan. 20
"3 P. M."

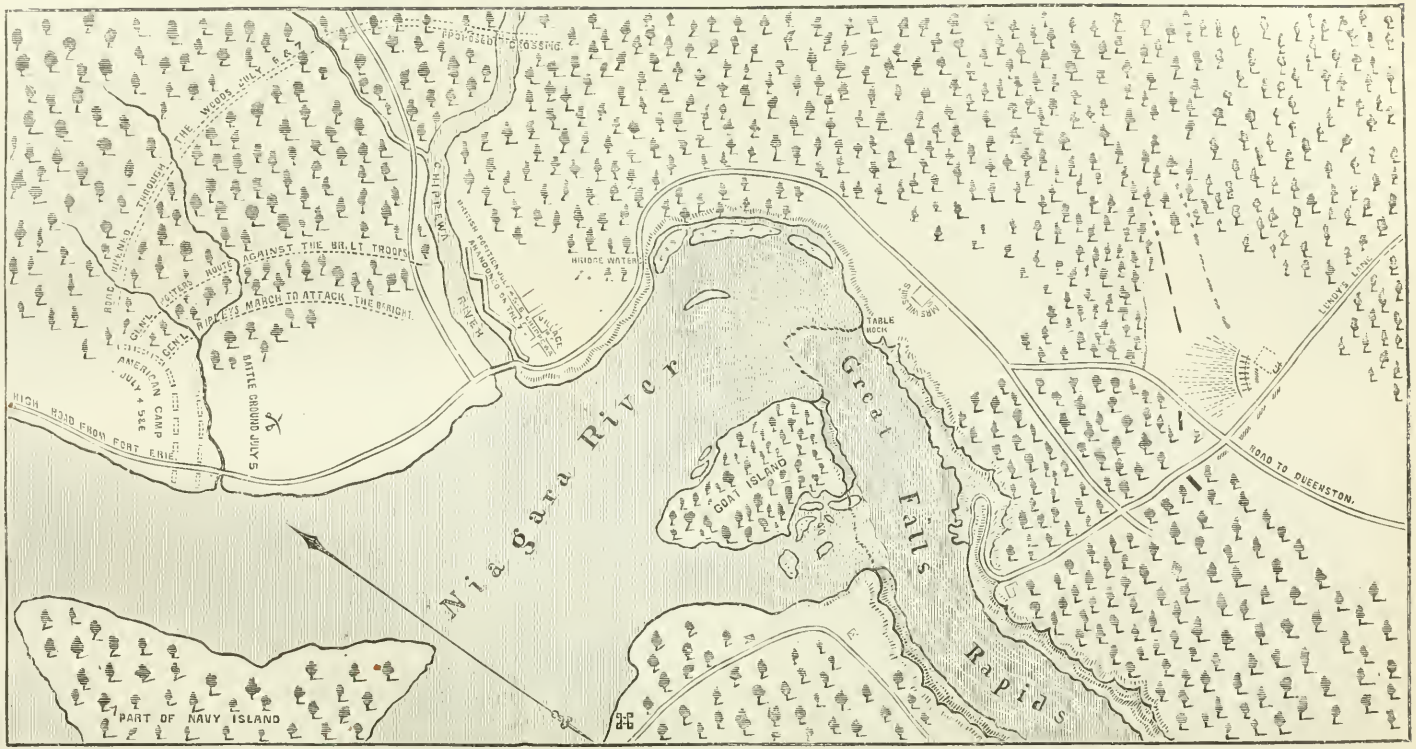
The annals of Ohio, the State which he claims as his birth-place and whence he was appointed to office, are entirely silent concerning the ruffianly writer of this letter; and those of the United States, whose bread he eats, were equally so, until February, 1866, when, under that system of nepotism which, of late, has scandalized the Republic and demoralized every branch of the public service, he was saddled on the over-burdened tax-payers of the country as a Second Lieutenant of Cavalry, with a fixed pay of fifteen hundred dollars and such extras as the law allowed.

There was no pretence, as far as we can learn, that he was entitled to this pre-eminence from any personal or professional merit which he possessed; but he bore the name of a distinguished Major-general of the Army, and that, in the days in which we live, was warrant enough for disregarding the claims for honorable promotion of an entire class of young Brevet Second Lieutenants who had honorably earned their Brevets, at West Point, to say nothing of dozens of non-commissioned officers and privates who had earned a similar right to consideration by years of honorable service, in the garrison or on the field.

Five months after the acrobatic leap, over the heads of his betters, to which we have referred, the entire list of senior Second Lieutenants and *all* the First Lieutenants of the Army were insulted by his promotion, over all their heads and without any reasonable reason, to a Captain's command, with a pay of two thousand dollars per year, besides pickings; and in March, 1867—only a few days over a year after he had emerged from his normal obscurity, in Ohio—he was further honored, *on the same day*, with commissions of Brevet Major and Brevet Lieutenant-colonel. Soon after, he was again favored with promotion, over the heads of other and more deserving officers, to the position of "Aid-de-"camp to the Lieutenant-general," the commission of a Lieutenant-colonel and the pay of three thousand dollars, a yearly "allowance in "addition to the pay of his rank," to support the dignity of his staff appointment, and, now-a-days, having served five years, the tax-payers are further saddled with an extra ten per cent on his pay—he is an "Aid-de-camp to the Lieu-"tenant-general," no matter what his demerits may be, either as a gentleman or a soldier.

Concerning the matter which aroused the peculiar indignation of this favored son of Ohio, we need say no more than that we sent the specimen numbers and letters to him, as the officer in command of Company L of the Seventh Cavalry, as we sent it to other officers of the same rank; and we made no other representations to and asked no more of him than we did of all the others. It is a well-known rule, however, that "like produces like;" and it needs no sooth-sayer to determine, from this specimen of his gentility, just what kind of a man "Lieu-"tenant-colonel Michael V. Sheridan, U. S. A.," is; just what kind of stuff is required to make an Aid-de-camp; and just what reason there is, while such creatures as this are in command, for that reasonable discontent which is found among those officers of the Army who honestly discharge their duties and rely on their merits for promotion, and for that similar discontent among the rank and file which prompts so many to seek relief from indignities and insults, by becoming deserters.

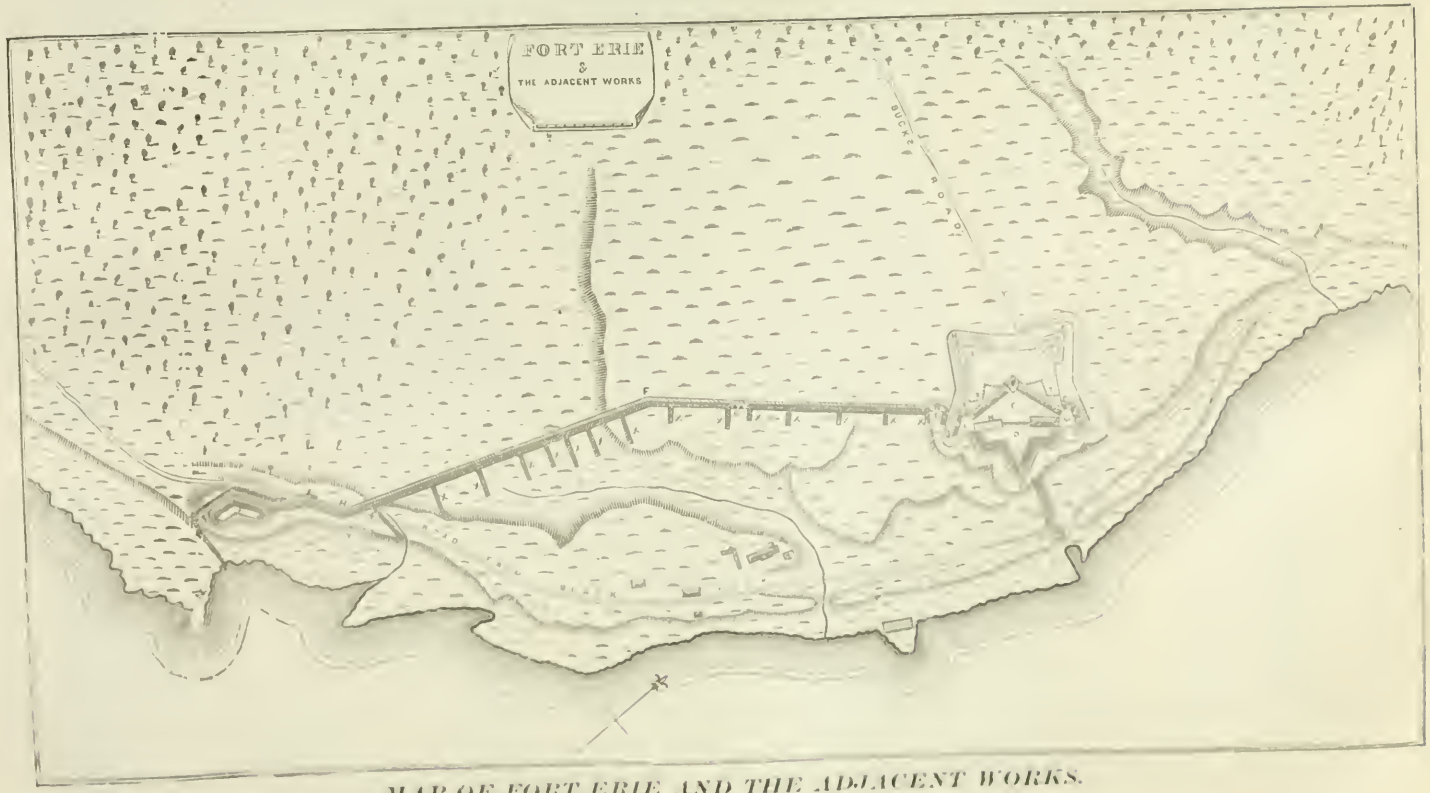
We dismiss the subject, however, as the man of whom we have heard dismissed the subject, when he was kicked by a jack-ass—"we remem-"ber where the offence came from: the poor "beast knew no better."



MAP OF THE NIAGARA RIVER AND ITS VICINITY.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE NARRATIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.

From the original manuscript of Major Douglass.



MAP OF FORT ERIE AND THE ADJACENT WORKS.

From the original manuscript of Major Douglass.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. Third Series.] OCTOBER, 1873. No. 4.

I.—*THE PIONEER SETTLERS OF CENTRAL INDIANA.*

FOURTH RE-UNION OF THE SETTLERS OF MORGAN-COUNTY.

Oration of General John Coburn, of Indianapolis.*

The old pioneer settlers of Morgan-county, associated with the oldest settlers from Marion, Johnson, and Hendricks-counties, held their fourth re-union, on the thirteenth of August last, at Mooresville. The meeting took place in the Fair Grounds, which, large as they are, were literally crowded, there being, at least, eight thousand persons present, if not more. Nearly the whole of Morgan-county came, besides hundreds from other Counties; and the meeting was the largest one of the sort, by all odds, that has ever been held in the State.

After placing the eldest people present upon the stand, with the officers, orator, etc., the Silver Cornet Band of Martinsville played a hymn, and the meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Doctor Hurd, of Indianapolis. The *Song of the Pioneers* was then sung by the audience. The presiding officer, Samuel Moore, then introduced General John Coburn, the Orator of the day, who spoke as follows:

[Hon. John Coburn's speech.]

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It has been the custom of men, from the remotest times, both in savage and civilized nations, to gather together and listen to their old men; to drink in their tales of former times; to wonder at their recitals of adventure, whether in peace or war; and to frame their projects and shape their lives in conformity with their suggestions. Even the newest countries have their old settlers, who are picked out and honored, just as to be a man of 1849, in California, is already almost a badge of nobility, there. Men in middle life are the old heroes of that region —men of the ancient days, who have laid the vast foundations of an Empire, and put in motion the mighty machinery of Government that must run for ages on ages.

We have assembled, to-day, from four of the richest Counties of Central Indiana, to listen to our fathers; to take them by the hand of friendship; to receive, once more, their benedictions. These venerable men and women came, in their youth, from many lands—the four winds of Heaven seem to have wafted them here. Some from frosty New England; some from the green valleys of New York; some from the mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia; some from the Carolinas. Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee also have their children here; and others still came from the Shannon and the Rhine, the hills of Scotland, and the banks of the Thames. They are, no difference from what clime or what was their native tongue, now ours, all ours, and we are theirs. Year after year, their ranks are growing thinner; and the pleasant land they redeemed from a state of nature will soon have gathered the last one to her friendly bosom. Let us honor them while they are with us; and let us preserve perpetual memorials of their labors and their virtues.

When the great law-giver of the Jews had been warned that he was about to sleep with his fathers and that his work was done, he composed a sublime song for his people: "Give ear, O! "ye Heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O! "earth, the words of my mouth." * * * "Remember the days of old, consider the years "of many generations; ask thy father, and he "will shew thee, thy elders, and they will tell "thee." His dying words were coupled with injunctions to listen to old men and to learn wisdom from them.

Edmund Burke, the grandest British statesman, says, "People will not look forward to "posterity who never look back to their ances"tors." * * * "Always acting as if in the "presence of canonized fore-fathers, the spirit "of freedom, leading, in itself, to mis-rule and "excess, is tempered with awful gravity. This "idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a "sense of native dignity, which prevents that "upstart insolence almost inevitably adhering to

* The distinguished author of this Oration, has spared time enough from his duties as one of the Representatives of Indiana, in the Federal Congress, to correct the proofs of this paper; and it is our privilege to present it to the reading public in the form which he desires it to bear.—Editor.

"and disgracing those who are the first acquir-
"ers of any distinction. By this means our
"liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries
"an imposing and majestic aspect. It has a
"pedigree and illustrating ancestors."

Here we find the true philosophy of such great gatherings of the people as have assembled here, to-day, animated by a lofty self-respect, proud of their ancestry and their deeds, and bound by the strongest ties of patriotism to their country. And yet what has been done, by us, to give perpetuity to the names and fame of those who have conferred so many lasting benefits upon us?

In other States and lands, Historical Societies, Antiquarian Associations, and Clubs of liberal-minded men have organized to collect and preserve all relics, memorials, and documents bearing upon matters of general interest. In our State, we have a Historical Society which was founded in the year 1831, and had a feeble existence till about the beginning of the War of the Rebellion. Since then it has lain dormant. Several thousand books, pamphlets, newspapers, and documents have been collected; and a portion of them is now on deposit in the State Library. This Society ought to be revived and put upon a permanent basis. Let us hope that twelve months will not roll round until this desirable work is done.

There is much in our early history worth preserving; and to be an old settler, in such a land, is a badge of honor. In some places, this is not so; for what is it to be an old settler among the Pottawatamies or the Kickapoos, the Modocs or the Mexicans? What is there to be proud of? The older the more contemptible. What is there in the life of a savage worth remembering but something linked with terror or danger?

What are best worthy of remembrance with us are good deeds, kind acts, and devotion to principle. Like the miraculous approaches of morning, like the breaking forth of Spring, they are full of blessing. How much more memorable is a single day when earth is awaking from Winter than an earthquake or a hurricane in all its results. We have the material and the conditions for development. Other peoples have not. To be an old settler, in hot regions, or icy regions, or barren lands, is no matter of pride or pleasure—it is to be like an old crocodile, or an old reindeer, or an old camel, a kind of nondescript, or curiosity, or laughing-stock; but here, it is to have power, dignity, and honor added to one; it is to be a corner-stone of great structure, a leader in a great company, a patriarch in a vast tribe.

What do the struggles and toils of men placed in Norway, or Lapland, or Arabia, or Guinea, or Central America amount to? All of life is consumed in the efforts to overcome nature, and is full of failures. What is there in the greatest achievements of the Sioux Indian, worthy of boast or remembrance? His bravery, his heroic conduct, his devoted death, all go for nothing—all are spent and no gain comes from them. So with the Arab, the Persian, the African, the Malay, the Polynesian. To be an old settler with them is to be but an older and more worthless savage than the rest, to be nearer a brute, to be nearer doghood than manhood.

But to be an old settler in an enlightened land means to approach to St. Paul's claim: "I have
"fought the good fight; I have kept the faith;
"I have finished my work; henceforth there
"is reserved for mea crown." Here, labor, patience, suffering, self-sacrifice, courage, integrity bear fruit and bring a reward. Is this civilization? Is it its result, or its cause?

Here, in this beautiful, free, progressive land, to be a beginner, to be a forerunner, to be a founder, is, indeed, glorious as the light of dawn, welcome as the breath of Spring, delightful as the days of youth. Whatever there is in nature that breathes of growth and progress, clusters around the name of an old settler, in a land like ours. It was something to have been an old settler near the brook Kedron and to have scraped away the earth for the foundations of Jerusalem. It was something to have settled on the banks of the Tiber and to have laid the mud sills of Rome. It was no small thing to have been an old settler in England and to have helped to organize society there. But it is a still greater thing to be the forerunner in the grand line of progress marked out for our people. A beginning not made with the arms of conquest and pillage, but by the peaceable and reasonable exertions of honest, quiet, conscientious men. Men well satisfied to gain their livings by manly toil and willing that any other one should have equal rights and privileges. Willing to live and let live. Well convinced that life has an earnest purpose in it and that, in the homely language of another, "Whosoever is not hammer must be
"anvil." A community so large as ours, without any marked or memorable event in its local history and without any remarkable men to give it distinction, may, at first glance, seem vain in treasuring up the records of the past. But what is lost in striking events or characters is more than supplied by the high average of successful and happy life found in every quarter. Here, is our distinction—here is our boast. Here, the old settler can step forward not to show his scars or his laurels, but to point to ten thousand happy homes as the trophies earned in the field of his labors.

Other places are famous for romantic adventures and exploits, or wars, crimes, storms, and

accidents: ours can only boast of peaceful growth and rapid development.

Let us, for a little while, look at the results of the settlement of this region and ponder upon what has been done.

The census tables indicate what has been the progress of the communities of which this pleasant town of Mooresville forms almost the centre, in a manner most gratifying. Take the Counties of Marion, Hendricks, Morgan, and Johnson, being a territory almost exactly forty miles square, in the center of Indiana, and a fair sample of the best farming land of the State, comprising timber, water, soil, situation, and railroad facilities. Taking this district of country, outside of Indianapolis, which has had an extraordinary growth, and it represents a good average of improvement and progress in the best parts of our State. In 1820, there were no white people in these Counties worth enumerating—the census-takers found nobody. In 1830, they found in Hendricks-county, three thousand, nine hundred, and seventy-five; in Johnson, four thousand and nineteen; in Marion, seven thousand, one hundred, and ninety-two; and in Morgan, five thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three, making, in all, twenty thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-nine people. In 1840, they found in Hendricks-county, eleven thousand, two hundred, and sixty-four; in Johnson, nine thousand, three hundred, and fifty-two; in Marion, sixteen thousand and eighty; and in Morgan, ten thousand, seven hundred, and forty-one people, making, in all, forty-six thousand, four hundred, and thirty-seven. In 1850, they found in Hendricks-county, fourteen thousand and eighty-three; in Johnson, twelve thousand, one hundred; in Marion, twenty-four thousand, one hundred, and three; and in Morgan, fourteen thousand, five hundred, and seventy-six, making, in all, sixty-four thousand, eight hundred, and sixty-three people. In 1860, they found in Hendricks-county, sixteen thousand, nine hundred, and fifty-three; in Johnson, fourteen thousand, eight hundred, and fifty-four; in Marion, thirty-nine thousand, eight hundred, and fifty-five; and in Morgan, sixteen thousand, one hundred, and ten, making, in all, eighty-seven thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-two people. They found, in 1870, in Hendricks-county, twenty thousand, two hundred, and seventy-eight; in Johnson, eighteen thousand, three hundred, and sixty-six; in Marion, seventy-one thousand, nine hundred, and thirty; and in Morgan, seventeen thousand, five hundred, and twenty-eight, making, in all, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand, one hundred, and ten people.

Take out the fifty thousand people who are to be justly considered as the extraordinary growth of Indianapolis and vicinity, and there is left seventy-eight thousand as the regular growth of these four Counties, since their settlement, in 1821. This is a rural population, with the ordinary town inhabitants. This class of population has steadily increased at the rate of a little under twenty thousand for each ten years, four times in succession. The first census taken, found, on an average, about twelve people to the square mile, and now they find about forty eight to the square mile, twelve for every quarter section, three for every forty acre tract, if population was evenly distributed through the four Counties. But this is not the case; there are large tracts, in large numbers, not occupied or improved in any manner. The people are nowhere crowded, and nowhere cultivating the land to its full capacity. For many a ten-year period to come can the quota of twenty thousand be added and only increase the comfort and prosperity of all. People are learning rapidly that very respectable farmers' homes and farmers' livings can be made on eighty acres, and even forty acres of land. That good thrifty husbandry, bringing a variety of production of grass, fruit, and live-stock, yields a reward to labor as certainly and advantageously as the cultivation of much more extensive grounds for grain, or grass, or stock, alone. In other words, that high-priced lands are not the best investment for large farmers. A finer, neater, more careful, more judicious cultivation is the only true one for a rich central region like ours. We cannot compete with Texas in cattle-raising, for they grow almost spontaneously, there, by the thousand. We cannot compete with the great Missouri and Mississippi bottoms in corn-raising, nor with the great plains of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Nebraska in wheat-raising. Their production of these staples is, and is more and more to be, positively enormous, and must bring the prices down here. Nothing but a lack of transportation keeps off the flood now. But it is rising and will overflow us. They are screaming for help, for an outlet, for a market, and gradually the way will be opened. Our farmers will feel it, in the falling standard of prices, as the vast production pours itself over all our land, and even beyond the sea.

Hereafter, the tillers of the soil will find this tremendous competition in the way of all their profits derived in the old-fashioned modes of farming. Cheap cattle, cheap hogs, cheap horses, cheap grain, must pour in from the West, unless we cut off all railroad communication with that region, and keep our own outlets to the East wide open. Perhaps our Western neighbors would complain of this as being selfish, while we might retort upon their rapaci-

ty in flooding us with their surplus, and thus breaking down our prices.

I find, on looking at the census reports of 1870, that the four Counties I have named as specimens, have practically adopted the policy of small farms. For instance, Hendricks contained two thousand and ninety-three farms; of these nine hundred and fifty-four had less than fifty acres each, and sixteen hundred and eighty-six had less than one hundred acres each, leaving only four hundred and seven having more than one hundred acres each. Johnson-county contained seventeen hundred and six farms; of these six hundred and ninety had less than fifty acres each, and thirteen hundred and twenty-six less than one hundred acres each, leaving only three hundred and eighty farms having over one hundred acres each. Marion-county contained twenty-three hundred and eighteen farms; of these ten hundred and sixty-five had less than fifty acres each, and eighteen hundred and ninety-three less than one hundred acres each, leaving but four hundred and twenty-five having over one hundred acres each. Morgan-county contained seventeen hundred and sixty-one farms; of these eight hundred and four had less than fifty acres each, and thirteen hundred and fifty-three had less than one hundred acres each, leaving but four hundred and eight having over one hundred acres. This shows that almost half the number of farms in these Counties have less than fifty acres each, and more than three-fourths have less than a hundred acres each. The small farmers are vastly in the majority, and have reason to be proud of their labors; their improvements shine everywhere—the well-graveled roads, the neat school-houses, the handsome churches, and better than all, the thousands of very comfortable homes, surrounded by good fences, with barns, orchards, gardens, fields, and pastures, all telling a tale of happy thrift. These small farmers find their land has risen one and two hundred per cent., in the last ten years; and that a title-deed finds as ready a market as live-stock, grain, merchandise, or manufactures. Land has not yet reached its maximum value; that which is now worth from fifty to one hundred dollars an acre must soon rise to three hundred and five hundred dollars an acre. The best lands in the Old World command more money than this; and the best lands in the Eastern States do likewise. For our young men, there is no greater folly than to emigrate. "Go West, and grow up with the "country," will do for the sons of those who live on the barren and rocky soil of the older States; that is good gospel, in New England and the poorest part of the Atlantic States, but not here. Our gospel is, "*Stay at home and build "up your own country.*" Develop its uncounted wealth, whether of agricultural, mechanical, or mineral production. Here is a field full of golden profits, certain in its rewards, and surrounded by all that is delightful in life. I have no fault to find with the young man who leaves a country so abundant in stones that it can be fenced in with what can be picked off the soil; but I do question the policy of forsaking the richest lands, in a salubrious climate, settled by a progressive people, going to the wilderness, and courting its severe toils and hardships. This is, indeed, a glorious land; and but for the eager and restless nature of our young men, might almost at once take the foremost position on the Continent. The untiring and indomitable energy of our young men, expended judiciously upon our State, would give it the continuous and marvelous growth of the new West. We see this growth, every day, in and about Indianapolis. There, a large number of our young men of Indiana have concentrated, and are working with high hope, with great vigor, and keen sagacity. And what is done there can be done all over this region. Imagine, for instance, that every farmer on any public road would regularly bend his energies to beautifying his place, and that his sons would join him in this effort; that all would engage in the planting of trees, shrubs, flowers, vines, and orchards, the removal of unsightly objects, the tasteful arrangements of the houses, lawns, pastures, and meadows; and that this was continued, regularly, does any one hesitate to say that this would greatly increase values; that the very name of such a highway, like Euclid-street, in Cleveland, would become famous? Good taste, industry, persevering effort, and sound judgment will work greater wonders, here, than in Kansas or Texas. The desire to spread out thin, to expand, to cut a wide swath, prevails too much: ours is the theatre for concentrated effort. To make more beautiful, more productive, more attractive, more agreeable, more perfect, is our task; and our young folks ought to look to that; and the natural result of their combined efforts, each in his or her sphere, is to exalt all values, all interests, all enjoyment, all life, in this region.

While we are bound to take an interest in national affairs, it is not particularly our business to worry about the Indians, or the Territories, or reconstruction, or Western railroads, or foreign commerce. But our special and pressing business is to take care of home and this goodly State of Indiana, laid down so carefully between the Lakes and the Ohio, and across the great highways of travel, from East to West. When we have done that work, faithfully, all else will be added unto us. Somebody else may fight the Modocs, or wrangle with the Mormons, or make raids across the Mexican border, or dig gold or

silver in the mountains, or make ditches for irrigating Western deserts, or squat on homestead lands, or make railroads through the wilderness, or raise vines and oranges on the shores of the Sunset Sea; but we have other work, and that is to make Indiana a happy home for millions of people. We need not hunt for the resources, they are already explored. It is for us to look about us, carefully, to see what we have at hand, and to work it up diligently, making the best use of our material. Now what are our peculiar advantages, and what can we do better than others? We occupy a central position in the nation. We are a center of population, a center of business, a center of railroad travel, a center of the best agricultural country on the Continent, in fact, a center of centers. Business, wealth, production, values must aggregate enormously around us. They cannot get away. They must drift in, just as waters run into the valleys, just as they fill them up to the brim, making great lakes. He who looks ahead must see this. Then, again, I repeat it, why should our young men leave this goodly land?

Can anything be more gratifying to the heart of a good man than to see such grand fruits as the results of the life's labors of himself and friends? In view of them, how few of the rewards of ambitious exertion are worthy of even a moment's notice?

A great work has been done; and we are here to recount some of the scenes and live over some of the hours of the past. We are here to bring out mementoes of by-gone days, to make enduring records of what is fading from the recollections of men, to give form and substance to what otherwise will soon be as if it had never been.

We should hasten carefully to preserve every evidence of the early life of our people. They were busy with the stern duties of life, in a new world, and had little time to make records; it is left for us to do that work. There are many peculiar and interesting events which have never been faithfully depicted; and could a narration of such actual occurrences as have transpired within view of our older men be made, they would be prized, by posterity, as the scenes described by Homer were the delight of Greece, aside from their poetic excellence. A corn-husking, a shooting-match, a coon-hunt, a horse-race, a gander-pulling, a militia-muster, a quilting, a house-raising, a log-rolling, a mover's family and outfit—these, and many other characteristic scenes, fit for the pencil of the artist and the pen of genius, ought all to be fixed in such a style as never to be forgotten. The real incidents, with name, place, and time, are worth a thousand fictitious scenes gotten up by pretenders who know nothing of the actual facts.

There is frescoed on the grand western staircase of the House-wing of the Capitol, at Washington, a picture of emigrants moving over the mountains to the West, painted by a celebrated artist. The coloring is fine, the faces and figures are expressive, the landscape is grand; but such a ridiculous jumble of men, horses, children, wagons, rocks, trees, and cliffs, mortal man never saw. The painter drew upon his imagination for his facts, and got what might be expected—a mere travesty upon a real emigrants' scene.

Let us, before it is too late, have the facts recorded and, if possible, put upon the canvass. What better subject for a painter than such occurrences as I have alluded to, as characteristic of our early settlement. Wirt's description of the blind preacher, in the back-woods, is immortal; but who that has attended the great revival-meetings of an early day, has not witnessed scenes as striking as the one described? At the great camp-meetings, it was not unusual that some powerful orator, like Armstrong, or Havens, or, in a later day, Simpson, or Ames, would sway thousands of people, as the storm rocks the forest, and, with magic power, would melt the vast throng to tears or lift them to exstacy. Can not some one but pause in the race of life, and put down, in enduring words, the description of a camp-meeting, as it was forty or fifty years ago? Held amid the grand old trees that had ruled the forest for hundreds of years, the assembling multitudes of plainly-dressed, weather-beaten, stalwart people, the rude tents and seats, the temporary pulpit and altar, the sweet and solemn sounds of the hymns penetrating far into the vast silence of the woods, the stern and lofty eloquence of the preachers, the loud and strong shouts of approval by the audience, the rising, at the sound of the horn, at day-break, the assembling, during the day, the routine of exercises—various—awakening and inspiring, the lighting up, at evening, of the dim and lofty archways of a forest, and the fiery and thrilling appeals from the pulpit—these, combined, furnish the highest themes for historic art. The leaders and the actors in these scenes have vanished, like the gigantic trees that sheltered them; and the very tales of their great toils and triumphs are, as the whisperings of their leaves, heard no more. Shall the giants who battled the spirit of evil, at the threshold, and drove him out, go down to the darkness of forgetfulness? Shall their memories perish forever?

Our history is in a great measure unwritten; and, unless the materials are soon collected, it never will be done accurately. The legislative history is recorded in Journals and Acts; but how small a part does the legislation of the country play in the life of any one man or any

community. The spirit that animates the people, their efforts toward progress, their plans for advancement, their excitements in local affairs, in politics, in religion, in business, cut a small figure in legislation. More than half the time, in the battle of contending opinions and projects, nothing is done, there, when the need of action is very great. A war of words, a struggle of measures and men, ends in the passage of nothing. It will not do to look to legislative action even as an index of political history. It is not. Who that remembers the tremendous excitement of the people, in the year 1840, can point to any result upon the Statute-book indicative of it? Public sentiment went through a revolution; but it assumed no body and form upon the Statute-book. The historian will, if he is faithful, record that political campaign as a very remarkable event in the life of our nation. But its tale is told in ten thousand perishing newspapers and by the tongues of hundreds of thousands of men who are forgetting the facts or going rapidly to that land where men tell no tales, true or false. The great Conventions, the enthusiasm, the paraphernalia of banners, flags, music, and emblems of all kinds: coon-skins, cider, cabins, poles, and many other devices to attract attention or express a sentiment, yet fill the memories of men as presaging events of tremendous moment. We look in vain for them on the Statute-book. Counter-currents, counter-projects, division of sentiment, treachery, jealousy, arrogance, and subserviency to leaders destroyed the great undeveloped tendencies of the people; and the mighty harvest, which had ripened for the hands of the statesman, found no reapers in the field, and wasted and rotted upon the fruitful soil into which it was trampled, through the folly of those whom the people had trusted, for the time, with power. This is but a sample of many of the great occurrences making the life of our nation.

The religious history of our State is unwritten. The number of members, the number of preachers, the location of the churches, are of small moment compared with the movements in public sentiment and convictions, upon the subject of religion. The direction given to society by the prevalence of religious beliefs has been marked, but who has taken note of it? Who has taken memoranda of the patient and quiet labors of the Society of Friends, now numbering many thousands and controlling great communities? Who has written an account of the toils and struggles of the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other great religious denominations, whose influence reaches every household in the land, and modifies the character of every member of society?

Take, for instance, the great periods of revival in the churches, when the preachers seemed gifted with supernatural eloquence and power, and the people roused and animated by a burning spirit of devotion. These scenes are not portrayed, anywhere; their great and enduring results are not marked; the truly great men who were leaders in these movements are almost forgotten; and the very dates of events that indicated the transition of our society from rowdyism—from the clutch of the gamester, the bully, and the boaster—have been forgotten. We know that we began, in many communities, about where Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, and Texas begun; we know that we find ourselves in a very different social atmosphere now. At one time, horse-racing, gander-pulling, cock-fighting, wrestling, and spreeing occupied much of the attention of our young men. Now they do not. Why is it so? Who wrought the change? What mighty sorcery was used to transmute the very essence of society from rowdyism to religious order? The work has been done; but the names of its authors have been forgotten and will only be revealed in a future world.

The history of the great political meetings of such a campaign as 1840, already mentioned, with reminiscences of the powerful speeches made, would be a most interesting chapter. Perhaps no State so young has produced so many great orators as our own. That great campaign alone brought out, on the Whig side, men whose capacity, in this respect, has been unequaled since. There were Joseph G. Marshall, Oliver H. Smith, George H. Dunn, Samuel W. Parker, J seph L. White, George G. Dunn, George H. Proffit, Caleb B. Smith, David Wallace, Jonathan Mc Carty—all departed; Richard W. Thompson, Charles H. Test, Henry S. Lane, and others, living and dead, whom I might name, who, at this day, have no superiors, anywhere, as popular orators. I heard them, and I have heard the prominent men of this day: my verdict is in their favor. For elegance, force, enthusiasm, point, wit, magnetic power, they were in the front rank of human nature. But their speeches were not reported; no record is made; their stormy and fiery eloquence has perished, forever; the great questions, as they were presented, have faded from view; and the agitations of society, like the tempestuous seas, have now, in the distant hour of calmness, not even a dimple left to tell of the struggles and dangers of the past.

But the campaign of 1840 is only one of many great seasons of public excitement left unrecorded. In 1836–7–8, the question of internal improvements—the making of turnpikes, canals, and railroads throughout the State—roused the greatest attention. The projects for these great works which were to enrich the whole State were numerous, and most of them were feasible, but

too many were begun at once; the credit and spirit of the people failed together; the works, begun at all points, were abandoned; and the ruins, like the relics of the Mound-builders, will soon have no one left to point out their projectors.

I venture now to say that not one man in a thousand in our State can tell who it was that projected the Wabash and Erie Canal, and got the first Grants of public lands for it, through Congress, and which, by the way, is the beginning of our nation system of land-grants. That man died in a vacant room, in the old market-house, in Vincennes, a few years ago, without a friend near him to minister to his wants, and in great poverty. He had long been in public life, in our Legislature and Congress; and was an eccentric man of considerable learning and genius. His name was John Ewing. He rests, as I am informed, without even a stone to mark his grave. Such is the fate of him who marked out the true water-line from the lakes to the Mississippi.

When the canal had been completed and boats were running upon it, from Toledo to Terre Haute, John Ewing visited Lafayette; and coming suddenly, in his walk, upon the bank of the canal, observed the names of many prominent men younger than himself upon the boats. He looked carefully at the names of all, and, disgusted at not finding his own, broke out in bitter complaints at the forgetfulness and ingratitude of the people who could not even name a canal-boat after the man who had originated the work and secured the construction.

Another pioneer in internal improvements, who looked with prophetic certainty into the future and, had he been aided, would have embarked all of his considerable fortune in the work, was John Fischli, of Jeffersonville. When other men hooted at the idea of making railroads, he insisted that it was practicable, and that such enterprises ought to be begun at once. He then projected a road from Jeffersonville to Indianapolis, by way of Rockford, almost upon the present route. Men listened and laughed at him; and he died, long before a foot of railroad was made in the State. He, and Seth and Zebulon Leavenworth, of Leavenworth, in Crawford-county, did much to awaken our people to public improvements.

Looking to our financial experience, who has written the history of legislation upon the establishment of our State Bank, in 1832? That was the Bank whose credit was always good, everywhere, and which did more for the credit of our State, in financial circles, than all things else. The very authors and originators are almost forgotten. A few old men remember that Samuel Merrill, James F. D. Lanier, James M. Ray, Calvin Fletcher, and George H. Dunn were prominent in securing its charter, and largely instrumental, afterward, in maintaining its credit. But the history of the management of the Bank, which began its career in the great season of speculation and continued through a long period of depression and bankruptcy, regularly paying from twelve to fourteen per cent. dividends, in a new State, where temptation to reckless management is great, has not been written. What was proposed, what was rejected, what was not done, is as much a part of history as what was done. In 1837, when Mr. Lanier, one of the Directors of our State Bank, took eighty thousand dollars in gold from Indiana to Washington, and deposited it with the Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, he told Mr. Lanier that ours was the only Bank in the nation that had offered to pay any portion of its indebtedness in specie. This was at a time of general suspension of the Banks, East and West. We look back with pride to these events, and would be glad to know the true secrets of management that held and maintained such a credit and reaped such profits.

But, better than all, our State having borrowed almost the entire capital on her five per cent. bonds, three million dollars, paid that all back and had four million dollars of profits left for a school-fund. I venture to say, again, that not one man in a hundred in our State knows the name of him who proposed that the surplus of the proceeds of the stock of the State, in the State Bank, should be appropriated as a school-fund. He is one of our greatest public benefactors, a venerable, simple-hearted, clean-handed, sound-minded old gentleman, living in Montgomery-county, named John Beard. His name ought to be precious in the heart of every boy and girl who enjoys the benefit of free-schools. When he proposed the measure, it was hardly treated seriously. Nobody thought anything would be left as a surplus: he himself doubtless did not realize its importance. But so it was: he put the net just where it caught the golden fish; and we thank him for it, ten thousand times; and we thank those steady, straightforward, strictly upright, financiers who husbanded these funds for us.

We have a discreditable as well as a creditable page to our financial history; and, before it is too late, some one should collect the facts from the disastrous failure of the Bank of Vincennes, in 1821, down through all the shinplasters and wildcat currency that haunted our people, for forty long years from that date. The most extraordinary efforts to make something out of nothing, to make paper valuable by putting engraved pictures on it, were constantly repeated, and constantly found dupes, spreading bank-

ruptcy, breeding dishonesty, and polluting the fair fame of all our business-men. That history ought to be written, as a warning to the experimenters and speculators of all future times.

The history of our internal improvements, their development, their progress, the benefits conferred, the values created, the business done and helped, would be a volume of itself. First turnpikes, then canals, then railroads, each followed the other, in the public conceit, like new toys—the older one being thrown away as worthless. At last, we have found out that all are very valuable; and, acting upon this knowledge, some body or some corporation will go to work and repair our great and foolishly abandoned water-lines. The day may even come when the routes of the old flat-boatmen will be slack-watered, and many streams again send down their freight to the Father of Waters. A little judicious damning, no doubt, as in other cases, may do good.

It is not creditable to us to be clamoring for cheap transportation, when we sit, with folded arms, all along the dry beds of our deserted canals, whose lines reach directly to the lakes and the Mississippi-river, and could compete with all carriers of our surplus produce and our imports. Can anything be more ludicrous than the sight of a Hoosier sitting down upon the ruins of the Wabash and Erie, the Central, or the White Water Canal, and groaning over the enormous freights and fares he has to pay the railroad companies? In New York, they know the value of their canals: so, too, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, old Virginia, and even in Canada. The old settlers here knew this secret also; but we cannot see it. Some future historian will record the almost incredible fact that the people of Indiana, scared by a little debt and taxation, abandoned the best lines of cheap, central, water communication on the Continent; let the work, hundreds of miles long, costing millions of dollars, go to ruin. The water-power alone created by these works was worth their cost, saying nothing of their absolutely enormous advantages of transportation to our people and neighboring States. The stampede of public men from our internal improvement system and from all friendliness to any part of it, or to the completion of it in any degree, the panic that prevailed among them when the prosecution of any work or the preservation of what had been completed was proposed, has hardly had a parallel in the history of public cowardice. The State should have held on to every one of her public works; should have kept in repair those completed; and, as soon as possible, should have gone on and finished the more important ones. No one can estimate the values of the Great Central and Wabash and Erie Canal-lines to our people, were they in good running order, to-day.

The true history of the measures and the events which brought about the disastrous losses of our public works is, in a large measure, forgotten and will soon be lost. The failure of the credit of the State was the first catastrophe, and a very great one; but the abandonment and giving away of the public works was a greater calamity, and a worse piece of management.

While I am speaking of Water-lines, let me say that we have, in Indiana, one of the grandest opportunities for a cheap and valuable one on the Continent. It is from Lake Michigan to the Wabash river, at the mouth of the Tippecanoe, the water in the Wabash being, there, forty-three feet lower than in the Lake. I find this in an old Survey, made by the Army Engineers, in 1833, when General Cass was Secretary of War. The country is low and level; and the waters of the Lake, poured across the plain, would make the Wabash navigable, forever. To load and unload the boats of the Lakes and the Rivers, from Cairo to the mouth of the Calumet, is what this means. Let us rekindle the light that has slumbered forty years!

The history of education in our State would be a valuable addition to public knowledge. The legislation upon the subject is but a meagre index of the facts as they occurred. At an early day, the poverty of the people, the total lack of school-houses, the scarcity of teachers, the necessity that children should labor instead of attending school, held back the successful operation of a school-system. The lands given by the Government, for the encouragement of schools, would bring no funds, and had to be leased; the lessees must clear ten acres on each quarter Section and set out twenty-five apple and twenty-five peach trees, each year, for four years; the sugar-trees must not be cut down nor the timber wasted; this was law. But who fought the good fight, and saved the lands, and secured the funds, we do not know; who called public meetings; who led them, who took charge of this subject in society, in the various communities, no one knows. The very names of these public benefactors are forgotten. Their struggles, year after year, for the preservation of the sacred school-fund have no chronicler, for it was not without great labor, watchfulness, and enlightened action, that schools were established upon a permanent basis. Much of that old prejudice against them existed, within my recollection, expressed by one of the British Governors of Virginia, when he said: "I thank God there "are no free-schools or printing in this Colony; "for learning has brought disobedience, and "heresy, and sects into the world, and printing "has divulged them."

I have heard it said that John Badollett, of Vincennes, a Swiss by birth, who came to America with Albert Gallatin, when they were youths, and who maintained a life-long friendship, through his own exertions and the great influence of Mr. Gallatin, obtained two townships of land for a University for our State. One was located in Gibson-county and one in Monroe. This gave a great impetus to the cause of education, in an early day; gave us a college in the wilderness; and was a foundation on which ought to have been built a greater institution than that one at Ann Arbor, Michigan, much younger, but now numbering its students by thousands. No page of the history of Indiana is more sorrowful than that one which records the jealousy, the bigotry, the want of sagacity, which has held back our State University. If it could have been located in fifty Counties, at the same time, it would have secured some decent appropriations: if it could have been spread out thin and fed one Professor, or one Tutor, or one Tutor's brother-in-law in a County, it would have fared well; but, unfortunately, it must be in one place and be of some little local advantage and not an injury to that place, and that has damned it to starvation. Thanks be to somebody, whose name is also not recorded, a better spirit is being shed abroad; and our old University has had a few crumbs doled out to her of late years.

The military history of our people must not be omitted. The record is made of the Companies, the Regiments and their campaigns, marches, battles, and general conduct. But that which was in the public mind—that which was done to begin and continue the war, the part the people took and just how they took it—has not been regularly recorded. What the Governor did and what prominent officers did, is well known; but each neighborhood has a military history; and it ought to be written. If it is not done, the next generation will believe that the whole thing was done by one or two men and their assistants. In the name of truth and candor, let the facts be recorded. In the name of two hundred thousand brave men, many of whom sleep in the graves of patriotism, let them be recorded, to be forgotten nevermore.

Away back in the early years of our Territory there was a struggle on the question of slavery among our people. The grand Ordinance of 1787 was to be practically overthrown and, by a system of apprenticeship, slavery was to be introduced. The Virginia and Kentucky influence was for slavery: the free State men prevailed. Who were the champions of freedom, who cried out against this disgrace and degredation and beat back the advocates of wrong, only a few now can tell. Their names are not recorded; and that which would entitle them to everlasting honor is gradually being obliterated from the memories of our aged men. The contest raged for years before the people, in every County and in the Legislature; the most intense excitement was roused; the very spirit afterward so notably exhibited in the settlement of Kansas, appeared here, half a century before. We have now but the report of a single public meeting called to remonstrate against the admission of slavery into the Territory of Indiana, held at Springville, in Clarke-county, on the tenth of October, 1807. The struggle began in 1802, and continued for several years. Thanks to the opponents of slavery and to an enlightened Congress, the Ordinance of 1787 was left in full force, and freedom prevailed.

But our efforts to preserve history should not be confined to merely public affairs. The private life of a good man, well-recorded, may be of incalculable value.

When the good man dies, Affection comes and plants flowers on his grave, and Sorrow bedews them with tears, Gratitude carves the stone and writes his epitaph, and he goes down to forgetfulness. But when History comes and, with fearless accents and trumpet loud tongue, standing upon his grave, proclaims the truth concerning him, then the remotest times and the most distant nations would catch the sound; Youth rouses from his dreams, and rushes forth to labor; Age takes courage to do well his latest tasks; the Slave hears it, and breaks his chain; Vice hears it, and flees away; Virtue, burning with unwonted zeal, girds up his loins for fresh struggles; and every son of sorrow takes new hope. Such is the power of the true story of a good life.

But time forbids a further exposition of this subject. The suggestions here thrown out might be multiplied, largely; but what I have said indicates, in some measure, the direction we should pursue. We have around us and in our possession the elements of history which will be invaluable, in after times. We are throwing them away, never to supplied. Strange as it may seem, there is scarcely to be found a single set of the Journals of our Legislatures, or a single set of the Laws of the Territory and State. This seems almost incredible. Some of the lineal descendants of the Goths and Vandals have occasionally held State-offices and destroyed, with the ruthless stupidity of Attila himself, the most precious public records. It was said of old that, in a moment of senseless sport, the hammer of a fool may destroy the life's labor of a Phidias or Praxiteles; the immortal forms of beauty, carved in marble and almost endowed with life and intelligence, sink, in an hour, into fragments beneath the blows of savages. They are not all

dead. Some careful and pious hands must needs be collecting, and classing, and putting away, the jewels of history. Everything should be preserved that will tell a tale to posterity.

The preservation of newspapers, as they are published, and the collection of old ones, cost but little pains and exertion, and, hereafter, will furnish evidence of facts to be found no where else. Letters should be filed away and preserved—they often give a key to the most important events, which can be found no where else. Documents, pamphlets, and circulars which seem to have no place or use, in a few years. rise in value and supply information not to be found elsewhere. Portraits, dagurreotypes, and photographs will supply gaps in history, which otherwise must remain forever blank. All of these things are constantly in our possession and constantly thrown away.

Among the many objects of interest worthy to be preserved, would it not be well to secure biographies of prominent early settlers? These written personal sketches would soon cover a large part of the history of the period referred to. An account of the mode of life, manner of settlement, and the habits of the settlers would furnish another topic. The great political events of the Counties and the State would well furnish another subject. The judicial history of the State would be another. The literary, the medical, the agricultural, the commercial, the manufacturing history of our people would each be another, of itself; while the history of Education, in private and public methods, would be another. The history of churches, of religious denominations and Sabbath Schools, would be an extensive subject, worthy of much care and study. Social life, public and private amusements should be noted. Railroads and railroadmen should be sketched; agriculturalists, professional men, public benefactors, and men of business, of note, might have their proper mention. At each annual re-union of the old settlers' meetings, committees might have one or more of these subjects allotted to them, upon which to furnish a report, or sketch, or address, at the next meeting; a half dozen of these papers, abounding in facts, might be furnished at each meeting; and soon the history of the entire State made manifest. Yearly, might thus be published a record unique in its character and invaluable to posterity.

Old settlers of Central Indiana, the work is with you. Shall the true history of the founding of civilized society here be written, or shall it be patchwork, and guesswork, and falsehood? However this may be, one thing is assured to us who follow you, which can never fade away; and that is the solid structure of civil and social life. Your personal history and all of your achievements may be blotted from memory, and your very names be forgotten, but the great results will accumulate and multiply, incalculably, in extent and value.

II. *DIARY OF A VIRGINIAN CAVALRY MAN, 1863–4.*

From the original Manuscript.*

1863

april 20 to mac dowl 21 to kitmen 22 to grenbrier river 23 marched threw rain & snow camped on tigards valley on the morning of the 24 tuck up the Line of march for Beverly 2 oclock we opend our artilery on 1200 ya. & marchd in to bevelery we Lost 1. & 3 w. and was kindly resceived by the ladies &c 25 ft marche across richmont and camped for the night on the morning 26 we marched for buck hannon finding the) starr up co bridge burned across b h r we went a marth[d] to anothr bridge a[d] one part of br and went in [d] for the u & as we went on 4 thare was two ga came meeting us we too one of them the other made h. a LC the Ladies resceived us kindly some sayed they was more than happy
27 fell back to c. richmount 28 marched back to forsaid bridge & c for the night 29 marched for buckhannan the enemy having fell back to clarksburg 3 thousand 1 thous sitersons went with them and reaching buckhanon we found it evacuated we camped tha for the night 30 on a scout to french creek may 1 returned to b'k with 40 h of c & was way laid by bushwhackers but not fiered on 2 went out 3 miles on the westen road & camped) 3 marched doun hachers creek to fane Liew & l. Liewes co) 4 marched to weston & carry 5 to fane Liew & back on a picket fite) 6 perraided in weston whilst the ladies pesented us a nice flagg after which mager monros addressed the audence followed by co Dail then marched 8 miles on the westen & brackston road & camp 7 remained in camp) Leuis co. 8 marched 12 miles & camped on West fork) 9 marched 4 miles & camped on crab valey) Sunday the 10 marched to bull town on Little caynoy Brackston co. & fed & marched 8 miles & camped) 11 marched threw sutten on big elk r continud our Journey South ward 25 miles to big Burch. R. nickles Co. & camped & burnt the yankeys fort) 12 marched

* This Diary was written by a member of "Company "B.," Fifth Squadron, XVIIIth Virginia Cavalry, Imboden's Brigade; but there is no entry which shows, precisely, who wrote it, although it is probable that Fourth Sergeant Henry Corbin was the writer.

It was found on the battle-field, at Fisher's Hill, Virginia, on the twenty-second of September, 1864; and now belongs to our esteemed friend, Captain C. W. Elwell, of New York City.

19 miles & charged in summervill nicholas co & found it Evacuated we learned that the enemy was about two miles a head with their trains we continued the charge & captured 158 mules 27 wagens 27 prisners with a veriety of forage & bagage 13 remained in summer vill the infentry & artilery came up this eavening
14 started East travailed 4 miles & camped) 15 marched 12 miles crossed gawley & crambery river about sun set with much difficulty & camped on gawley mountain 16 marched south west corse to churry river & refresh our horses & marched to the top of chury mountain & camped Green brier co.

S. W. continued

17 marched to camp greenbrier 18 marched Eastward doun the beverly pike to mill point & camped Pacekontte co 19 marche 9 miles to mirims bottom & refreshed & marched up knop creek threw hunters vill 15 miles & camped came threew hunters vill
20 marched 20 miles & camped at back creek gap Hiland co. 21 travailed 5 miles & camped on High town valey contined at said camp 22 & 23 & 24 & 25 26 27.
28 to mc Dowel) 29 to buffalo gap) 30 to striblings 31 remained at Striblin)
June 1st remained) 2 marchd to spiin hill & camped 3 moved 2 miles & camped 4 R) 5 march to mocy creek) 6 to mt Solin 7 marched to church vill) &. R. 9 marched moscow 10 dry river 11 to coonts'es store) 12 to Lost river) 13 to south fork 14 to old fields) 15 to Romey 16 marched threw spring f & from Bford & to P.s depoe & on to comler 17 land about sunrise we commenst shelling Cumberland we Sent in a flg. & went in & was kindly resceived & returned to Spring field & camped) 18 marched to green Spring & onto the Pa to & camped on the mu si 19 marched by the cross roads & on to bloomery gap & camped 20 to Sharrards store) 21 Remained 22 to bath) 23 Remained) 24 started at midnight travailed 5 miles & crossed the potomick at hancock travailed all day in Pencilvaney Captured 60 horses & returned to hancock) 25 camped 7 miles below here on Sleepy creek) 26 Remained. 27 cross the river & went in to Pencylva. & camped at little cove) 28 marcthed north & camped at charleston P. a) 29 Remained in camp & sent a scouts out to enc conelsburg & thare had a fite & lost two men kiled 30 takin P.) 30 Camp 2 miles S. E. up fore said camp 2 ocloc Started keepin the same dir & cross threw mercers borrow crossed the conochegig through up town & camp at frankling co Pa.
July 1st mooved off the same direction to green castle changed direction north on the chaimbersburg R march 8 mles & camped) & thare over took our force 2 marched through chaimbersberg chainging our corse E marched through faysvill & on to gren road to pad untill evening the Enemy 150 yankeys came in to faysvill & had a picket fite wounded Capt ginavin. at dark started & travailed 2 miles. thence direction S.) on the 3 at day light we heard a hevy canonading in front at a distance marched on with in sight of the smoke of the artilery adam co Pa at gittisburg the fight was kep up untill after dark we learnt that the right & left wing of the enemy sufer a heavy loss the center of the E.s line we charged 3 times but could not hold the position our loss was grate thiers graiter after dark we took our squadren & 2 Pieces of artilery & fell back 5 miles on Picket all night) in the morning of the) 4 we still heard artilery firing in the direction of gittesburg about 4 oc. the trains came to us we fell back to green wood on Picket the train was passing all night on the morning of the 5 untill 12 oc with the woonded Jeneral lee still ingagued in the fight we was reerguard that day we went a bout 8 miles that day travailed all night 150 yankeys captuered ½ mile of our trains kiled 3 men captured mager lock wee recaptued them all back the waggens they cut down) 6 reached at wiliames port about 4 oc thare was a hot engagement tuck place at wliames port it was keep up untill after dark we held the field that night the E. fell back we looked for an atack again. we was reenforced by Jeneral Leigh & Stuert & they wouldnt try us again our Loss was write Smart theirs graiter
7 remained hre on the B. f. in readdy ness) & we sent out 13 wagons after forage with a guard of 30 men they was a. t. by the E. 60.s they took 12 prisners 48 mules we pursuid them 5 miles & returnd 9 went out agan & returned to wlimespd on Picket) 10 back to camp on the handcock road) 11 on a scout towards fair view) 12 Remained & Scout 13 a heavy ingaguement comenst between hagers town & wilems port it turned out to bee nothin but skrimishing 4 oclock we crossed thee river & marched to Dr hammonds farm neer heges vill & camped) 14 marched threw hegs vill & camped Berkley co) 15 on a to backcock & back to camp) 16 marched 8 miles & camped) 17 Remained) 18 moved 1 mile) Sunday 10 marchd 5 miles to Jarriets town & campd 20 on a Scout to Shanghai & Back
21 marched threw Shanghai and back to heges vill and camped 22 marche to white hall & c. 23 marched to Winchester) 24 threw winchester after destroying two large ordenance departments marched 10 miles on the back rode & camp 25 to Straws Burg) 26 moved 1 mile to camp & Back to Straws burg on Picket) 27 back to camp fishers hill 28. 2 miles to mount heabrin church 29 Mt olive 30. Remained. 31 Remaid Aug 1 moved 3 miles) 2 Remain 3 marche threw woodstock and Camped 2 miles of Eden Burg) 4 Remained) 5 marched 2 N. w. and c) 6 remained

untill 12 am oc &) on the morning of the 7 marched our squadren to the top of the mountain devils hole) 8 remained) 9 march Eden burg) 10 three miles above Pnew market) 11 moved 1 mile 12 marched threw harrisburg & dayton onto bridge water & campd 13 Remained) 14 Left the begade at Bridgewater & took 20 men on a scout & camped on s. fork 15 marched to the top of mountain & Remained untill eavning & marched down to the river & camped 1 mile above frankling. Penelton co. 16 Sunday marched threw franklin & crossed 2 miles below over) to s. fork for breakfast & went down with in 2 miles of dashers mill Learnt thare the E having crossed over towards brocks gap 2 hundred strong we fell back 4 miles & camped untill 2 oclock & crossed the mountain on the morning of the 17 stoped in bracks gap) 18 remained 19 remained 20 Left for camp marched to Mr Wines & camped) 21 to Camp neer Bomans mill 22 Started at midnight & marched threw harrison Burg & Mt. Crofferd & Naked creek Mt cydney & with in 4½ miles of stanton & camped) 23 Remaind 24 started by sunrise went to staunton stayed all day Looking for the enemy & returned to camp) 25 one mile neerer town 26 Remained) 27 Remained) 28 marchd threw Staunton & West view & on to colf pauster & fed and Sleep until midnight & Started on the morning of the 29 got to Mc dowl for breakfast & marched by montaroy & on to high town valley on the head of Jacksons river where we camped last may & camped for the night thare was a considerable frost here) 30 sunday is fair & warm we have Preaching in camp to day 31 marched down below the fork of the water & camped tuesday Sept 1th marched down south branch to mc coyes mill &c. w. 2 marched threw franklin crossed over to South fork & camped at Buckhorn mill 3 marched to dashers mill & c. untill 9 oc & marched under the commad of capt Scott over to the gap below Pettrsburg & lay in ambush all day friday th4: we have about 100 men in our command Jineral J. D went Down S. fork with the balance of our command & the 62 Ridgment he retreeted to the top of the mount to wards houards licks; we held our Position un till the enemy came with 2 Pieces of artilery & Cavelry we opend fire on them & keep them back untill they Shelled us we then went & Camped with the 62 top of the mountain 5 marched across to Lanst River 6. started on furlow & got to timothy s) 7 went home) 8. R) 9 started to moore field) 10 got within ½ mile of the tole gate & heard the yankees was in town & I went back 11 went back with in ½ mile of the toll gate & waited untill 4 oc got information from town & went back to the Settlement) 12 went home) 13 Sunday) 14) 15 to moore field Sunday Oct 25. Nov. Sunday 22 Started to camp reached camp the 24. 25 R. remained untill the 2 of december and movd 5 miles to camp crotz.s spring & Remained untill the 11 & march all day by the way of harrisonburg & marched all night & camped at the foot of Shanadoah mountain 12 Remained all day in the rain spent a miserabel night of rain 13 marched to the top of the mountain & took our position stayed all day at evening we learnt from a dispatch from our scouts that avrel was advancing on us with 3 thousand strong we took our position for the night Spent a night of rain & hail 14 Remained & Spent a miserabel night 15 went down to camp & the bgade moevede of in the directon of buffalo gap & 13 of our co Stayed to picket on the fore Said mountain 16 Relieved & went to Camp 6 miles 17 marched to Buffalo gap & fed and marchd 22 miles threw rain & Sleet to moffits creek Rockbrige co & camped 18 threw crofferd town & on to Lexington & fed & marched thence west 8 miles to Swopes town & camp 19 marched 24 miles & c. 20 mrched in cross James'es river at Buckhon marched 15 miles to fincastel Baughtytot co. & fed & march 14 miles crossed creggs crek & fed & 21 at one oclock marched threw cregs gap with much difficulty thence west cross Jackson's R. over to the county Seet covington Alleggany co. then down Jacksons river 8 miles & camped the enemy left the day before we got to cov. burnt the bridg & went to wards Louis burg 22 marched 40 miles down by the hot Springs & by the warm Springs & on to gation Station 23 marched within 5 miles of staunton thare we found our wageons & bagage 24 Remained untill the 26 marched threw staunton down the valey within 4 miles mt crofferd & camped 27 marched threw harrison Burg 8 miles below & c. 28 to mount Jackson 29 R 30 marched down to fishers hill 31 to winchester

Januarary 1. 1864 marched 7 miles up the back road) 2 moved down 2 miles) 3 back to fishers hill) 4 to cedar creek on Picket 5th Relieved & camped 2 miles west) 6. 2 miles North & c. 7 marched to middle town thence west 4 miles & c. 8th mrched back to cedar creek & c) 9 within 2½ miles of wood stock & c.) sunday th10) marched to mt Jackson) 11 to timbervill 12 to cross keys & camped untill the 17 then marched threw mt crofferd & camped 1 mile from Bridge water Sunday the 17 Sunday 24 Left camp 26th & marched down between Pnewmarket & timbervill & camped) 27 to wood staulk on Picket Remaind untill) 31

Back to mt Jackson Remaind to february 4th marched down neer winchester 5 went in town & back to the Brook 6 march 4 miles above Pnew market 7 back to the old camp neer mt crofferd Remaind untill the 10 marched to Hobkins gap & Camped 11 to Woods Lost River 12 Home Remained untill March the 3 started for

camp found the Ridgement near Bridgewater on the 7 Remained untill the 15 & moved neer mt crofferd & remained untill the 24 marched to the end of the mountain finent Harrison Burg & camped 25 travailed 20 miles & camp 26 marched to Camp neer the burnt Bridge in Page valley 27 started on Picket & got over in the fort valley stayed with Mr. Coverstone 28 got to the X Rods neer burnor springs Remained untill april the 2 went to camp Rem in camp untill the 20 to Lieweny on a Scout 21 Over the ridge in rhaperhanic to Sparysvill & Woodvill back to camp the 22 Remained untill May 1th marched to Pnew market) & on to Round hill & c. 2 down 2 miles & c. 3 Remained 4 to mt Jackson & waited for the yankeys untill the 6 marched to wood Stouck & c. 7 2 miles & stoped to graze & back to Camp 8th marched out 2 miles & c. 9 started & crossed over in to trout run valy & fed & marched to Loust River 10 mounted our horses & the Pickets comenst firing on 6 hundred E. we got them on a stampaid & run them all day took 14 P. & all the train & retreted back to Loust R. 11 marched back up to mathiases & c 12 marchd by way of orkney & on to Pnew market 13 Remaind in the Even thare was 300 yak. under command of Col. Boyd came acros the mountain from Page v. we charged them & got 75 P. run them in the mountain & got about 200 horses) 14 Engaged with Jeneral Segal in a heavy skrimish & artilry fighting kept up till 11 oclock at night we fell back 4 miles on the morn of the) 15 formed our Lines & comenst scrimishing & artilery fighting about 12 oc. our force begin to draw on towards the Enemy we drove them all day about 4 oc 62nd Redgement charged their Baterys the 18 cavelry commanded the Right wing our artilery Played furiously in the charge we drove them from their Pieces & the Retreit commenst fighting at intervills to Rudes hill the En crossed the Bridge at mt Jackson & fired it we camped for the night with a grait victory 5 Pieces of artilery a large amount Killed & wonded & Prisoners our Loss was considrable theirs much graiter.

16 Remained. I Rode over the battel field. the yankeys lay dead & wond & dying in abundance) 17 Remaind 18 Remained) 19 Remained) 20 & 21 R 22. 23 went to Eden Burge on Picket 24 Remained 25) 26 Back to camp 27 R 28 marched to the stone hous above Lacy Spring 29 Remained) 30 marched 5 miles & Staid untill evning & moved within 2 miles of harrison burg 31 Remained. Wednsday June 1th Remained 2 went down below 4 miles & commenst scrimishing the E Prest on us Rhapidly & we fell back above mt. crofford our Redgement went out on the Kesaltown Rode on Picket thursday) friday 3r we lay at the ford in the Brestwork awaiting the approach of the Enemy at Rocklands mills Saturday 4 In the same Position about 1 oc. marched with in 1 mile of wm's cave and found the E. crossing the river we fell back 2 miles 5 marched down 2 miles & commenst scriminishing with 7 thousand Cavalry we charged them & repulsted them back to their line of infrentry they charged us & we fell back to Piedemont on our artilery & Infrantry & about 10 oc the fight commenst & lasted 5 hours they break our line and we fell back to fishers vill on the centrial R. R. 6 moveing to wards Wains borrow in the evening formed a line of B. the Enemy then in Staunton morning of the 7 still Remaining watching the E) 8 in camp 1 mile of wains burg with some reinforcements & looking for more 1 oc. Perraided 8th and the E. came up & Skrimished with us and fell back we Remained in line of B untill night lay down & Slep) morn of the 9 all quiet about Wayns Burg we are still waiting for the E.) 10 the Enemy advand & a hevy skrimishing commenced the E fell back with 5 or 6 killed & several wonded we had 6 wond 4 oc. we started up South River with 5 thousand cavelry & 3 Pieces of artilery the E 5 thousand cav. strong we marched all night & expected to find the E. at Mount Zory furnace on the morning of the 11 but reachig thare we found the E had burnt the furnace & marched in the direction of Linch Burg we then chainged direction crossed the Blew Ridg below the E. & marched in the direction of Linch Burg to Lexington Nelson Co. the E. had bin gon some 9 houers. Burning stations & Bridges orrong R. Sunday June 12 Pursuid them Some 10 miles & campee 13 chainged direction south East to Bent creek on James'es River 25 miles from Linchburg marching in the direction of Linch Burg camped 5 miles below town the E. withe praiding Party of 250 men Passd between us and our train & artily about 1 oc at night Burnt concord station We Pursuid them on the 14 all day at evening we charged a small boddy of them in Bedford Co withe Little affect the 18 R is still Pursuing them in the direction of Bedford cort hous Mager monroe is in command of the Broakin down horses) 15 miles from Lynch Burg & on his way to fore said Place this 15 day of June ——the Ridgment came up this Evenig morning of the 16 Started at 1 oc went up the danvill Rail R. 10 miles 4 oc Mc coselin was driven to Rnew London our force Joind him & heavy skiriminishing & artilery duell commenst some few wouded ½ Past 8 we fell back with in 1½ mile of Lynch Burg) 17 all quiet in camp at 10 oc about 12 oc we sent a scout out I was sent on the Danvill Road with 3 men & Soon a heavy Skrimg Commenst & artilery duell I found my self & Party cut off the Enemy on the road covering my Ret I then flanked around by the right & by Lynch burg thare I found our fources

graitly increased & in fine spirits we lay down & slep fine 18 Early in the morning the fight commenst we whiped them back the results I havent lernt yet the Enemy has gon in the direction of forest vill our troops are after them) 19 marched to sangers mills) 20 marching toward the Blew Ridge in direction of forestvill on ariving at forest vill saw 30 dead yankeys lay in about thare they had a fight the Evening before we fed and marche on to Peatown) 21 starte at 2 oc for salem on reaching big Lick. Roanoach co we found the ahole force had Just Passed the flang of our depees and R. R Bridges was still burnin the siteizons Rescieved us gladly & urged us on before reaching Salem we Commenst skrimishing Jeneral Erley was 3 miles in the rear mc causlin was fighting in front or right wing Earley took across on the right in time to cut of a Potion of the train & 6 Pieces of artilery we then Pushed up & saw the destruction of wageons horses & men tore in Pieces by shel I saw a mans arm Lying 00 yards from his mangeled Boddy the E. Rested in to a gap we camped for the night it was a magnificant sight to Behold our troops with gradure marchin in to Camp after a hard chais Pursuieng an Enemy of 2000 22 marched to fincastel Baughtytaugh Co 23 marched with in 12 miles of covington) 24 marched in the direction of Lexington Passed threw Swopes town & camped 7 miles from Lexington) 25 marched to Browns Burg 23 miles above staunton) 26 moved 4 miles 27 Remained 28 to valley mill 29 Between Bridgewater & dayton) 30 to the head of Laust R. July 1st got home 2 to John Corbins.) 3 went down to Plesint Dale & heard thare was 75 yankeys went up in the Direction of hooks we went up tear coat ½ mile & heard our command had attacked the E. at Pnew Port they had a fight & killed & capturd nearly all of the E. & Returned to Pleasant Dail we Returned back, and fell in with them & moved in Direction of X Roads morning of the 4 Reached the R R & commenst scrimishing the yanks got in their Block hay we cannonaded them with out affect & marched by the X Rd. & on to B. G & camped 5 marched within 6 miles of Bath B. Co & graised & lay down un) till morning 6 at 12 oc start & marched to Hedgesvill 4 to Wiliams Port wher we had a hard fight one year & a day ago we found abundant of corn & oats we fed and marched all night morning of the 8 we marched in direction of Boons Borrow Crossed antedom & on to Boons Borrow & on to middle town 9 marched to Fredricgt & Stayed all day in sight of the artilery fireing 4 miles on the ma noccoy a heavy ingagement took Place we Drove them Back our cav started after night & Passed over the Battle ground I saw sevral dead yankeys along the Road the Iinfantry was camped on the B. ground I learnt from them we lost 75 they lost 400 we camped beyant the B. ground Sunday the 10 marched on the washington Road with in 4 miles of Rock vill 11 marched to fore said Place) heard artilery in front at the citey marched with in 3 miles of the fortifycation & 3 miles of the citey at which Place we heard heavy fireing of small arms about the Brest works which Lasted fore one houer & then seemed to be falling back from us; we held our horses all night morning of the 12 still heard artilery & at 12 o'c no noos from the front at dark heavy musketry was heard we was orderd to march in diriction of Rockvill we travelled all night 13 still South west to Barrasvill on Picket 14 had a little skrimish & moved on to the River & crossed & camped 15 Perraided & watched all day & Camped neer the Same Place 16 marched threw Lees Burg & hamelton) Loudon co fighting on the Retreait mean while a boddy of yankeys crossed by way of Point of Rocks with artiley & shelld our train kiled one drive took between 30 & 40 wegans we killed 3 yankeys. & camped at sniggars gap) 17 crossed shanadoh R at sniggars ferry the E still following us our infantry fired on them & our artilery open on them the results I haveent lernt we went up the River to Berry's ferry & c. 18 moved down ½ way between the two Places Remained all day & night. In the Evening thare was a hard fight 2 mile below snigers ferry we lost a grait many men it is reported 400 killed the E. loss we doant know But it is considerable too 19 our squadron moved down 3 miles to guard a crossing & while we lay awaitin the E.s approach we heare heavy canonadeing at Berry.s ferry above I heared the 62 R charged 700 yankeys killed a grait many & drove them back with the Loss of 2 men killed & a few wonded) 20 we moved back 3 miles & heard heavy fireing in the direction of Wincheste continued our march with in 5 miles of Front Royl 21 marched in direction of straws Burg & c. 22 Remained 23 Remained 24 Sunday march to winchester Drove 20 thousand yonkeys out charged them 10 miles caused them to burn all their train artilery abundance of Provison & amunition we had a few killed and wonded their los moderate to. 25 continueed the charge to Martains Burg shelled each other all day marched by Smith field & c. 26 marched by smith field again & on to the Railroad & with in 1½ mile of Sheperds town & cam 27 Remained untill dark the 18 went out on a scout & o. q staid in camp with the 62 & 23 Ridgemnt 28 to flee town 29 to chales town formed a line of B. & Remaind untill Evening & Returned to fore said Camp 30 to apecken & camped 31 5 miles above smith field & camped at Head Springs August 1st Remained 2 to smith field on Picket 3 Returned to camp 4 to charles town & chaised the yankeys back & Camped 1

mile above town 5 marched 6 miles in direction of shepards town & c. 6 marched 4 miles & back on Picket 1½ mile of the E. heard their drums & band Playing at Harpers ferry sunday th7 still on P. lad for the E.
12 oc. Left Duñeld Depot & marched to Lee town 8 Remained 9 Remained 10 marched to winches & held our horses all night & in the morning 11 commenst scrimshing fireed artilery a few rounds & marched the X Rods above mill Bur & had a hard scrimmish fight & marched to this River be low Straws Burg) 12 marched 8 miles above front Royal & C. 13 back to front Royal on P. Sunday 14th Reinforced by fitznel Lee by a larg force 15 Returned to Camp 16 moved with in 4 miles of F Royal & C. fitznel Lee had a fight with Sabours & killed & wonded 80 of the E. 17 marched 4 miles below front Royel & was orderd back marcked 10 miles & C. 18 marched threw Lieuray & on to Pnew marke & camped 19 Remained 20 Started hom 21 got home Remained until the 25 Started to camp got to Samuel Snars 26 to Broos town met a variety of wonde soldiers on their way to winchester from a fight they had the night before at Lee town 27 found the command below Lee town & moved above & c 28 moved up to Smith field & grazed by the bridel untill 1 oc. the Pick ware drawn in to Smith field & a heavy Skrimishing & artilery duel kept up untill night, morning of the 29 very Earley in the mornin the E Pursuied us in the Direc of Binkers hill we took a Stan & drove them Back 30 all quiet weare on Picket awaiting to heare the orders of the day 10 oc. we ware orderd down to a Pecken & Remained all day Saw some yankeys & was Releived by the 62 & fell Back 1 mile morning 31 quite Early heard fireing on the martings Burg Rode it turned out to be a small scouting Party 12 oc. Started up the valey got 5 miles above Bunkes Hill & about faced & back to fore said camp
thurs day Sept 1th to Stephensons Depoe 2 marched 1 s. 6 & grazed & back to camp thare was a considerable Cavelry fite below Bunker hill Ourmen fell back) 3 marched down to the Jarits town Rode on reaching the fore Said Rode we found a heavy cavelry schrimshing going on our squadring was sent out on the Jarrits town Rode on Picket soon we was orderd to fall Back Rhapidly to Bunkers hill & as we got thar we found the valey over spread with troops & in a heavy ingagement a fighting we Pitched in & helped them & the infantry & artilery came up and the fight silenced here we went in the direction of Smith field on Picket & about 5 oc thar was a heavy ingagement commenst about Bery vill & laste untill some time after night we Remained all night) morning of the 4 Sunday Still heard cannon in the direction) or left of Bery vill & some Skrimish Below Bunker hill 9 oc. we ware orderd to fall back. the yankeys pushed us hard for 6 miles skrimishing all the way we took a stan 6 miles below Winchester & held our Position all night morning of 5th commenst sk. by day Light & heard small armes in the direction of Bery vill about 4 oc the E advanced on us Rhapidly we stood them a hard fight I got shot threw the Pants several slightly wonded 1 Private & conel kiled & sevral horses killed & wonded we drove them back 5 miles kill 7 & went on Picket) 6 skrimished a little all day & camped on the same ground 7 about 4 oc the E advanced a small skrimish line & drove our Pickets in we advanced on them & drove them back to Bunkers hill & tell back to fore Said Camp & Remained all night we got 2 horses wonded & killed 1 for them thursday morning sep 8th still skrimishing in the Evening went on P. 9 moved down 2 miles the E. has fell back. 10 marched down below Bunkers hill the Infantry fowling coommenst skrimishing & drove the E below martains Burg driving the E all the way & fell back to Bunker hill or East of thare & camp 11 marched 2 miles above B. H. & graized & went on P. 12 Relieved & back to fore said Camp abov B.s H. 13 Heard heavy Cannonddieng to the right of Smith field 2 oc mounted & went down to wards B.s h & had a hard skrimish fight with 3 hun yankeys drove them back kill a few we got one w. & back to camp
wednsday sep 14th went on P on the Smith field Road 15 all quiet at 3 oC Relieved & Back to camp 16 Remained 17 went on P. sunday 18th the yankey Drum & Rebel Drum is sonding around what the move is I cannot tell Monday morning 19th by day Ligt I heard a heavy engagement commense to the left of winchest 10 oc skrimishing commenst at Bunkers hill we fell back fighting at intervels all the way to winchester some times the E. charging us & some times we chargeing them back we lost 2 men kill 1 Lieut wonded in Co B the Balance suferd in like manner) we assended the hights at winchester & looked over the wide extended Plains of winchester & as far as my eyes could see I beheld a mighty concorse of yankeys & Rebels ingagued in the most heart Rending conflict which was to hard for us we fell Back to cedar creek & fed & lay in the road untill morning of the 20 then moved to fishers hill & thar took a Position & whilest hearing the Bands Play I was mad to inquire whare are the many dead & wonded that Listend at this sweet music a few evenings ago the E. is in hearing distance now how soon we will have to meet them again I cant tell about midnight we marchd out on the Left of our line & fortifed & at day light of the 21 skrimishing commenceg all a long our lines
We are Lying awaiting to Be atackted * *

III.—*REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.*—Concluded from Page 142.

From the papers of the late David B. Douglass, LL.D., formerly Captain of Engineers, U. S. A.; communicated by his children, for publication in The Historical Magazine.

1.—Description of Fort Erie.

[*From a letter written by Lieutenant Douglass to Andrew Ellicot, August, 1814.**]

The small Battery (marked A) on the extreme right was called the Douglass Battery. It was situated on a ridge of ground, about nine feet higher than the water of the lake, and immediately in rear of an excavation which had been made for the purpose of quarrying the lime-stone. Its parapet was sixteen feet thick, at top; between eight and nine feet high, on the outside; and very much sloped. Its platform was *en barbett*, and estimated at about seventeen feet square.†

The space between the Douglass Battery and the lake was undefended by any work. A six-pounder, however, (marked a) belonging to my command, was commonly placed in a situation to defend the approach to it; and, on the morning of the fifteenth of August, it was further defended by a detachment of General Porter's Volunteers (marked b). The epaulment (marked B) on the left of the Douglass Battery, was that which covered the Ninth Regiment. It was about eighteen feet in thickness, and from six and a half to seven feet in heighth, with both faces nearly perpendicular. Its ditch was of different dimensions, at different parts, but generally of small account. The space between the left of this epaulment and the nearest part of Fort Erie, was closed only by a slight abattis.

Immediately to the left of the Douglass Battery, the ground descended a few feet; but, towards the extremity of the line described, it rose again; forming, a little further on, an elevation of about seventeen or eighteen feet above the level of the lake. Upon this elevation stood old *Fort Erie*. The out-line of Fort Erie, as it was originally projected, is denoted by the line *c. d. e. f. g. h. i. j. k.;* but of this no part had been wrought upon, to any extent, except the two Bastions (L and M), the mess-houses (N and O), and the curtain (k and e). These, with the other works which go to enclose the areas C and D, constituted, on the fifteenth of August, the whole of what was properly called Fort Erie.

The extreme faces of the salient Bastion (M) were constructed partly of stone and partly of earth. That on the South, was a simple stone-wall, about three feet thick. The other had an escarpe of stone, surmounted by an earthen parapet. The height of the former was not more than ten or eleven feet; but the latter, ditched as it was, and surmounted with earth, had a height of at least twenty-two or twenty-three feet, including merlons of four feet. The counter-scarpe of the ditch was steep but not regularly formed. The number of embrasures and shape of the platform was as represented in the drawing—the height of the latter being about five feet above the level of the Fort.

The other Bastion (L) was nearly the same as the one just described, except in the number of its embrasures and shape of its platform.

The Mess-houses (N and O), were built in the prolongation of the South faces of the Bastions (L and M). They were ninety three feet long and two stories high, built of stone, forming one wall with the revetments to which they joined. In the second story, they had each a line of loop-holes, on their water-fronts, and on

* Some of the references—mainly those in *small* letters—cannot be found on the map which faces this page. The small scale on which it was necessarily drawn, compelled the engraver to omit some of the references which appear on the large map—which is many times larger than this—in order to prevent the whole from being unintelligible by being too much crowded.—Editor.

† The following remarks and observations may prove useful to the unmilitary reader: "A permanent fortification, in its most simple form, consists of a mound of "earth, termed *the Rampart*, which encloses the space "fortified; a *Parapet*, surrounding the Rampart and covering the men and guns from the enemy's projectiles; *a* "*Scarp-wall*, which sustains the pressure of the earth of "the Rampart and Parapet, and presents an insurmountable obstacle to an assault by storm; a wide and deep "*Ditch*, which prevents the enemy from approaching near "the body of the place; *a Counter Scarp-wal*, which "sustains the earth on the exterior of the Ditch; and a "mound of earth, called a *Glacis*, thrown up a few yards "in front of the Ditch, for the purpose of covering the "Scarp of the main work."—Halleck's *Military Art and Science*.

Openings cut in the Parapet, and through which the guns are pointed, are called *Embrasures*. The mass of earth between the Embrasures is called a *Merlon*, and protects the men from the enemy's fire. When the Parapet is not pierced with Embrasures, the guns are pointed over it; and are then said to be *en-barbett*. In this position, though more exposed, they command a much wider field than when in *embrasure*. The Epaulment is an earthen breastwork.

The works at Fort Erie, being partly temporary and partly permanent fortifications, and for the most part very hastily thrown up, the Rampart and Parapet are called, indifferently, "the Parapet," in this description.

the short flanks at k and c. The one marked n was entirely dismantled, as represented in the drawing; and the other had been somewhat injured, at the Northwest end, by the enemy's shot. By the position of these Block-houses, the gorges of their respective Bastions were reduced to about seven feet in width. The Curtain (k. and c.) was, by estimation, fifteen feet high and three feet thick, having the gateway in the center.

The works, thus far described, were made into a complete enclosure by means of the temporary salient Curtain (q. r. p.), both branches of which consisted of a series of banquettes, and a parapet equal in height to those of the Bastions (L and M). On the fifteenth of August, however, they were imperfectly joined to the little Battery (r), particularly on the South-west side. The Battery (r) was very small, having a platform scarcely twelve feet square. I am unable to say whether it may not have been en-barbett on the fifteenth of August. Its height was the same as the branches just described, and, like them, it had a ditch, three or four feet deep and about eight feet in breadth. While Fort Erie was yet in the hands of the enemy, the purposes of this curtain had been answered by a line of pickets (S.R.T.), most of which were still standing, on the fifteenth of August—they were about eleven feet high. The work inclosing the area (marked D) was an out-work of earth, constructed for the security of the gateway of the Fort. Its parapet is estimated to have been feet thick at the top and about six and a half feet high from the berm; and its ditch five feet deep and feet wide. Its entrance was near the wall of the Fort, on the North-east side, and in the salient angle (marked u,) was a platform for one gun, en-barbett. A considerable quantity of earth had been thrown up at the Bastions (V and W)—the latter of which had an escarpe of masonry. The little Battery (E), on the glacis of the Bastion (L), was the one which was occupied, on the fifteenth, by Captain Fanning. I think it had merlons at the time; but I cannot say with certainty. From the left of Fanning's Battery, the line of defence extended, as in the drawing, yards to the salient angle (F). From thence it ran in a direction nearly South (yards,) to the recentering angle (H); thence to I (yards) and lastly (yards) to Towson's Battery, K. It consisted of a Breastwork; with banquettes and a ditch; but as it was built in haste, by the Regiments who respectively occupied it, no particular care was taken to have them of any uniform dimensions. The height of the Breastwork was generally about six and a half or seven feet; that in thickness it varied from five to sixteen feet. The Ditch was from six to ten feet wide and, generally, about three or four feet deep. The interior of the Breastwork was defiladed by Traverses (X. X. X.), at right angles. The position of Captain Biddle's Company of Artillery is marked G. The attention of the Engineers being, of course, principally directed to the flanks, I am unable to say whether the whole of the line, just described, was completed by the fifteenth of August or not. The first part, as far as the salient angle F, I think was so; but the second part, between F and H, may not have been quite as much so as I have represented it. The ground, however, in this quarter, was, for the most part, low and marshy; and the line which, on this account, was difficult of access, had been rendered still more so by felling the trees in front.

Towson's Battery (marked K) terminated our defences, on the left. It consisted of two faces meeting in a very obtuse salient angle—that on the right, calculated for the support of Fort Erie and the intermediate line; the other for the particular defence of this flank. It was built on a hillock of sand, which, being easily thrown up, was quickly formed into a Rampart, upwards of twenty feet high, the platform of which was nearly thirty feet above the level of the lake. This height enabled it to overlook the rising ground (marked L) beyond it. The length of its faces was calculated to admit of mounting at least three guns on each; that on the right, however, was not completed, and the other had, I think, low merlons, at the time of the action. Towson's Battery and the Bastions V and W were, wrought exclusively by general fatigues, under the immediate direction of the officers of Engineers.

The space between Towson's Battery and the lake is closed, in the drawing, with an abattis, which extended around the front of Towson's Battery. The encampment of Colonel Wood's Corps, consisting of the Twenty-first Infantry, is marked Y.

2.—Letter from Professor W. D. Wilson.

[*From* The Buffalo Daily Courier, *Buffalo, October 28, 1853.*]

Mr. Seaver,

Dear Sir: Sometime in the Fall of 1850, I had the pleasure of reading the *History of the Niagara Campaign*, during the war with England, written by the late Major Douglass. I hope and trust that this history will soon be given to the public, with a biographical notice worthy of one who deserved so much of his country. In this history, the Major has spoken of the explosion of the Magazine, during the sortie upon Fort Erie, in August, 1814, upon which the result of the attack depended—and, in a great measure, the termination of the war

also—as a casualty, which occurred from some unknown cause.

I remembered, in reading the Major's graphic description, the account which I had heard, some years before, from a Mr. Daw, who was present on the occasion. I thereupon wrote to an old friend, residing in the same village as Mr. Daw, asking him to see Daw and get from him a statement of his recollection of the manner of the explosion. Doctor Moor, the friend to whom I wrote, happened to be, at the time, Notary Public, and, very kindly, called upon Mr. Daw; and, in a few days, sent me the following affidavit:

"I, James Daw, of Littleton, New Hamp-
"shire, depose and say, that I am fifty-eight
"years old.

"I enlisted into the Army of the United
"States, in April, 1814, and was enrolled in the
"Company of Daniel Ketchum.

"I was within the Bastion of Fort Erie when
"the Magazine exploded, in August, 1814, while
"the British Army was attempting to re-take
"the Fort.

"It was known to me and others, some days
"before that event, that preparations had been
"made to fire the Magazine, in case the Fort
"could not otherwise be defended.

"We were attacked before the arrangement
"was completed. The design was to have
"placed in the Magazine, a keg of powder, in
"connection with about twenty more already
"placed there, and to connect, with this, a large
"piece of port-fire, to enable the person who ap-
"plied the match, to do it with safety to him-
"self. Instead of this, there was only a train
"of powder strown on the ground to the Maga-
"zine.

"A Lieutenant of Bombardiers volunteered
"to fire it. He was seen to apply the match
"more than once, as the whole train of powder
"did not burn on the first application, and he
"was obliged to advance so near that he was
"killed by the explosion.

"The subject was often talked of among us;
"and the act of the officer who applied the
"match was always regarded as one of extra-
"ordinary daring. I never heard any one name
"the explosion of the Magazine as an accident.

"James Daw,
"Twenty-fifth Reg."

Doctor Moor then officially certifies that James Daw, the signer of the above, personally appeared, and made solemn oath that the foregoing affidavit was true, before him, as Notary Public.

This affidavit was sworn to, at Littleton, New Hampshire, on the twenty-second of October, 1852.

This certainly is an important document, and, if true, the noble daring and self-sacrifice of the Lieutenant of Bombardiers should be known and rewarded with the gratitude of his countrymen, which is due to them.

Doctor Moor adds that he believes Mr. Daw to be "a man whose statements may be fully "relied upon." I can add that I knew Mr. Daw, some twelve or fifteen years ago, and regarded him, and think he was generally regarded, as a man of veracity. I never heard his veracity called in question.

I send this document to you, believing you will be glad to insert it in the *Courier*. Buffalo being so near the scene of the occurrence to which it relates, I have supposed that its publication there would be more likely to revive and call forth the recollection of some other person, on a subject of so much national interest, than in any other place.

I am, Very Truly, Yours,
W. D. Wilson.

Geneva, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1853.

3.—Answer to Professor W. D. Wilson's letter, by Rev. Malcolm Douglass, a son of Major D. B. Douglass.

[*From* The Buffalo Daily Courier, *Buffalo, November 14, 1853.*]

Albion, Nov. 7, 1853.

Mr. Seaver:

I have been favored, by a friend, with a copy of the *Buffalo Courier*, for the twenty-eighth of October. It contains, I perceive, a communication calling public attention to the stirring event at Fort Erie, during the siege in the Campaign of 1814, and, especially, to the explosion in the contested Bastion of the Fort, during the night-attack of the British force. The question as to the *cause* of this explosion is proposed; and the testimony of Mr. James Daw—at the time, a soldier in the Twenty-fifth Regiment—is furnished, to the effect that it was the result, not of accident, but of a pre-concerted plan. May I crave the insertion of a few words upon this subject?

I have, at hand, the manuscript Lectures of Major Douglass, on the Niagara Campaign, referred to by your correspondent; and I take leave to quote the passage which bears upon the point in question: "It is not difficult to "account for the cause of the explosion of the "Bastion. The Magazine was under the Plat-"form and quite open. In the haste and ardor "with which the guns were served, during the "action, and in the confusion of the *melee*, some "cartridges were, doubtless, broken and the "powder strewed around, forming a train, or "succession of trains, connecting with the

"Magazine, which a burning wad or the dis-"charge of a musket might easily ignite." It will be observed that this conjecture does not agree with the statement of Mr. Daw; and I still think, with such attention as I have been able to give the question and without impugning the veracity of Mr. Daw, that the above statement is the more accurate and reasonable of the two. I may observe, by the way, that this was a subject to which Major Douglass had devoted a great deal of attention; for he was not unaware that the question was debated. I distinctly remember having heard him say that, at various times since the Campaign, he had compared notes with his brother officers, who were also eye-witnesses of the explosion, and the impression which he formed, at the period of the siege, were only more and more *confirmed*, viz.: that it was purely accidental.

I have regarded Mr. Daw's statement as inaccurate in its principal points. His first statement is as follows: "It was known to me and "others, some days before that event, that "preparations had been made to fire the Maga-"zine in case the Fort could not otherwise be "defended. We were attacked before the ar-"rangement was completed," etc. Now the public and private statements of Major Douglass assure us that no such arrangement was known to the Engineer officers, who are always entrusted with the superintendence of affairs of this kind, in the defence of fortified camps. No such arrangements were known to the General commanding, who, in his Report to the Secretary of War, acknowledges the Chief Engineer's correct and seasonable suggestions to regain the Bastion; and, while giving some of the details of this very attempt to regain it, he adds: "at this moment, every operation "was arrested by the explosion of some cart-"ridges, deposited at the end of the stone-"building, adjoining the contested Bastion. "The explosion was tremendous—it was de-"cisive; the Bastion was restored." So far, then, as the officers are concerned, the occurrence does not seem to be pre concerted; and, as Mr. Daw evidently does not regard it as the secret work of private soldiers, it would seem not unlikely that he and his fellow-soldiers misinterpreted some directions and arrangements in the construction of the Bastion, which was unfinished, up to the time of the attack.

Mr. Daw further states that "a Lieutenant of "Bombardiers volunteered to fire it. He was "seen to apply the match, more than once, as "the whole train of powder did not burn on "the first application, and he was obliged to "advance so near, that he was killed by the "explosion. The subject was often talked of "among us, and the act of the officer, who ap-"plied the match, was always regarded as one "of most extraordinary daring." Now Major Douglass was the only Lieutenant of Bombardiers in the action. The Company of Bombardiers and Sappers and Miners was under his especial command, as an Engineer officer. His Junior, Lieutenant Story, was on duty on the American side. Captain Williams and Lieutenant Mc Donough, both of the Artillery, are the *only* officers mentioned in General Gaines's Report as killed, and they were known to have been killed before the Bastion was yielded to the enemy. Is it not likely, then, that Mr. Daw's statement, on this point, is one of those mistaken rumors which would naturally circulate among the private soldiers, after the battle, and which, at such a time, can easily gain currency with many, upon very insufficient evidence? And does it not appear that, until more decisive evidence, to the contrary, is advanced, the statement in the Niagara Lectures has, by far, the greatest probability in its favor? My own opinion is, decidedly, in the affirmative.

Major Douglass's account of the explosion may be interesting to your readers. It is as follows: "The Bastion, itself, was still in the "possession of the enemy; but it was under-"stood that they were not only unable to pene-"trate further, but that they had been terribly "cut up by the fires from the Block-house and "from other adjacent parts of the Fort and "outworks. Several charges had been made "upon them, but, owing to the narrowness of "the passage and the height of the platform, "they had, as yet, been unsuccessful. Another "party, however, it was said, of picked men, "was now just organized, with the hope of a "better result. To this enterprise, then, the "only thing now remaining to complete the "repulse of the enemy, the attention of every "beholder was most anxiously bent. The fir-"ing within the Fort had already begun to "slacken, as if to give place to the charging "party; the next moment was to give us the "clang of weapons in deadly strife. But, sud-"denly, every sound was hushed by the sense of "an unnatural tremor beneath our feet, like the "first heave of an earthquake; and, almost at "the same instant, the centre of the Bastion "burst up with a terrific explosion; and a jet "flame, mingled with fragments of timber, "earth, stone, and the bodies of men, rose to "the height of one or two hundred feet in the "air, and fell, in a shower of ruins, to a great "distance, all around." * * * *

In another place, he thus remarks: "As to "its effect in deciding the contest, it was very "small, if anything. The British General "found it very convenient to assign the explo-

"sion as the chief cause of the failure of the "enterprise. But he had been completely re- "pulsed, with dreadful carnage, at all points, "*before* the explosion—the British troops in the "Bastion were unable to advance; their com- "mander was killed; their numbers were mo- "mentarily thinned by our fires; and so com- "pletely were they cut up and disabled, that of "those removed from the ruins of the Bastion, "but a very few were free from severe gun- "shot wounds. Indeed, had the explosion "been a few minutes later, the whole of their "Reserve would, probably, have been inter- "cepted and cut off, by a strong detachment, "which was in motion for that purpose."

I have, I fear, taken up your attention with a tedious letter; but it seemed called for by the statements which were made through the means of your esteemed correspondent. Perhaps the Memoir and the Lectures may yet be forthcoming, and at no distant date. And I may here say, that any well-authenticated data which may be furnished me—letters, memoranda, notes, and the like—bearing upon any or all of the events of the Niagara Campaign, will be thankfully received and acknowledged.

I am, with great regard,
Yours, Very Truly,
MALCOLM DOUGLASS.

4.—ANSWER TO PROFESSOR WILSON'S LETTER, BY EBENEZER MIX, ESQR., OF BATAVIA, NEW YORK.

[*From* The Spirit of the Times, *Batavia, N. Y., November 15, 1853.*]

BATAVIA, Nov. 15, 1853.

MR. HURLEY:

I observe, in the *Buffalo Courier* of the twenty-eighth ultimo, a communication from Professor Wilson of Geneva, with the accompanying affidavit of Mr. Daw, the introduction to which contains a request, that "old inhabi- "tants" will give their recollections on the subject to the public, and, as no one will dispute my being one of the "Old Inhabitants," and, believing myself somewhat qualified for the task, I cheerfully comply with the request.

Far from attempting to impugn the veracity or question the integrity or respectability of any person connected with that communication, I must entirely disagree with it, in relation to the main incidents therein stated, on which any doubts can arise. The discrepancy between our statements is easily accounted for, as Mr. Wilson, I presume, is not a military man, and would not claim to be familiar with the localities of "Old Fort Erie," or the exact application of military parlance; while Mr. Daw, according to his own account, was, at that time, a mere youth, of the age of twenty years, and a new recruit in the service. He, too, as appears from his statement, has lost his recollection of military terms and phrases, or he would not have said, in the commencement, that he "was "within the Bastion, when the Magazine ex- "ploded"—had he been within the Bastion, at the time the basket of cartridges exploded, he would not, probably, at any time since, have been in Littleton, New Hampshire, to have told the tale; as every man, whether British or American, in or near the Bastion, on or about the level of its plank-platform, at that time, and many below, were either killed or so severely wounded and horribly mangled, that death was the result. Mr. Daw undoubtedly meant, that he was within the Fort—the military encampment, called Fort Erie—at the time of the explosion, and would so amend his statement, if now revised by him, not that he, a young Infantry private and a new recruit, was, at that time, within the works of the "Old Fort," occupied, exclusively, by Officers, Artillerymen, and Bombardiers, and visited only by such persons as the officers saw fit to invite and admit. Mr. Daw was, at that time, undoubtedly where his duty called him, and where, had he been otherwise inclined, his officers would have compelled him to be, on parade in the plaza, in front of the space, between the second and third traverses, counting from the "Old Fort," in which, if I mistake not, his Regiment, the Twenty-fifth, was encamped, there ready to march, or stand and combat the enemy, as commanded by his officers, for it will be understood, that the Infantry, generally, were not called into actual conflict with the enemy, that night, but were mustered and stood at their respective posts, ready to obey orders, although the Twenty-first and part of the Twenty-third Regiments did great execution in defending our southern or left extremity, near which they were encamped, as did the Heavy Artillery and Light Corps, in defending the northern or right flank of our encampment.

It is said that he who demolishes an edifice, let it be ever so mis-shapen and incommodious, without erecting another, has been guilty of an injury to the public weal. To avoid such an imputation, I will give a succinct account of the assault on Fort Erie, by the British, in August, 1814, which I believe to be true, and know that it was uncontradicted, in any of its essential points, at the time it transpired, by any intelligent person who pretended to be acquainted with its details.

That the reader may the better understand the following statement, I will give an extract from Turner's *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York*, etc., being a

description of Fort Erie, as it existed in 1814 * —as its works are now almost entirely demolished, scarcely leaving a trace to designate its former location:

"Fort Erie, or rather the encampment call-"ed by that name, lying at the outlet of Lake "Erie into Niagara-river, on the Canada side, "was, at that time, composed of old 'Old Fort "'Erie,' consisting of two large stone mess-"houses and one Bastion, mounted with can-"non, situated near the margin of Niagara-"river, and a high artificial mound, transformed "from Snake-hill, about one hundred and fifty "yards southerly of the 'Old Fort.' This redoubt "was connected with the 'Old Fort' by a par-"apet of earth, thrown up between them, with "a western angle; from this Parapet, traverses "extending into the encampment.† The open "esplanade, on the West and North of our "works, was but from sixty to eighty rods "wide, where it terminated in a dense forest, "standing on a marshy or swamp bottom. Be-"tween this lengthy parapet and the shores of "the Niagara-river and Lake Erie, mostly be-"tween the traverses, was the encampment of "our regular soldiers."

On the third of July, 1814, the American Army took undisputed possession of Fort Erie; and all its forces, on the Niagara frontier, concentrated within it and on the adjacent grounds, soon after the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's-lane. In the latter part of July, the British troops, on the Niagara frontier, amounting to about five thousand, four hundred of which were veterans of European peninsular fame, under the command of Major-general Drummond, encamped on a farm, a mile and a half northwesterly of the Fort, making apparent demonstrations to invest it for a siege, but privately preparing to take it by storm, or assault. For this purpose, the assaulting forces were divided into three Divisions, one of which was to commence the attack on Towson's Battery, the entrance South of the American encampment; another Division, under the immediate command of Colonel (not General) Drummond, was to attack the only Bastion in the "Old Fort;" while the third and largest Division, was to silence Douglass's Battery, a small work near the Niagara-river, and march into the American encampment, along the Niagara shore. The night of the fourteenth of August, which was a dark night, was selected for the enterprise, and midnight the hour.

Agreeably with this arrangement, the attack was made on Towson's Battery, but without the least success. So conspicuous was this impediment, that the British soldiers called it "The "Light House." This Division then undertook to turn our works, by fording the margin of the lake; but they were so unsparingly cut down, by the sharp-shooters of the Twenty first and Twenty-third Regiments, as soon as they rounded the abbatis, that they were glad to desist, and retreated in disorder. Drummond, at the head of his Division, scaled the outer walls, or rather embankment—twelve or fifteen feet in perpendicular height—of the only Bastion in the "Old Fort," then mounted with cannon, and took possession of it, by surprise. This attack being unexpected, the attention of its defenders was drawn off, to view the scenes passing and events occurring at and near Towson's Battery, which was an unpardonable neglect of duty, for twenty five men could have effectually defended it from such an assault, had they been at their posts and on the alert. As soon as Colonel Drummond got into the Bastion, he cried, "Give the d—d Yankees no "quarters;" and what few Americans were in the Bastion, fled or were wantonly sacrificed, at which juncture a Lieutenant of the Artillery or Bombardier-corps, commander of a single gun, in an angle, in the parapet of the "Old "Fort," some fifteen or twenty yards distant from the Bastion, turned his gun alone, which was already loaded with grape-shot, towards the Bastion, and fired it, the effect of which was to set fire to a basket of cannon-cartridges, which had been placed, for the time being, under the plank-platform of the Bastion, in range with its entrance, at which the gun was pointed. The explosion of the cartridges in the basket blew up the Bastion floor, and scattered the materials of which its parapets were composed. This accident—for so it was considered, at the time, and it has never been asserted to the contrary, from any authentic source—therefore, I must say this *accident* ended the career of the vaunting Colonel Drummond, and killed or mortally wounded all the British who had taken possession of the Bastion and some who had not yet elevated themselves to that high distinction; but I believe the event is to be deplored by the Americans, as by it the brave officer who fired the cannon lost his life, and there were, probably, nearly as many Americans killed and wounded by the accident as there were British.

Of the truth of the facts above stated, in all their minutia, relative to the firing the gun by

* This description, as well as the account of the sortie, contained in that volumn, was written by myself, and mostly from memoranda taken at the time of the events.

† The transformation of Snake-hill into "Towson's Bat-"tery," the erection of "Douglass's Battery," and all the parapets, not included in the "Old Fort," was the work of the Americans, after they took possession, on the third of July.

the officer, its direction, etc., we never had nor ever can have a living witness; but the fact of the gun, which had been previously loaded, being turned in the direction of the Bastion and fired; the basket of cartridges exploding at the same time; the commander of the gun being found dead at its breech, with no other marks of violence than those naturally produced by such an explosion; and no one claiming a participation in the deed, nor any other corpse being found, as a silent testimony of companionship, fully warrants us in coming to the conclusion of their undoubted truth, although the gun might have been pointed at the basket when fired, and its recoil produced a more elevated direction; yet such a conclusion is not probable; but if the gun was fired into the Bastion, the direction in which it was found, the wadding would have naturally fallen into the basket or its vicinity.

While Colonel Drummond and his Division made this attack on the Bastion, the third, and most numerous, Division made an attack on Douglass's Battery and our extreme right, where our Heavy Artillery, Bombardiers, and light-troops were posted. Douglass's Battery, under the direction of its then youthful but skilful and intrepid commander,* and the troops stationed in its vicinity, soon discomfited this Division, and compelled its crowded ranks to retreat beyond the reach of the shot from our guns.

Thus ended the assault on Fort Erie, in a complete failure; but the British prosecuted their siege, with renewed vigor, until the seventeenth of September, when a chivalrous sortie from the Fort compelled them to raise the siege and make a hasty retreat to Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara-river.

That the explosion and destruction of the Bastion had any more effect on "the termina-'tion of the War," or even the capture of the Fort, than had the destruction of a camp washer-woman, by a random cannon-ball, is not to be entertained for a moment, for Colonel Drummond could not have retained possession, fifteen minutes, unless he was supported and sustained, from within the works, by the other two Divisions of the assailants, or, at least, by one of them; and they were both completely routed from their respective points of attack, before the explosion. Neither was the place where the basket of cartridges stood, the Magazine of the Fort, or even of the Bastion: it was, in fact, a very unsafe place to leave cartridges, on any occasion; and in this case they were undoubtedly hastily and carelessly left there. The Magazine of the Fort was in a compartment in the North end of the northern mess-house, near to, but disconnected with, the Bastion, which had no separate Magazine.

I can assure the public that I write understandingly, and from my own knowledge, as far as the nature of the case will admit. The facts and conclusions, herein stated, are not nursery chimeras or boyish phantasies. I was then a man, with an experience of twelve years in the scenes of manhood and active walks of life. Soon after the explosion, I visited Fort Erie and became an inmate of the tented field; and being personally acquainted with many of the Field, Staff, and Platoon-officers of our Army, and especially with Major, then Lieutenant, Douglass, who, with other officers, took me into the "Old Fort" and showed me the position of things as they were, at the time of the explosion, and related to me, in detail, the circumstances of that event, as far as they were known to the living—they deplored the fate of the young officer, who fired the gun, whose name I now forget, but made no allusion to his voluntary self-immolation.

I delineated, I presume, the first map or plan of the Fort, after the explosion, with explanatory notes and references and made several copies—General, then Colonel, Scott, on learning which, sent for me and solicited copies, one of which, as I understood, he sent to the War Department in Washington.

During the time I remained in the Fort, I heard soldiers relate divers marvellous accounts of the circumstances attending the blowing up of the Bastion, which were disregarded by the well-informed, as much as a sailor's long yarn is, by his Purser. One of these stories, I presume, has been the foundation of Mr. Daw's sincere belief; but, from any officer or well-informed person, I never heard of any kegs of powder being beneath the Bastion, or of any arrangements having been made to blow up the Magazine, on any emergency.

Yours, &c.,
EBENEZER MIX.

5.—REPLY TO MESSRS. DOUGLASS AND MIX, BY PROFESSOR WILSON.

[*From* The Buffalo Daily Courier, *Buffalo, November, 1853.*]

MR. SEAVER,

DEAR SIR: I do not suppose it possible for any one to misunderstand my object in sending to you the affidavit of Mr. Dow—not Daw, as it has been printed. It was to call out just such articles as that of the Rev. Mr. Douglass, in the *Courier* of the fourteenth instant, and

* The late Major David B. Douglass, who died, a few years since, at Geneva, while filling a Professorship in Geneva College.

that of Mr. Mix, in the Batavia *Spirit of the Times*, of the fifteenth.

Although readily admitting all the ignorance of military affairs which these correspondents may be disposed to charge me with, I did not, however, possess enough to satisfy me that some of the points and statements of Mr. Dow were erroneous. Nor was I quite disposed to believe his story to be entirely a fabrication. The article of Mr. Mix, I think, furnishes the primary fact which was wrought up into story, as Dow has given it. He states that "a Lieu-"tenant of Artillery or Bombardier Corps, "commander of a single gun, in an angle in the "parapet," fired it; the effect of which was, to blow up the Bastion and kill himself in the act. Now I do not recollect any mention of this fact in Major Douglass's manuscript—though it may be there. But this fact is, in some measure, inconsistent with the Rev. Mr. Douglass's communication. For in that he says: "Major Douglass was the *only* Lieuten-"ant of Bombardiers in the action. Captain "Williams and Lieutenant McDonough, both "of the Artillery, are the *only* officers mention-"ed in General Gaines's Report as killed; *and* "*they were known to have been killed before the* "*Bastion was yielded to the enemy.*"

I hope we may hear yet further from those who had the means to know, and yet remember, the occurrences of that glorious night. It may be that we shall yet find reason to believe that the discharge of the gun was a noble act—though, perhaps, a mistake and unnecessary one—on the part of the Lieutenant who fired it.

Very sincerely, yours,
W. D. Wilson.

6.—Letter from Ebenezer Mix, Esqr. to Rev. Malcolm Douglass.

[*From the original manuscript.*]

Batavia Nov. 14th 1853

Rev. Malcomb Douglas,
Dear Sir,

On perusing an account of the explosion of the bastion in old Fort Erie, in August 1814, I set down immediately and penned my views on the subject, but political matter crowded it out of the paper until this week, on leaving it I had directed a copy to be sent to you. This afternoon, while my reminiscences were issuing from the press, I came across the *Buffalo Courier*, containing your essay on the same subject—this evening I compared them—It could not have been expected that two men, had they both been within the fort (not to say "within the bastion") at the time, would after the lapse of 39 years, without previous concert, have told the history of such an exciting event, nearer alike than we have done; although neither of us was present at the time & one of us unborn, we had however in a great measure, the same source of information, your lamented father, who was at that time & place, the chief engineer & had the superintendence of constructing all new works, and repairing & improving all the old works of the fort & encampment– We both discard the intention of impugning the veracity of Mr. Dow [not Daw] but both entirely dissent from the truth of his statement, in all its material points—we both give the same reason or cause for his errors, and attribute his statement to the same source—we agree that the occurrence was a mere accident, and deny, that there existed, among the officers any arrangements or preparations to blow up the magazine, on any contingency– We likewise agree on the effect, or rather non-effect which the explosion had on the termination of the war, or the capture of the fort, and we came to that conclusion predicated on the same facts– We substantially agree in assuming the circumstances and cause of the explosion– In one point, and I believe the only one, our statements do not co-incide, that is, whether there was, or was not a magazine under the bastion, the contents of which exploded, this may be thought to be a mere variance in phrasiologe, and that any place, where "some cart-"rages" had been lodged, whether safe or unsafe, however fortuitously or temporarily their deposit, was a magazine. but I think that every common reader as well as every military man, must conclude from your statement, that there was under the bastion something like a regular apartment for the lodgement & safe-keeping of combustible munitions of war and their concomitants– A mere sight of this place would refute the idea– Maj. Douglas says that it was "under the platform and quite "open" and I will add, as open as an old fashioned kitchen fire-place & about the size, without an apology for a door– But what says Gen. Gaines, the commanding officer at the time, in his report to the Secretary of War. "At this "moment every operation was arrested by the "explosion of *some cartridges* deposited at the "end of the stone building, adjoining the con-"tested bastion." By this statement it would be as hard to locate these "some cartriges" before the explosion as afterwards– The Gen. was ashamed, and perhaps afraid to report to the Secretary, that it was the explosion of a corn basket of cartrages tucked under the floor of the bastion!—neither would he report that it was the explosion of "some cartrages" in the magazine of the fort or bastion, for that would not have been the truth—therefore he made this evasive, or to say the most of it, in-

definite statement; this might have passed as immeterial had not Mr. Dow lugged his 20 kegs of powder into it.

As to the person who fired off the gun, there is no particular discrepancy in our statements —I should have said—"An artillery officer who "had charge of the single gun &c." and so I wrote it in my first draft, his grade or whether a commissioned officer or not I did not recollect, but not wishing to contradict Mr. Dow's statement unnecessarily, I introduced the words, "Lieut." & "bombardier" But I am very certain, that several officers of the higher grade, and Maj. Douglas, in particular, while on the ground, viewing the premises, a few days after the explosion, told his friend, D. E. Evans & myself that according to the best testimony to be obtained, as there was no living witness,— the officer commanding the single gun at the angle, turned the gun alone, already charged with grape-shot, and fired into the bastion, and that the wad or some other ignited substance from the charge, fell into the basket of cartrages beneath the platform, on which the explosion took place.

I have just viewed a second bulletin from Prof. Wilson, through the *Buffalo Courier*, in which he accuses *us* of charging him with ignorance in military affairs—he should have charged *me* only—I however did not intend to offend him—but when I found a Professor in such an institution as Geneva College, speak of "making a *sortie* on a Fort," instead of a *charge*, and using several other very clumsy expressions, when addressing the public, I could not resist giving him a rap over the knuckles, but I did it without exposing his defects, or rather the defects in his writing– People who write to the public, should be prepared to meet criticism.

I insert herein a rough plan of Old Fort Erie, and some of its annexed works by the Americans. I do not however do it for your edification, as I presume you have far better drawings of it among your fathers papers, this plan and its explanatory references are mostly copied from your fathers drawings, but I send this to you to let you understand how I conceive the facts to be– *

Yours very Respectfully
EBENEZER MIX

P. S. Your friend Wilson, in his last bulletin says that, he "did not however possess "enough [ignorance] to satisfy him that *some* "of the points and statements of Mr. Dow "were erroneous, nor was I [Wilson] quite disposed to believe his story to be entirely a "fabrication." [A curious sentence, and blindly put together—my opinion is that Mr. W. cannot write elegantly or even ordinarily, if these two efforts are good specimens]

Mr. Dow with Mr. W. to back him, I think comes out about as well as the old indian who having sold a deer, which he had just killed and left hanging in a certain tree in a certain meadow, as he said—and no deer being found there—he was upbraided by the purchaser for lying and replied– You found the meadow— Yes– You found the tree—Yes– And you found the deer—No– Hugh, two *trutes* to one lie—pretty good for indian! The fort was there & the bastion was blown up—all the rest of "his story" appears "to be entirely a fabri-"cation"

If Mr. Wilson calls me out again I will fire off my big Gun at him.

* It has not been considered necessary to re-produce this map, because it is almost exactly a copy of that which we have given on another page.—EDITOR.

IV.—*KINDERHOOK, NEW YORK.*

[The following articles, concerning this ancient town, are taken from a local newspaper, in order that they may not be lost, among the transient items of weekly journals. They are evidently from the pen of our friend, Henry C. Van Schaack, Esqr., of Manlius, New York, who is a native of Kinderhook; and, as they are perfectly reliable, we have pleasure in re-printing them.—EDITOR.]

I.

NATURAL HISTORY OF KINDERHOOK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ADVERTISER:

In the early part of the present century, a communication appeared in *The Balance and Columbia Repository*, a newspaper then published at Hudson, containing observations on the natural history of the village of Kinderhook and its vicinity. The author of this paper was the Rev. David B. Warden, who was a resident of this village, for several years, during the tenth decade of the last century. He was the Principal of the first Academy established here; and afterwards became Principal of the Academy, at Kingston, in this State. When General Armstrong was our Minister in France, Mr. Warden was Secretary of Legation; and he was subsequently appointed Consul, which latter office he held for many years. He is represented to have been a man of deep and varied learning, of which there is some evidence in the fact that, while in Paris, he was made a member of the noted French Academy. His death occurred in that city, many years ago, at the age of sixty-eight. His library, said to possess historical value, was purchased from him, in his lifetime, by the State of New York. As the observations of an intelligent foreigner, for Mr. Warden was an Englishman, it is believed that his communi-

cation to the Hudson paper, notwithstanding its old date, will be found interesting at this time. It is, therefore, subjoined. H. C. V. S.

"NATURAL HISTORY OF KINDERHOOK.

"The town of Kinderhook, in Columbia-county, State of New York, is situated on the East side of Hudson-river, 42 deg., 36 min. N. lat. "It is thirteen miles North from the city of "Hudson; twenty and a half miles South by "East of All any; twenty-five miles West by "North of Stockbridge, in Massachusetts; and "one hundred and forty miles North of New "York.

"From almost every spot in Kinderhook, the "Blue Mountains may be seen, and every beholder must be delighted with them. Sometimes, "the whole range appears tinged with the color "of a delightful blue. The appearance is variegated and irregular. In Winter, the reflection "of the sun reverberating from the snow which "covers them, has a grand effect. Sometimes, "their tops are veiled in a cloud. The people "prognosticate a change of weather from the "mist or fogs which appear on the top and sides "of these mountains. In Summer, if they are "enveloped with fog or vapors, so that their "summits are not visible, it is a sure indication "of rain; and, in Winter, the same appearance "indicates snow. If every part of the mountains is seen, distinctly, a sudden fall of rain "or snow never takes place.

"What contributes much to the beauty of "Kinderhook is the creek, which runs along the "East side of the town. It originates from a "spring of water which issues from the bottom "of a hill, about fifteen miles North of the celebrated medicinal waters of Lebanon, and flows "past them, at the distance of two hundred "yards, describing a North-east by East course, "but in many parts, very irregular. In proportion to the distance from its source, it increases in size, by the conflux of Claverack-creek "and several considerable streams, until it mingles with those of the Hudson-river, about four "miles below Kinderhook Landing.

"Four miles from town, and four from the "Hudson-river, there are three falls of water in "the creek, all of which are truly magnificent. "Each of them is nearly two hundred feet in "breadth. Two of them are thirty, and the "third, which is nearest to the Hudson-river, is "forty feet in perpendicular height. When "there is much water in the creek, it rages over "the rocks, presenting a grand appearance. The "ear is struck with the rude, majestic noise, "while the trees, shooting forth from the clifts "of the impending rocks and spreading their "branches over the rapid stream, making the "scene truly picturesque, so that it delights the "imagination of every spectator.

"At the close of Winter, when the ice begins "to dissolve, the scene cannot be surpassed; "when large masses of ice are hurled over the "rocks by the waters of the melted snow, and "are dashed to pieces with a noise which strikes "the hearer with awe and terror.

"The air and weather experienced in Kinderhook, is much the same as that of other places "in the Northern States of America, which are "at the same distance from the sea, having a "similar quantity of cleared lands, etc.

"The good state of health which the people "of Kinderhook enjoy, with the many instances "of individuals arriving to a great age, evinces "that the air is very pure and salubrious. It "has never been subject to any general fatal "sickness; and, compared to the population of "other towns, there are fewer deaths than in "any other settlement in the State. Many die "from mere old age, free from the oppressions "of diseases.

"Isaac Vosburgh, of this place, was one hundred and five years old when he died. Eliza "Vosburgh was ninety-three. Another woman "of the same name, was ninety-five; and three "brothers, each above ninety. Mrs. Pruyn is "eighty-four and quite healthy. A slave of Mr. "Van Alen's, an African, called Kate, is one hundred; and a black man of Mr. Vosburgh's is "of the same age, both active and performing "manual labor."

II.

LONGEVITY OF KINDERHOOKERS.

MR. EDITOR:

In his paper on the Natural History of Kinderhook, republished in a late number of *The Advertiser*, Mr. Warden, in proof of the pure and salubrious air of this village and its vicinity, refers to several cases of remarkable longevity among its inhabitants, particularly mentioned by him. The monuments erected in the village cemetery, since created, show that many former residents continued to attain a great age, after the period at which Mr. Warden wrote, which was the very first of the present century. A perfect mortuary record seems not to have been kept, which circumstance, together with a lack of other necessary information and time, has prevented the writer from collecting the proper materials for a comparison. Judging, however, from a partial mortuary record, with some oral information, the number of very old persons here has latterly very considerably diminished—indicating, it is feared, that the present inhabitants are departing from the simple and healthful habits of their Dutch ancestors or predecessors. Nevertheless, the great number of longevitarians

now living in this village and neighborhood is remarkable, and the fact is calculated to arrest the attention of non-residents, while those who are thus pursuing the "even tenor of their ways," seem to be unconscious of the peculiarity of their position as it strikes the minds of strangers and visitors. The number of present residents who have passed the age of three score and ten is very large. Many of them have attained the age of eighty, and not a few have considerably exceeded that point; and there are several nonagenarians. Longevitarianism in families has not been uncommon here, particularly in familes of Dutch descent, up to a recent period. An illustration will here be given.

Henry Van Schaack died in 1823, at the age of ninety years and six months. His sister, Jane Silvester, widow of Judge Peter Silvester, died three years after, at eighty-seven. Their brother, Peter Van Schaack, LL.D., died in 1832, in his eighty-sixth year. A son of the latter gentlemen, David Van Schaack, Esqr., died, eighteen months ago, in his seventy-eighth year. He left a brother and sister, still living, who have passed "the age allotted to man"—the one being seventy-one and the other seventy-three. One of their uncles died in 1858, aged eighty-four. Two nieces of the three first-named persons—children of their deceased sister—died, the one, in 1857, in her eighty-fourth year, and the other, in 1859, in her ninetieth year. Another neice died at eighty-four. Four grand-neices of the three individuals first above-named—being grandchildren of another deceased sister—are now living at the respective ages of sixty-four, seventy-six, seventy-nine, and eighty-one; making a total of three hundred years, or an average age of seventy-five. A cousin of the four last-named individuals, of the same name, died here, last year, in her eighty-sixth year. Their parents died at the respective ages of eighty-two and eighty-four.

Ex-President Van Buren, who passed the early and latter years of his life here, died in 1862, at the age of eighty. His brother, Major Lawrence Van Buren, who always resided here, died, in 1864, in his eighty-fourth year. Their sister, a lifelong resident here, died in 1865, in her ninetieth year. The parents of these individuals died at an advanced age. Want of definite information alone prevents me from here giving a full exposition of *all* the cases of longevity, in the two families to which I have referred, and which the facts, in each case, would warrant.

Another curious piece of history will be referred to. The frequent intermarriage of cousins, here, in former days, was remarkable. In one instance, four brothers, in one family, married four sisters, in another family; and three brothers of the four sisters married three sisters of the four brothers: making seven marriages confined to the members of two families only.

Reference has been made, in a former communication to *The Advertiser*, to the fact that many remarkable men have resided in this vicinity, in former days, one of whom was particularly noticed. It will scarcely be necessary to remind the reader that the remains of an ex-President of the United States are interred in the village grave-yard, at Kinderhook. But I will make special mention of another Dutch name. A neat and substantial monument, erected to the memory of Peter Van Ness, who died, in 1804, at the age of seventy, is now standing, in good condition, on an elevation in the rear grounds at Lindenwald, late the seat of ex-President Van Buren and now owned by Mr. Wilder. The inscription on this monument discloses the career of quite a remarkable character. It informs us that, at the age of nineteen, Mr. Van Ness was Captain of a military Company, in the War which terminated in the conqnest of Canada by the English; that he commanded a Regiment at the surrender of Burgoyne; was a member of the New York State Convention that ratified the Federal Constitution; and, among numerous other trusts, public and private, he was, for many years, a member of the State Senate and First Judge of the County. To this, it may be added that he was the head of a remarkable family, all born in the town of Kinderhook. His son, Cornelius P. Van Ness, was Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont; Governor of that State; Minister to Spain; and Collector of the port of New York. His son, John P. Van Ness, was a member of Congress and Mayor of the city of Washington. Another son, William P. Van Ness, who was second to Burr in his duel with Hamilton, was an eminent lawyer and, for many years, Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York.

Washington Irving informs us, in his ill-conceived *History of New York*, that the name of Van Ness had its origin in the fact that its original holders were "valiant robbers of bird's-"nests." If this be correct history, it must, at least, be admitted that the successors, in Kinderhook, of those old "robbers of nests," have been engaged in a more creditable business than were their ancestors. H. C. V. S.

—The old Liberty Bell has been removed from its pedestal in Independence Hall to the vestibule, where it is to remain. When suspended from the derrick the clapper was put in place and the old bell was struck thirteen times, and rung out loud and quite clear for a bell that has got a two-foot crack in it.

V.—*SAM. BROWN.*

A LEGEND ABOUT "LOOK-OUT SHOALS, OF "THE CATAWBA-RIVER."

By Professor E. F. Rockwell, Statesville, North Carolina.

About fifteen miles West of Statesville, North Carolina, three miles above the Island Ford, on the Catawba-river, there is, at a place called the "Look-out Shoals," on the West side of the stream, a high bluff rising three hundred feet above the water.

About sixty feet from the bottom of this, under an over-hanging cliff, there is an opening, now partly closed by a mass of rock sliding down, which is the mouth of a cave, of considerable dimensions within, and sufficient room to accommodate several persons.

There is some historical interest connected with this, from its being, in the old Revolution, a place of resort and a depository of plunder, not by a band of robbers, but, singularly enough, by a man and his sister, Sam. Brown and Charity Brown.

It is said that they belonged in that vicinity, in Lincoln-county, where they were brought up. They sallied out from this place, on their plundering expeditions, even as far as the Shallow Ford, on the main Yadkin.

The banks of this river, for a good distance up from the Forks, were inhabited by a mixed population, among whom were a good many Tories. Following up Hunting-creek, towards the Brushy-mountains, the people, in those days, are said to have been nearly all Tories.

They annoyed the Whigs a good deal, in the latter part of the War, by their robberies—especially horse-stealing. After committing their depredations, they would fly to the mountains and lie concealed.

Our hero and heroine, therefore, would find ready confederates in that quarter. They practiced various disguises, and exchanged attire, at pleasure.

Their den could not be approached, without crossing the river, which is here three hundred and forty-four yards wide; and they were acquainted with several fords, unknown to others, and, when pursued, could escape in a sudden and mysterious manner. One of those was at the mouth of Cowan's-creek; another at the mouth of Dolf's-branch.

They stole a great variety of articles—not only clothing and bed-clothing, silver and pewter-ware, and money, but horses, which they ran off to South Carolina, to dispose of.

They became notoriously objects of dread in the country where their persons were not known. With devilish cunning, they took advantage of this; and would visit houses, when not known, and enquire if the people were not afraid of being robbed by them; and if they said that they were, Brown would direct them where to put their most valuable effects to keep them safe, of course, then, he would know where to go to take them.

It was once a proverb "to ride like Jehu;" but Sam. Brown was so famous, in this respect, that a good lady says that when she was young, she used to hear it said of one that was a hard rider, "He rides like Sam. Brown."

Another instance of his cunning was, that when he had stolen a horse, and was pursued, and he found that the pursuer had the swifter horse, he would stop at the first house he came to, and walk in, leaving the horse at the gate. The pursuer would do the same, expecting to find Brown in the house; but the minute the former came in at the front door, the latter whipped out of the back door, mounted the swifter horse, and fled.

A poor old blind man, by the name of David Beard, living on Fourth-creek, near what is now called Beard's-bridge, about seven miles East of Statesville, had a few dollars in silver, laid up. Brown made a raid on him and took his money. Beard told him he would have a hard account to render at the day of judgment, for robbing a poor, old, blind man. He replied, "It is long "trust." To which Beard rejoined, "But sure "pay."

It is said that he was once married to the daughter of a man who lived near the Island-ford; but his wife left him and returned to her father; where he, in revenge, went one night, and killed all his father-in-law's stock. During his absence from the cave, he left a base woman to keep house.

When any persons went there to take it, they had a place cut out behind a projecting part of the rock, near the entrance, where they could keep concealed, and shoot the assailants, who could only ascend the face of the cliff, one at a time. This is said to be the origin of the name, "Look-out Shoals." It is also said that the bones of various kinds of animals and pieces of broken crockery are found, at the present time, by visitors at the cave. It is not known to have been inhabited since their day.

Various are the traditions, in the country, of the way that Brown came to his end—some say that he and some of his confederates had escaped into the mountains, after one of his forages; were pursued; and overtaken, one Sabbath morning, in a valley, where they were dividing their plunder. Brown was shot and killed; the others escaped. Others assert that he was wounded, in South Carolina, in one of his plundering tours—he reached a deserted house, where he died. Another account is, that he had

robbed a house, near Morrison's-mill, a few miles West of Statesville; that he emptied a feather-bed, and filled the tick with bed-clothing, wearing apparel, and pewter-ware; and that he was pursued, and shot, while crossing the river. But, before he died, he told of some silver that he had secreted under a rock in Third-creek, just below the mill above-mentioned; and though a small piece of silver money was found in the road, near that spot, after much searching, no deposit has been fouud in the place indicated.

After the death of her brother, Charity Brown went to the West—whether to some other State, or the western part of this State, does not appear. Before her death, she made some revelations and gave some directions where to find valuables, buried in the vicinity of the cave, between three dog-wood trees, blazed, and facing each other. It is said that in the space of eighteen months, men came from Buncombe and Haywood-counties, to hunt for buried articles by her directions. A large hollow tree, which had been broken off at the top, was blown down by the wind and revealed twelve sets of pewter-ware, it is said.

There was once a pamphlet published, no one knows when, nor by whom, giving an account of the adventures of these singular characters. Only one copy of this has been heard of, in this part of the coun'ry. It was owned, and given by his grand-father, about 1844, to a man now living; and who, at that time, carried on the mills at the Shoals, called Ruffty's. Soon after the book came into his possession, a man, by the name of Theodore Perkins, from Morganton, was visiting in the neighborhood, and, hearing of it, begged the loan of it, promising to return it by a certain time, to a certain place, by the stage. But he died soon after, and the book could never be recovered. The man in question, from whose relation, for the most part, these facts have been gathered, is of German descent, named Jacob Heffner; and his father, Michael Heffner, at a very advanced age, is yet living in Caldwell-county.

The son alleges that when he comes near the cave and tries to bring his batteau to land, at the base of the cliff, he hears a fearful noise; proceeding, not from the cave, so far above the water, but from the rock at the bottom.

—Evidences of ancient fortifications have been discovered recently near Elizaville, Fleming-county, Kentucky. They are supposed to have been erected earlier than the Indians. The largest mounds in the Ohio-valley are situated near Maysville. They have never been examined by scientists.

VI.—*HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO COUNTY, NEW YORK.*—Continued from Page 163.

By S. S. Randall, LL.D., late Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of New York.

VIII.—*THE TOWN AND VILLAGE OF OXFORD.*

The town of Oxford was originally a part of the township of Fayette; and, in conjunction with an additional tract, known as "The Gore"—in all, about seven thousand acres—was purchased of the State, at one of its earliest sales, in 1789, by Benjamin Hovey and Melancthon Smith, and incorporated, in 1793, as one of the towns of Tioga-county, from parts of Union and Jericho.

In 1791, General Hovey moved into the place, and built a log-house, on the present Fort-Hill-square, on the site of the Fort-Hill-house, burned down, in 1839, near the present or late residence of Nelson C. Chapman. The only other residents of the town, were Elijah Blackman and James Phelps. During that and the following years, Henry Balcom and his sons, Samuel and Francis Balcom, Eben Enos, John Bartle, John Church, Theodore Burr, Benjamin Loomis, Jonathan Baldwin, Uri Tracy, Anson Cary, James Padgett, Samuel Miles Hopkins, Benjamin Throop, Major Dan Throop, Jonathan Fitch, John Mc Whorter, Gershom Hyde, Peter Burget, Nathaniel Locke, and several other settlers made their appearance; a school was organized; an Academy was built on the present Washington-square, near the present or late residence of Joseph Walker, and incorporated by the Legislature, in 1794; and the first town-meeting was held, in the same year, at the house of General Hovey.

Uri Tracy was the first Principal of the Academy, and was succeeded, in 1795, by Elisha Mosely. In 1799, a new building was erected, near the present or late residence of Frederick A. Sands; but was destroyed by fire, in that or the succeeding year. A third edifice was erected, in 1801, which, in 1805, was removed to the old Academy-lot, nearly opposite the residence of the late Henry Van Der Lyn.

General Hovey procured from the State Legislature, at an early period, after his settlement in Oxford, the construction of a road, known as the "Old State-Road," from the Unadilla-river to Cayuga-lake, and was one of the Representatives of the County in the Legislature, and a Judge of the County-court, in 1798. He was a native of Worcester-county, Massachusetts, born in 1757; was an active partisan of the Government, in the suppression of Shays's

rebellion in 1787; and, shortly afterwards, removed to the banks of the Susquehannah, four miles West of Wattle's ferry, afterwards the Unadilla-bridge, where he remained, until November, 1791, when he removed to Oxford, and embarked, with his accustomed energy, in the political contests of the period. He was favorably regarded by Governor George Clinton, Melancthon Smith, General John Lamb, Colonel Willett, and General Thomas, and the Republicans of that day, generally. Soon after 1800, he emigrated to Ohio; where, in conjunction with General Wilkinson, Aaron Burr, and others, he entered into the project of constructing a canal at the Falls of the Ohio, opposite Louisville. After several futile attempts to organize a Company for this purpose, and the expenditure of a large portion of his own means, he abandoned the enterprise, and retired, in indigent circumstances, to the shores of Lake Erie, where he died, about the year 1815.

The services of Judge Uri Tracy, as the first Sheriff and Clerk of the County; its representative in Congress, for three successive terms; and, subsequently, as First Judge of the County-court and Surrogate, have already been partially adverted to. He was a man of great force of character, unassuming and popular manners, high scientific attainments, and unimpeachable integrity. Judge Cary also filled several County offices, with credit and the public approbation. The two brothers, Balcom, were highly respectable farmers and business-men; resided on a large farm, two miles above the present village of Oxford; and transmitted their energy and capacity to their descendants, among whom have since been two representatives in the Legislature and one of the most distinguished and respected jurists of the highest State Court—the Hon. Ransom Balcom, now, and for more than ten years past, a Judge of the Supreme-court, for the district of which the County of Chenango forms a part.

Samuel Miles Hopkins was the first lawyer of the infant settlement. He opened an office, within two years after the advent of Judge Hovey, in 1791, and wrote the draft of his first legal document on the head of a barrel, under a roof of poles, and in a rain-storm, from which he was only partially protected by a broad-brimmed hat.

Nathaniel Locke represented the County in the Legislature of 1810, and was an estimable and enterprising citizen.

The Village of Oxford.—Eight miles South-west of the village of Norwich, was the village of Oxford, bisected, about centrally, by the Chenango-river, and with a population, in 1820, considerably in excess of that of Norwich, although originally settled by Benjamin Hovey and others, at about the same period. Leaving the southern boundary of Norwich, at Canasawacta-bridge, you passed (in 1823) on the right, the residence and farm of Hezekiah Brown, those of his brother, Joseph Brown, and, on the left, the old Randall farm, originally the property of Avery Power, in 1788, and sold by him to Captain Randall, in 1800; that of Elias Breed, purchased early in the century, of William Smiley; that of Lieutenant James Gilmore; a few other scattered farms and farm-houses; and, at the distance of about four miles from either village, the half-way inn of Aaron Gates. Then, after laboriously toiling up the long, steep, winding, and, frequently, dangerous ascent, known as "Fitch "Hill"—the present level road not having yet been constructed, nor even designed—you passed, on your right, the farms of Judge Anson Cary and Henry Balcom, grandfather of the present Judge Ransom Balcom—at whose log-house I remember visiting, in the Winter of 1820, with my grand-parents; and, on the left, the farm of Silas Cole and one or two others, and found yourself at Ethan Clarke's Hotel, in the village of Oxford, on the western side of the river. There were, then, only two other public-houses—one kept by Mr. Samuel Ross, a little South of Clark's (a portion of which was then occupied by the office of the *Oxford Gazette*, edited by Chauncey Morgan) and the other, on the eastern extremity of the village, by Erastus Perkins. Clark's Hotel was situated on the corner of the main street, and another, running West, up a considerable acclivity, on which were the store and residence of General Ransom Rathbun and the dwelling then, or a short time subsequently, of General Peter Sken Smith. A little below the village, were the spacious mansion and grounds of Benjamin Butler, Esqr. Fronting Clark's Hotel was a large public-square, extending to the bridge crossing the river, and flanked, on the North, by residences, among which I only recollect those of E. B. McCall, Civil Engineer, and Doctor George Mowry, a very able and popular physician, quite dwarfish in stature; and, on the South, by shops and stores, including the store of Samuel Farnham and his sons, George and Alexander H. Farnham. Crossing the Bridge, you came upon Fort-Hill-square, with its beautiful Episcopal-church and silver-toned bell, and its venerable and time-honored sexton, Russell. This church was then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Leverett Bush—a perfect model, in appearance, sanctity, dignity, and mental and moral worth, of a Christian Pastor. Mr. Bush was the successor of the Rev. Doctor William B. Lacey. On the West side of the Square were the residence of Simon G. Throop,

then District Attorney, the Lancasterian school-house, and the store of Ira Willcox, with his residence on the opposite side of the Square, on or near the site of the present Academy. Following the main street, East, you passed, on the left, the Presbyterian-church, just completed; the large house occupied, a year subsequently, by Captain James Perkins; and a few smaller dwellings—the South side being chiefly occupied by the spacious grounds of James Clapp, Esq., in rear of his house and office, situated on an angle of the large public square upon which the street there opened. On the West side of this square, and North of the main street, were the houses and offices of John Tracy and Doctor Perez Packer. Henry and William Mygatt, merchants, and Henry Van Der Lyn, Counsellor-at-law, with his brother, Gerardus Van Der Lyn, also occupied residences on the eastern side of the square, or in its immediate vicinity.

From the Episcopal-church, a street ran East, to this latter point, on which stood, on the South, the old Oxford Academy, and, adjoining it, on the West, the residence of its then Principal, David Prentice. At this ancient and excellent institution were, in 1823, or the year preceding, among its students, Charles Oscar Tracy, a son of Uri Tracy, Representative in Congress for several terms, County Clerk and First Judge; ex-Governor Horatio Seymour; Ward Hunt, late Chief-justice of the Court of Appeals and now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, filling the position of Justice Nelson, retired; William M. Fenton, late Lieutenant-governor of Michigan; Henry R. Mygatt, a distinguished and successful Counsellor-at-law, still, I am happy to say, at the height of his usefulness, and respected and beloved by all—and their name is legion—who know him; H. W. Rogers, Joseph G. Masten, of Western New York, George R. H. Shumway, and many others whose names cannot now be recalled.

When I joined the school, boarding with Mr. Prentice, in 1823, among my fellow-boarders were Nelson B. Hale, James A. Palmer, of Waterville, Oneida-county, Erasmus D. Robinson, son of Tracy Robinson, George Clark, of Otsego, Reuben Tower, of Oneida, and William Whitney, of Binghamton; and in the institution, Edward A. C. Tourtelot, whose mother, a widow, resided nearly opposite, both of whom I again met, in 1824, at Hamilton-college and its vicinity; and two brothers, Everett, from Georgia, fiery young Southerners, liberal in the use of pistol and knives. Horatio Seymour was then known by the sobriquet of "Pompey Seymour," from his father's residence in that town. Ward Hunt and W. M. Fenton had then left—the latter for Hamilton-college, where I joined him, two years later—both of us having prepared ourselves with the Rev. Edward Andrews, afterwards himself Principal of Oxford Academy, and the predecessor of Professor Merrit G. McKoon.

The village contains, at the present time, about two thousand inhabitants. It was incorporated, in 1808; and has some two hundred dwelling-houses, stores, and shops, six churches, several large hotels, two printing-offices, a flourishing Academy, and several public and private schools.

Among its principal inhabitants, up to 1825, and a few years subsequent, were Uri Tracy, Gerrit H. Van Wagenen, Gershom Hyde, Comfort Sands, Jonathan Baldwin, James Glover, Samuel and Francis Balcom, George Mowry, Jonathan Bush, Josiah Stephens, Nathaniel Locke, Isaac Sherwood, Peter Burgot, Samuel Farnham and his sons, George and Alexander, Gurdon Hewitt, John B. Johnson—Editor of the *Chenango Patriot*, the first newspaper established in the County—Ransom Rathbun, Stephen O. Runyan, William M. Price, James Clapp, Henry Van Der Lyn, John Tracy, Simon G. Throop, Epaphras Miller, Amos A. Franklin, Benjamin Butler, Daniel Shumway, Ira Willcox, Hezekiah Morse, Henry Mygatt, William Mygatt, David Prentice—Principal of the Academy—the Rev. Leverett Bush, the Rev. James Abel, Ethan Clark, Samuel Ross, Erastus Perkins, James A. Glover, Austin Hyde, Chauncey Morgan—Editor of the *Oxford Gazette*—Gerardus Van Der Lyn, Doctors Perez Packer, Austin Rouse, and William G. Sands, and Charles A. Hunt.

John Tracy was a nephew of Uri Tracy, and one of the most distinguished inhabitants of the village. At an early period of his practice, as a lawyer, he secured the entire confidence and regard of the community, by his strict honesty and integrity, and was frequently confidentially consulted, by both parties, in a legal controversy. He represented the County, in the Legislatures of 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1826; was appointed First Judge and Surrogate, in 1824, and remained in that position, up to 1833; was appointed a Regent of the University; and elected Lieutenant-governor, in 1832, on the ticket with Governor William L. Marcy, a post to which he was twice, subsequently, re-elected, and held, until 1839. On the transfer of the Hon. Samuel Nelson to the Bench of the Supreme Court, at about this period, he was offered the vacancy thus created in the Circuit Judgeship of the Sixth District, comprising the County of Chenango, which, however, he declined. On the assembling of the State Constitutional Convention, in 1846, he was elected President of that body; after which he retired

to the uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic life, at his residence, in Oxford, where, surrounded by the happiest domestic ties and that "honor, obedience, and troops of friends," which, the poet informs us, "should accompany "age," he remained, until the period of his death, some few years since, at an advanced age.

James Clapp came into the village, in early life, in the Summer of 1808, with his partner, William M. Price; and, being delighted with its rural beauty and quiet air of seclusion, they, at once, opened a law-office in a central situation, confiding in their own energy and ability for success. On the morning succeeding their arrival, they were called upon by Judge Hovey, who was pleased with their enterprising spirit and fearless confidence; encouraged them in their determination; and gave them his own extensive law-business.* Mr. Price continued in Oxford, for a few years only, when he transferred his residence to the city of New York, where he was subsequently appointed United States District Attorney for the Southern District; embarked, in conjunction with the notorious Samuel Swartwout, in hazardous and criminal speculations with the public funds committed to his charge; and was compelled to leave the country. He obtained, while in New York, a high reputation for brilliant talents and forensic abilities. A few years afterwards, in a fit of despondency, he put an end to his existence, by suicide. Mr. Clapp remained at Oxford. He speedily placed himself at the head of the Chenango Bar; married the daughter of Benjamin Butler, one of the wealthiest citizens of the village; and, by his unremitting industry, diligence, and success in his profession, secured a large practice and a handsome competency.

Henry Van Der Lyn was one of Mr. Clapp's earliest contemporaries and most efficient rivals; a gentleman of finished manners, fine social qualities, and great legal science.

Colonel Simon G. Throop also attained a high standing at the Bar; represented the County in the Legislature of 1817; was appointed District Attorney, in 1821; and became a general favorite in the County, from his admirable social qualities and conceded mental abilities. His residence was on the West side of Fort-Hill-square. Some few years subsequent to 1840, having become reduced in his pecuniary circumstances, he removed to Ohio, where, a year or two since, he celebrated his eightieth birth-day, and received a high judicial appointment in the County of his residence, which he still holds. No man, in his earlier and more prosperous days, was better adapted to "set the tables in a roar," at all festive gatherings, than Colonel Throop; and no man possessed a warmer or a kinder heart, or more genial sympathy with his kind.

Stephen O. Runyan was the earliest lawyer in Oxford, having been admitted to practice, in the Supreme Court, at the Circuit held in that village, in 1804. He obtained a high reputation in his profession; but left the County at an early period.

The firm of Mygatts and Hyde was well known in these early days and until a recent period, as extensive leather and dry-goods dealers, and upright, intelligent, and substantial citizens. Mr. Hyde represented the town, for many years, as Supervisor; was the successor of John Tracy, as Deputy County-clerk, under Uri Tracy; and, in 1823 and 1833, was a member of the State Legislature.

Ransom Rathbun, Ira Willcox, and Samuel Farnham were also eminent merchants of the village: and the former held the office of President of the Bank of Chenango, from 1830 to 1853, and represented the County, in the Legislature of 1831. General Rathbun was a man of gentlemanly and somewhat imposing manners, and, for many years, commanded the County Brigade of Militia. Mr. Farnham was a quiet, unobtrusive, but very worthy man.

Chauncey Morgan was a man of fine talents, possessing considerable influence in political affairs, and generally respected and esteemed.

Doctors Mowry, Packer, Sands, and Rouse were skillful and scientific physicians, enjoying the full confidence of the community. Doctor

* After their admission to the Bar of the Supreme Court, according to a statement of M. M. Noah, of the New York *National Advocate*, reproduced by Mr. Clark, in his History, "both young adventurers went into the interior of the "State, to seek their fortunes, stopping at various vil- "lages, which seemed to exhibit an opening. Early one "Summer evening, they entered the village of Oxford. "The beauty of its position, the neatness of the place, "and the substantial air of comfort which presented it- "self, in every direction, determined them to make that "town their residence. Bargaining, therefore, with a "milliner for a small but neat building, in the heart of "the village, they unloaded their books, chairs, desks, "etc.; arranged everything in their new office; and nailed "up their sign, on the window, as the shades of night set "in. The next morning, at daybreak, seated at the door "of their new habitation, they saw approaching a citizen, "whose appearance denoted that he was a distinguished "person in the village. He was indeed, the largest land- "owner in Oxford. He stopped; read the sign on the "window; looked at the young lawyers; and said: "'Whence came you, Gentlemen? You were not here, "'when I took my afternoon walk, yesterday.' Being "informed by the emigrants, of their views and objects, "he observed: 'I like this enterprise; and you shall have "'my law-business.' The gentleman referred to," says Mr. Clark, "was Judge Benjamin Hovey, one of the earli- "est and wealthiest settlers of Oxford."

Sands afterwards represented the County, in the Legislature of 1846.

Epaphras Miller, Gerrit H. Van Wagenen, and Josiah Stephens were extensive land-owners: Gershom Hyde, Mr. Sands, Jonathan Baldwin, and, subsequently, his son, Rufus F. Baldwin, Jonathan Bush, Daniel Shumway, Isaac Sherwood, the elder Glover and his son, James A. Glover, Amos A. Franklin, and Charles A. Hunt were worthy, estimable, and respected citizens.

Mr. Franklin was, subsequently, in 1829, a representative of the County, in the State Legislature, and, in 1831, was elected Sheriff, and officiated in the execution of George Denison, for murder, in 1833, at Norwich. Judge Sherwood occupied a seat on the Common Pleas Bench, from 1815 to 1820, and resided in the outskirts of the village, on the East side of the river. Benjamin Butler occupied a fine mansion and grounds on the West side, a short distance below the village. Jabez Robinson, afterwards Sheriff of the County, in 1835–38, occupied a farm and mills, a little South of the village, and was a most estimable man and useful citizen.

At about this period, likewise, or some few years earlier, Thomas T. Flagler, now of Lockport, Niagara county, purchased the establishment of the *Chenango Republican*, in connection with William E. Chapman, and remained, for some years, a resident of the village, enjoying a high reputation, as an able, upright, and useful citizen.

Ransom Balcom, James W. Glover, Dwight H. Clark, and William H. Hyde also commenced their professional career, as Attorneys and Counsellors, in Oxford, and subsequently attained a high standard of success and honor; each of them occupying, at different periods, distinguished judicial or professional positions. Henry R. Mygatt, at a somewhat earlier period, entered the same field; and, by a thorough training in the difficult, though attractive, sciences of law and equity, in all their various branches; by unremitting industry, perseverence, accuracy, superior intellectual ability, and unexceptionable and exemplary moral character, speedily found his way to the highest ranks of his profession; and is now, at an advanced age, reaping the ripe fruits of a life, honorably and persistently devoted to the discharge of every duty—social, moral, professional, and public—in the highest regard and esteem of the entire community.

David Prentice succeeded to the Principalship of the Oxford Academy, about the year 1821; and remained in charge of the institution, for several years. He was an excellent man, and thoroughly versed in scholastic lore. Among the pupils of the Academy, in addition to those already named, during his Principalship—many of them boarders in his own amiable family—were John W. Allen, formerly Member of Congress, and the first Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio; John Clapp, of Binghamton; Daniel H. Marsh, of Oswego; William W. Dean, of New York; Joseph G. Masten, ex-Judge of the Supreme Court, of Buffalo; Henry W. Rogers, of Ann Arbor, Michigan; Henry R. Mygatt, and Charles Oscar Tracy, of Oxford; William M. Patterson, of Greene; Nelson K. Wheeler, of Delaware; Erasmus D. Robinson and William Whitney, of Binghamton; George Clark, of Otsego; Reuben Tower, of Oneida; Nelson B. Hale, of Norwich; and myself. Among the earlier graduates of the institution, were Richard Morris, of Otsego; Richard W. Juliand, of Bainbridge; Samuel Miles Tracy, of Ohio; Charles F. T. Locke, of Oxford; Henry Stephens, of Cortland; Gurdon Hewitt, of Owego; Lyman Balcom, of Steuben; and Roswell Judson, ex-First Judge and Surrogate, of Chenango. After the retirement of Mr. Prentice, Daniel H. Marsh occupied the position of Principal, for a brief period; and was succeeded by the Rev. Doctor Edward Andrews, formerly of Norwich, William D. Beattie, and Merritt G. McKoon; when the institution was transferred, in 1854, to its present site, on the East side of Fort-Hill-square, in a new and tasteful building erected for the purpose.

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of its foundation, and in view of the completion of the new edifice, a jubilee celebration was held at the Academy and Presbyterian-church, on the first and second of August, 1854, by its former and present Teachers, Students, Trustees, and patrons. Addresses were delivered, on the evening of the first, by Henry R. Mygatt and Henry W. Rogers, of Buffalo; a dedicatory Sermon, preached by the Rev. George Richards, of Boston, formerly a student in the institution; and an Ode, written by the Rev. Daniel Washburn, sung. On the second, in the large area in front of the Academy, an Ode, written by Miss Lucy A. Balcom, was sung; a Historical Discourse delivered by William H. Hyde; an Oration pronounced by the Hon. Ward Hunt, of Utica, a student of 1822; a Poem read by the Rev. Roswell Park, D. D., President of Racine-college, Wisconsin, a student in 1825; another Ode, written by Doctor Washburn, sung, when the exercises at the Academy were closed. A procession was then formed, and marched to an arbor, on Washington-square, where a sumptuous dinner was partaken by nearly five hundred guests. Appropriate addresses and speeches were made by Judge Rogers, who presided, Henry Stephens, of Cortland, a student of 1807, Lieutenant-governor Tracy, Henry Van Der Lyn, Esq., the Rev. Doctor Edward Andrews, Senator

Daniel S. Dickinson, of Binghamton, Judge Charles Mason, of Hamilton, Daniel H. Marsh, of Oswego, a student in 1821; William Stuart, Esq., and Edward Tompkins, of Binghamton; the latter of whom read a facetious but well-written poem, descriptive of several of the more prominent graduates of the institution. The exercises were concluded with a brief speech from Merrit G. McKoon, the Principal of the Academy, in response to a complimentary sentiment. Letters expressive of regret for inability to attend, on this festive occasion, were read by Mr. Mygatt, from John L. Newcomb, Esq., of Syracuse; David Prentice, LL. D., of Geneva, former Principal of the Institution; the Hon. John W. Allen, of Ohio; John Clapp, Esq., of Binghamton; the Rev. George R. H. Shumway, of Wayne-county; Governor Horatio Seymour, of Utica; and A. R. Corbin and S. S. Randall, of New York, former pupils.

THE UNADILLA HUNT, OR "OXFORD CHASE."—According to a tradition, lovingly commemorated by my two esteemed and valued friends, John Clapp and Henry R. Mygatt, in recent numbers of the Binghamton and Oxford journals, it appears that, in the ancient days of the Chenango and Unadilla valleys, there resided, on the banks of the latter, a renowned and mighty hunter, dark-browed, "grand, gloomy, and "peculiar," extensively known, throughout all the region round about, as Sherman Page, Grand Sachem of Unadilla and the "Oxford Chase." To his wigwam, at the close of the sultry, summer-heats, were accustomed to resort, on the sound of "that mighty horn, on Unadilla's "echoes borne," which swept musically and clearly along the green banks of the Chenango, to the broad Mohawk-valley and the Oneida and Otsego-lakes, a trusty band of Sagamores, Chiefs, and Braves, with their prancing steeds, staunch hounds, and faithful rifles, gaily caparisoned for the chase, "over the hills and far away," of deer, foxes, wolves, catamounts, snipe, pheasants, and feathered fowl of every legitimate plumage. Thither came John Cox Morris, tall and straight as an arrow; stout and burly Sam Starkweather, with his stentorian voice of thunder; Henry R. Storrs and Morris S. Miller, the far-famed Oneida Counsellor and Judge; Nicholas Devereux, the great financier of the Mohawk-valley; Levi Beardsley, of Cherry-valley, with his twinkling eye and dry humor; Jo Miller, of Cooperstown, (doubtless the original Jo); James and John Clapp, Ransom Rathbone, Peter Sken Smith, the magnificent, and Simon G. Throop, with his "quips and cranks" and exuberant fun and frolic, from Oxford; Robert Monell, of Greene, with his silvery locks and beaming, gleeful, patriarchal countenance; John C. Clark, the irrepressible; Moses G. Benjamin, of Bainbridge; and Henry Ogden, of Unadilla. In the language of the distinguished laureate of the Hunt:

"There was Throop, ready mounted upon a fine
"black;
"And a far fleeter gelding did Starkweather
"back;
"Cox Morris's bay, full of mettle and bone;
"And gay Skenandoah, on a dark sorrel roan;
"But the horse of all horses, that rivaled the
"day,
"Was Clapp's well-fed charger of iron-clad
"gray."

* * * * * *

[There was mounting 'mong horsemen of every clan,
Morris, Miller, and Beardsley—they rode and they ran,
There was racing and chasing, behind and before—
"THEY'LL HAVE FLEET STEEDS THAT FOLLOW," QUOTH YOUNG SKENANDOAH.]

* * * * * *

"Forty stags were brought down, at forty rods
"fall;
"Forty bucks were made venison, by long shot
"and ball;
"Forty saddles now smoke on the plentiful
"board;
"Forty corks are now drawn from old Bacchus's
"hoard;
"Forty sportsmen clubbed wits, every man in
"his place;
"Forty stories were told of the grand OXFORD
"CHASE."

Still extant, preserved in vellum, are the official reports of Grand Sachem Page, Interpreter Ogden, "Medicine Man" Colwell, Sagamores Pooler and Field, and Ranger Carley, certifying to the astounding and almost incredible feat of prowess of that aspiring young brave, John Clapp, in slaying, on the eighteenth of November, Anno Domini, 1822, at the distance of fifteen rods, "on the full jump," with a "smooth "bore" charged with a ball and three buckshot, a "large doe." Whereupon, in assembled wigwam, in commemoration of this "deed of "dering-do" and the "sportsmanlike conduct" of the youthful warrior, on the war-path, it was decreed that he, thenceforth and forever, rank with the Chiefs of the Tribe; be girt with wampum, tomahawk, and scalping-knife; and admitted to the Councils of the Braves.

Scarcely more apocryphal in the tradition of the Tribe was the adventure of Sagamore Throop, in the bringing down, "with his unerring rifle," of a "buck of ten," who, driven by the merciless hounds, to the river, vainly sought refuge on an island, at an incredible distance from the

shore. The huntsmen, amazed and dumbfounded,

"Looked up and down for a passage of dry
"land
"When they found that the chase had fled to an
"ISLAND.*
"Then he LOOKED AT THE DOGS, and THE DOGS
"LOOKED AT HIM.
"'Twas too rapid and broad for e'en DIVER to
"swim;
"And so they resolved, as they could not get
"nigh him,
"Though 'twas too far to shoot, ''TWASN'T TOO
"'FAR TO TRY HIM.'"

Promptly responding to this most sage and incontrovertible decision of the impromptu Council of Chiefs, Sagamores, and Braves, the gallant Throop, "rearing himself thereat," sprung forward, exclaiming in the words of the intrepid Miller, at Lundy's-lane, "I'LL TRY, SIR;" quickly levelled his "unerring rifle;" and, in one momentous second, *the stately buck was not!*

Such was the Simon G. Throop of two and fifty years ago. After many and various mutations of fortune, with unbroken health and spirits, and inexhaustible wit and humor, he now, at the ripe age of eighty-two, sits on the Bench of one of the Courts of Pennsylvania, as an Associate Judge, bearing the burden of his four-score years, bravely and unwearicdly, and dispensing justice with equal and exact scales. Long may he continue to grace the ermine he has so fairly and nobly won. Long may it be ere his mirth-provoking countenance and exuberant glee shall cease to "set the table in a roar;" and long may he celebrate the annual festivity of his birth, surrounded by warm-hearted friends, and greeted from afar by the staunch surviving comrades of his early days! The snows of many Winters have long sinc whitened the heads of the youngest of their number; each succeeding year, the mournful knell—"*abiit "ad plures*"—sounds heavily on our ears; and, in the course of nature, soon, very soon, will they, in their turn, pass to "that undiscov-"ered country from whose bourne no traveler "returns."

"The fashion of this world passeth,
"Passeth swiftly away!
"We weary to sleep in the darkness,
"To wake no more to the sun!
"For good or for ill, 'It is finished,'
"We die—but 'THY WILL BE DONE!'"

Judge Page, then in his seventy-second year, gave a vivid and spirited description of these rural sports, in a letter to his friend, Levi Beardsley, in 1852: "These were times that enlarged "and enlivened men's souls. Imagine yourself "on the high bank at Pomp's Eddy—the sun "just rising over Burnt-hill—Round-top at the "South, Poplar-hill at the North, the famous "eel-weir above, and the cave-bank below you. "A hound breaks forth, on Poplar hill; anoth-"er, and still another, on Burnt-hill and Round-"top. By this time, twenty are in hearing. "You know not where the deer may come. "You hear a rifle at the cave-bank; and, now, "another at the eel-weir, and, perhaps, at the "hay-stacks. Crack! crack! crack! and still "the music of the dogs growing louder and "more shrill, as they approach. All is expec-"tation and excitement. You are flurried. At "this moment, a large buck, with antlers erect, "is seen on the opposite side, making his way "directly to you. Your rifle is well-loaded, "and you have examined your priming, to see "that all is right. You are certain of a shot; "and a moment more you have him. Pop goes "a smooth-bore; and Spikerman, the poacher, "has killed him! You are angry, and wish "John Carley was there, to lick the rascal. "Your agitation and excitement cease; you "despair of killing anything; but don't be dis-"couraged, for another deer will soon be along; "and, as for Carley, he will certainly flog the "poacher, when he meets him. The dogs are "still in full cry, in every direction, and your "morning's sport has just commenced. Keep "your place, for another deer will be here; and "so it turns out. You have killed him; and "Carley has found and licked Spikerman, and "got away his buck—but has finally restored it, "at your request, after the flogging—for you "and your friends have enough; and you have "given the poaching rascal a drink from that "choice bottle slung under your arm, and thus "secured his friendship, just as you did with "Captain Adarine Carley and uncle Sperry."

These sports generally lasted four or five days, the evenings of which were devoted to hilarious merriment, interspersed with jovial songs, of which Throop and Smith seem to have been the life. "I have seen," says Judge Beardsley, "nineteen fat bucks and does lying, side by "side, in the ball-room of our hotel, in Unadil-"la. The glorious scenes of the chase, the "music of the dogs, and the excitement of the "sportsmen, are indelibly impressed on my "memory."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

* Note the startling fact implied, though not clearly expressed, that no "NO PASSAGE OF DRY LAND was found, after diligent search to the ISLAND,"

VII.—*APPOMATTOX.*

The True Story of the Surrender.*

[From the *Richmond Dispatch.*]

I.

April 9th, 1873.—I have just returned from an exceedingly pleasent visit to Appomattox Court-house. The intelligent Clerk and Sheriff of the County and other gentlemen of the village and neighborhood were very courteous and obliging in pointing out the historic localities; and I found a sad interest in seeing the road by which Sheridan moved on Appomattox-station, the ground on which Gordon whipped Sheridan, in the last battle of the Army of Northern Virginia, Grant's Headquarters, Lee's Headquarters, the very spot on which Lee and Grant first met, the room in which the terms of capitulation were drawn up and signed, the ground on which the Confederate arms were stacked, the place where General Lee took leave of his officers, and other points of interest.

As so many errors have crept into the popular accounts of the surrender, and as I have General Lee's own account, which he gave a company of his friends, a few days before his fatal illness, and which has never been published, I have concluded that, on this anniversary of the "sad "ninth of April, 1865," it would be grateful to my own feelings and acceptable to the public, that I should give the true story of Appomattox Court-house.

I will not go back to detail how General Lee's thin line was broken on the second of April, 1865, and he, thereby, compelled, under every disadvantage, to evacuate Richmond and Petersburg and seek the junction with Johnston, which he had determined on and actually begun to accomplish, six weeks before. Nor need I tell of his cruel disappointment, in finding, at Amelia Court-house, that his positive orders had been disregarded, and the rations intended for his famished army sent to Richmond, to be destroyed, while the trains were loaded with *consignments to Sherman.* I will not sketch the events of the "running fight," from Amelia Springs to Appomattox. Suffice it to say, that Grant had been enabled—by having the shorter route; by the delay of General Lee, on account of the swollen condition of the streams; and by the necessary halt at Amelia Court-house—to throw his immense army on the flank and rear of his antagonist; to cut off our line of retreat to Danville; and to be in position to continually harass our jaded, starving troops. The broken-down mules and horses were unable to drag the wagons (even lightly-loaded) and the artillery along the miry roads. Sheridan's splendidly mounted and equipped Cavalry were able to make most advantageous forays upon the trains; and, often, Lee was obliged to halt for hours and fight eight or ten times his numbers upon most disadvantageous grounds, until the jaded teams could pull the trains out of the mud. In all of these contests, the Army of Northern Virginia maintained its old prestige—the men fought with heroic courage, and won some brilliant victories. But the constant marching and fighting, without rations or sleep, steadily and surely decimated the thin ranks of this noble band. Men who had been true to their colors, from the early days of the war, fell out of the ranks and were captured, simply because it was beyond their power of physical endurance to go any further; many who had been hitherto good soldiers straggled; the devoted and strong found great difficulty in preserving organization and efficiency; and, as the retreat rolled on, by the light of burning wagons and to the music of hoarse artillery, mingling with the rattle of small-arms, the Corps Commanders saw that the days of that grand old Army were numbered.

Accordingly, on Thursday night, the sixth of April, they held a conference, at which they commissioned General W. N. Pendleton, Chief of the Artillery, to inform General Lee that, in their judgment, the time had come when negotiations should be opened with General Grant.

General Pendleton thus describes the interview: "General Lee was lying on the ground. "No other heard the conversation between him "and myself. He received my communication "with the reply, 'Gracious heavens! I trust it "'has not come to that,' And added, 'Gener-"'al! we have yet too many bold men to think "'of laying down our arms. The enemy do "'not fight with spirit, while our boys still do. "'Besides, if I were to say a word to the Fed-"'eral Commander, he would regard it as such "'a confession of weakness as to make it the oc-"'casion of demanding unconditional surrender "'—a proposal to which I will never listen. "'I have resolved to die first; and that if it "'comes to that, we shall force through or all "'fall in our places. * * * General! this is "'no new question with me. I have never be-"'lieved we could, against the gigantic com-"'bination for subjection, make good, in the "'long-run, our independence, unless foreign "'Powers should directly or indirectly assist us.

* These papers, written by Chaplain J. William Jones, of the Confederate States' Army, now, we believe a leading Baptist clergyman of Virginia, was sent to us by General Jubal A. Early, with assurances of its entire accuracy.

There are some violent expressions in it which we cannot approve; but we have not felt at liberty to mutilate the papers, and present them "as they were."—Editor.

"'This, I was sure, it was their interest and "'duty to do; and I hoped they would so "'regard it. But such considerations really "'made with me no difference. We had, I was "'satisfied, sacred principles to maintain and "'rights to defend, for which we were in duty "'bound to do our best, ever if we perished in "'the endeavor!'"

These were, as nearly as I can recollect them, the exact words of General Lee, on that most critical occasion. What his conscience dictated and his judgment decided, there his heart was.

General Lee did not think proper to comply, at once, with the suggestions of his Corps Commanders; but when, on the night of the next day, the seventh, he received from General Grant a demand for the surrender of his army, he opened the correspondence, too familiar to need repetition, here, which culminated in the final terms of surrender. But, in the meantime, General Lee was pressing on towards Lynchburg; and, on the evening of the eighth, his vanguard reached Appomattox-station, where rations for the army had been ordered to be sent from Lynchburg. Four loaded trains were in sight, and the famished army about to be supplied, when the head of Sheridan's column dashed upon the scene, captured the provisions, and drove the vanguard back to Appomattox Court-house, four miles off. Sheridan's impetuous troops met a sudden and bloody check in the streets of the village, the Colonel commanding the advance being killed. That morning, General Lee had divided the remnant of his army into two wings, under Gordon and Longstreet—Gordon having the advance, and Longstreet the rear. Upon the repulse of the Cavalry, Gordon's Corps advanced through the village and spent another night of sleepless vigilance and anxiety; while Longstreet, four miles in rear, had to entrench against the Army of the Potomac, under Meade. I gazed, the other day, with mournful interest on the last trenches ever dug by Lee's veterans. That night, General Lee held a Council of War with Longstreet, Gordon, and Fitz Lee, at which it was determined that Gordon should advance, early the next morning, to "feel" the enemy in his front; that if there was nothing but Cavalry, he should press on, followed by Longstreet; but that if Grant's Infantry had gotten up in too large a force to be driven, he should halt and notify General Lee, that a flag of truce might be raised and the useless sacrifice of life stopped.

Accordingly, on the morning of the memorable ninth of April, Gordon and Fitz Lee attacked Sheridan's splendid Cavalry, outnumbering them, more than two to one, and flushed with the full confidence of victory and the assurance that if they needed support the "Army of the "James" was close at hand. Yet, despite these odds and the exhaustion of these famishing men, they went into that fight with the heroic courage which ever characterized that old Corps, and proved themselves not unworthy of Stonewall Jackson, Ewell, Early, Gordon, Rodes, Ramseur, Pegram, J. A. Walker, C. A. Evans, and other noble leaders whom they had been wont to follow to victory. Utterly unable to withstand the onset, Sheridan hastened, in person, to hurry up the "Army of the James," while Gordon drove his "invincible troopers" more than a mile, and captured and brought off two pieces of artillery and a large number of prisoners. Had only Sheridan barred the way, the surrender had not occurred at Appomattox Court-house; but Gordon only drove back the Cavalry, to find himself confronted by the "Army of the James," and the road blockaded by ten times his numbers.

What immediately followed is best told in the eloquent words of Colonel C. S. Venable, in his speech at the great Lee Memorial-meeting, in Richmond, on the third of November, 1870:

"At three o'clock on the morning of that fatal "day, General Lee rode forward, still hoping "that we might break through the countless "hordes of the enemy which hemmed us in. "Halting, a short distance in the rear of our "vanguard, he sent me on to General Gordon to "ask him if he could break through the enemy. "I found General Gordon and General Fitz Lee "on their front line, in the dim light of the "morning, arranging an attack. Gordon's reply "to the message (I give the expressive phrase of "the gallant Georgian) was this: 'Tell General "'Lee I have fought my Corps to frazzle, and "'fear I can do nothing unless I am heavily "'supported by Longstreet's Corps.' When I "bore this message back to General Lee, he "said: 'Then there is nothing left me but to go "'and see General Grant; and I would rather "'die a thousand deaths.' Convulsed with "passionate grief, many were the wild words "which we spoke, as we stood around him. "Said one: 'Oh! General, what will history "'say of the surrender of the army in the field?' "He replied: 'Yes; I know they will say hard "'things of us: they will not understand how "'we were overwhelmed by numbers: but that "'is not the question, Colonel—the question is, "'*Is it right to surrender this army? If it is "'right, then I will take all responsibility.*' "Fellow soldiers! though he alone was calm in "that hour of humiliation, the soul of our great "Captain underwent the throes of death for his "grand old army surrendered, and for his peo-"ple, so soon to lie at the mercy of the foe; "and the sorrows of this first death, at Appo-"mattox Court-house, with the afflictions which "fell upon the devoted South, weighed upon his

"mighty heart, to its breaking, when the wel-"come messenger came from God to translate "him to his home in heaven."

But this letter is long enough, and I must reserve for another, General Lee's own account of his meeting with General Grant, and other incidents of the surrender.

II.

"The situation," at Appomattox, on the ninth of April, 1865, when General Lee sent a flag of truce to ask an interview with General Grant, was simply this: There were only seventy-five hundred jaded, famished Confederates, with arms in their hands, nearly surrounded by *ei hty thousand* Federal soldiers, already in position, with reinforcements constantly arriving. Gordon fell back, through the village, and moved to meet an attack of Sheridan, on the flank; while General Chamberlayne led the advance Corps of the "Army of the James" into the Court-house. A Battery of the Richmond Howitzers, which had been engaged at Big Bethel, in 1861, stationed in the yard of Mr. Peer, on the extreme Northeast corner of the village, fired the last gun of the day, and withdrew as the blue waves were encircling it. The Federal picket-line was advanced beyond the village; and that little band of heroic spirits seemed about to be immolated, when, suddenly, the white flag was displayed, and the firing ceased.

There have been published so many sensational reports of the meeting between the two Commanders, that I am glad to be able to refute them by giving General Lee's own account of what occurred, as he gave it to some friends, at his house, in Lexington, but a few days before his last illness. He said that he had for duty, that morning, not eight thousand men; and that, when he learned from Gordon, that there was a heavy Infantry force in his front, he decided to see General Grant and ascertain the terms upon which he could end the contest. But, before going to meet him, he left orders with Longstreet and Gordon to hold their commands in readiness, determined, as he was, to cut his way through or perish in the attempt, if such terms were not granted as he thought his army entitled to demand. He met General Grant between the picket-lines, in the open field, about two hundred yards below Appomattox Court-house.

"You met under an apple-tree, did you not, "General?" asked a gentleman present. "No, "Sir!' was the reply; "We did not meet under "an apple-tree; and I saw no tree near. It was "in an open field, not far from the main road." This explodes the "historic apple-tree," about which so much has been said. A gentlemen who was within a few feet of the two Generals, when they met, pointed out to me the exact spot. The apple-tree, which was cut to pieces, and even the roots of which were dug up and carried off, by relic hunters, was fully a quarter of a mile from the place of meeting; and the only historic interest that could be attached to it was that General Lee rested under its shade, a few minutes, while waiting for the return of his flag of truce. The only tree anywhere near the place of meeting was a small locust thorn, which is still standing, about twenty yards from the spot.

General Lee said that when he met General Grant, they exchanged polite salutations, and he stated to him, at once, that he desired a conference, in reference to the subject matter of their correspondence. "General Grant returned your "sword, did he not, General?" one of the company asked. The old hero, straightening himself up, replied, in most emphatic tones: "No, Sir! he did not. He had no opportunity "of doing so. I was determined that the side-"arms of officers should be exempt, by the terms "of surrender, and, of course, I did not offer "him mine. All that was said about swords "was that General Grant apologized to me for "not wearing his own sword, saying that it had "gone off in his baggage, and he had been un-"able to get it in time." This spoils a great deal of rhetoric about "Grant's magnanimity in "returning Lee's sword," and renders as absurd as it is false, the attempt of northern artists to put the scene on canvass or into statuary. Even Grant's connivance at this so-called "his-"toric scene" will not save it, when the world knows that R. E. Lee said that *nothing of the sort occurred.* General Lee stated, in this conversation, that he was accompanied, when he met Grant, only by Colonel Charles Marshall, of his personal Staff, who went with one of General Grant's Staff to find a suitable room in which to hold the conference; that they were first shown to a vacant house, and declining to use that, were conducted, by Major McClean, to his house, and shown into his parlor. General Grant was accompanied by several of his Staff-officers; and several of his Generals (among them Sheridan and Ord) entered the room and participated in the slight general conversation that occurred. The two Generals went aside and sat at a table, to confer together, when General Lee opened the conversation by saying: "General! I "deem it due to proper candor and frankness "to say, at the very beginning of this interview, "that I am not willing even to discuss any terms "of surrender inconsistent with the honor of my "army, which I am determined to maintain to the "last." Grant replied: "I have no idea of pro-"posing dishonorable terms, General; but I would "be glad if you would state what you consider "honorable terms." General Lee then briefly stated the terms upon which he would be willing

to surrender. Grant expressed himself as satisfied with them; and Lee requested that he would formally reduce the propositions to writing. Grant at once did so, with a common lead-pencil, and handed the paper to Lee, who read it carefully and without comment, except to say that most of the horses were the private property of the men riding them. General Grant replied that such horses would be exempt from surrender; and the paper was then handed to Colonel Badeau, Grant's Secretary, and copies in ink made by him and Colonel Marshall. While this was being done, there were inquiries after the health of mutual acquaintances; but nothing bearing on the surrender, except that General Lee said that he had on his hands some two or three thousand prisoners, for whom he had no rations. Sheridan at once said: "I have rations "for twenty-five thousand men."

General Grant having signed his note, General Lee conferred with Colonel Marshall, who wrote his brief note of acceptance of the terms of surrender offered—General Lee striking out the sentence "I have the honor to reply to your com- "munication," and substituting "I have receiv- "ed your letter of this date."

This terminated the interview; and General Lee rode back to his Headquarters, which were three-quarters of a miles Northeast of the Court-house.

I have thus given the substance, and for the most part the exact language, of General Lee's own account of the surrender. It will appear, from this, that a great deal that has been said about "Grant's magnanimity" in proposing terms of surrender; and Lee's "warm thanks "for the liberal terms accorded," originated simply in the imagination of the writers. The truth is, Grant proposed the only terms which Lee would have accepted; and he knew too well the mettle of that great Captain and the heroic remnant of the army which had so often defeated him not to rejoice at an opportunity of covering himself with glory by accepting almost any terms of surrender.

I have gathered a number of incidents of the surrender which interested me and may be o interest to your readers. Soon after General Lee left the McClean-house, owned by the same gentleman at whose house, near Bull Run, Beauregard had his Headquarters, during the battle of the eighteenth of July, 1861, Sheridan stalked in and said, rudely, "I mean to have this chair" —taking up one of the chairs in which the Generals had signed the terms of capitulation, and exhibiting, at the same time, a two-and-a-half dollar gold-piece. Major McClean replied, "That chair is not for sale, General. If you "choose to take it, you have the physical power "to do so." "I mean to have it,' 'was the curt ejoinder; and the "great Barn-burner" gave another proof of his skill in petit larceny. The table and other chairs were, in like manner, carried off by Federal officers, as *souvenirs*.

As soon as the flag of truce was hoisted on Gordon's lines, the offensive General Custar—"Miss Fanny"—came riding furiously in to General Gordon, demanding, in his own name, "unconditional surrender." Gordon drew himself up to his full height, and, with crushing dignity, replied: "I can have no negotiations "with you, Sir; and if the settlement of this "matter rested between us there could be *no ne-* "*gotiations but by the sword.*"

As showing the spirit of the men who participated in the brilliant action, that morning, it may be mentioned that many of them crowded around the bearer of one of the flags of truce—a widely-known and loved Chaplain, who, since the capture of his Regiment, at Spotsylvania Court-house, had served with great gallantry on General Gordon's Staff—and eagerly asked if the enemy had sent in to surrender their force on that road, thinking that, in flanking us, Grant had pushed a part of his force too far. They had no dream that *they* were to be surrendered. But, gradually, the truth broke upon them; and great was their chargin when these high-mettled victors in the last battle of the Army of Northern Virginia, learned that they must "yield to "overwhelming numbers and resources;" that, after all their marches, battles, victories, hardships, and sufferings, the cause they loved better than life itself must succumb to brute force. Many bosoms heaved with emotion, and

"Something on the soldier's cheeks
"Washed off the stain of powder."

After the flag of truce was raised, a Federal scout was shot, through mistake, by his own men, when trying to stop the firing; and a New York Major, under the influence of liquor, met his death by galloping up to a Confederate Battery and demanding its surrender.

The women and children of Appomattox Court-house had all left their homes, during the battle of the morning; and, upon their return, had to pass through Custar's Cavalry. "Miss "Fanny" himself was very rude to them, and permitted his men to hiss them, as they passed.

Per contra, it affords me pleasure to say that many of the Federal officers and men were very courteous and considerate. The citizens of the village speak in especially high terms of General Chamberlayne, since Governor of Maine, who was delicately considerate of the feelings of the people, gentlemanly in his bearing, and generous towards the vanquished.

When the arms were being stacked, a gallant Color-bearer, as he delivered up the tattered remnant of his flag, burst into tears and said to the Federal soldiers who received it: "Boys, this

"is not the first time you have seen that flag. "I have borne it in the very fore front of the "battle, on many a victorious field; and I had "rather die than surrender it now." "Brave "fellow," said General Chamberlayne, who heard the remark, "I admire your noble spirit, "and only regret that I have not the authority "to bid you keep your flag and carry it home, as "a precious heirloom."

The calm dignity of General Lee, amid these trying scenes, the deep emotion with which the men heard his noble farewell address, and crowded around to shake his hand—how they were thrilled by his simple words, "Men, we "have fought through the war together. I have "done my best for you. My heart is too full "to say more." Gordon's noble farewell speech —the tender parting of comrades who had been bound so closely together, by common hardships, sufferings, dangers, and victories, and now, by this sad blighting of cherished hopes, were all vividly recalled, as I gazed on the very spots where they occurred, but are too familiar to be detailed now.

I was amused to learn that the Federal soldiers and tourists not only carried off all the "histor- "ic apple-tree," but a whole apple-orchard as well; and was reminded of hearing of a gallant Richmond soldier who sold to northern visitors, after his return home, wagon loads of the "Ap- "pomattox apple-tree," which he regularly gathered from a Henrico orchard.

I noted, with pleasure, that the noble women of Appomattox have gathered the Confederate dead into a neatly-kept Cemetery, on the road to Appomattox-station, not far from the grove in which Grant established his Headquarters.

I cannot close this sketch without quoting the language of that splendid soldier and unconquerable patriot, General J. A. Early, in his noble Oration on General Lee: "Finally, from "mere exhaustion, *less than eight thousand* men, 'with arms in their hands, of the noblest army "that ever fought 'in all the tide of time,' were "surrendered, at Appomattox, to an army of *one* "*hundred and fifty thousand men;* the sword "of Robert E. Lee, without a blemish upon it, "was sheathed forever; and the flag to which "he had added such lustre was furled, to be "henceforth embalmed in the affectionate re- "membrance of those who had remained faithful "during all our trials, and will do so to the end."

I have never been a "relic-hunter"—I prize the blanket under which I slept, the night of the first battle of Manassas—but I plucked some thorns from the tree near which Lee met Grant, which I propose to weave into a wreath of evergreen and immortelles, taken from General Lee's bier, the day we laid him in the vault, at Lexington, and to encircle them with the motto:

"*The thorns of Appomattox covered with the* "*immortelles and evergreen of Lee's last great* "*victory.*" VIATOR.

VIII.—*GENERAL ELEAZER W. RIPLEY.*[*]

I.

[From *The Louisianian*, Volume II., Number xxvi., Clinton, Louisiana, March 4, 1830.]

It becomes our melancholy duty to announce the decease, at his plantation, in this Parish, on the second of this month, of General Eleazer W. Ripley, after a life, adorned by private virtues, and associated with some of the most distinguished events recorded in the national history. The patriot, the statesman, the hero is no more; but his memory is embalmed in the affections of his countrymen, and will be cherished as identified with the national character, and consecrated by the noblest impulses of patriotism.

General Ripley was born at Hanover, in the State of New Hampshire, in the year 1782. His father, the Rev. Sylvanus Ripley, was Professor of Divinity in Dartmouth-college; and his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, was the founder of that venerable and useful institution, and was alike eminent as a divine and philanthropist. Professor Ripley was accidentally killed in early life, leaving a large family to the care of his afflicted widow, who applied herself to the education of her children with a mother's ardent affection, aided by a mind highly cultivated and improved. At the age of eighteen, General Ripley received from Dartmouth college, at the time of his graduation, the highest honors of the institution, and immediately commenced the study of the law, and subsequently entered upon the active duties of his profession, in Waterville, at that period within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In the year 1807, he was returned as a member of the Legislature of that State; and, in the year 1811, was elected to preside over the deliberations of the House of Representatives, upon the Speaker's chair becoming vacated by the appointment of the Hon. Joseph Story to a seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. Having removed his place of residence to Portland, he was elected, in 1812, to represent the conjoined Counties of Cumberland and Oxford, in the State Senate. The difficulties which existed between this country and Great Britain

[*] These sketches of the life and services of General Ripley were sent to me, several years since, by his daughter. The first is from the pen of Judge Nicholas Bayliss subsequently a well-known citizen of Iowa; the last from that of Rev. A. D. Wooldridge, of New Orleans, a devoted friend of the General, and, for several years, a member of his family.—EDITOR.

having finally produced an open rupture, he receceived, in March, 1812, an appointment in the Army of the United States; but, prior to entering upon its duties, he took his seat, for a limited time, in the Legislature and exerted great influence in effecting an adjustment of the difficulties that existed, at that period, in relation to the monied institutions of the State. To delineate the conspicuous part which he performed during the war, would require us to write the history of the Campaigns upon the northern frontier, and to enter into particulars which would become too prolix for the space to which we are necessarily limited. They are embodied in the history of our own country; and after ages will offer up the tribute of admiration and gratitude to the memory of his name, whose military genius conceived, and whose personal efforts contributed so much to the success of that brilliant and daring achievement, which rendered the Battle of Niagara so glorious to the American arms, and crowned the brave soldiers engaged in it with imperishable fame. The most gratifying tokens of esteem were tendered to him; and, upon the reduction of the army at the return of peace, he was retained in the service, with the rank of Major-general, and was actively employed, in addition to his other duties, in planning and superintending the construction of the numerous fortifications upon our south-western frontier.

He subsequently resigned his commission, and resumed the practice of his profession, in the State of Louisiana, with distinguished success. He was afterwards elected to represent this and the adjoining Parish, in the State Senate; and, in 1834 and 1836, was returned as a member of Congress from the third Congressional District of this State; but ill health precluded his being a candidate for re-election, at the recent canvass; and, at last, with his feelings deeply lacerated by the harassing and protracted controversy attending the attempt at an adjustment of his military accounts, and upon which a most triumphant verdict was rendered, in his favor, by a jury of his country, with his health in its enfeebled state, receiving an additional shock by the brutal murder of his gallant and only son, under the unfortunate Fanning, his naturally iron constitution, impaired by the wounds received in the service of his country, has surrendered up the noble spirit by which it was animated; and the still breeze of heaven whispers over the grave of the lamented patriot and soldier. He is gone; and while his bereaved widow mourns over the departure of a kind and affectionate husband; while his daughter grieves at the loss of a tender and beloved father; and while kindred and society lament the decease of one who was open to the warmest sympathies of our nature, patriotism will shed the tear of sorrow over the urn of her champion, and the memory of the gallant and beloved Ripley will endure as long as the brightest pages of American history and the recollection of the honors due and awarded to the brave.

II.

[From *The Feliciana Republican and Louisiana Literary Messenger*, Volume I., Number 49, Jackson, Louisiana, Saturday, March 9, 1839.]

Departed this life, at his residence, in this Parish, on the second of March, General Eleazer W. Ripley, member of Congress from Louisiana, for the second Congressional District, aged fifty-seven years.

The subject of this notice was born at Hanover, New Hampshire, the seat of Dartmouth-college. He was a grandson of the venerable Doctor Eleazer Wheelock, the founder and early patron of that institution. His father was Rev. Sylvanus Ripley, graduate of the first Class and first Professor of Divinity in the College. His father having died while he was very young, his education devolved entirely upon an intelligent and pious mother. She afforded him the advantages of a classical education, which he improved so faithfully as to obtain, at the age of eighteen years, the first honors of the College of his native place. Having completed his academic studies, he entered upon the study of Law, and, shortly afterwards, commenced the practice in the County of Kennebunk, District of Maine, State of Massachusetts. Having distinguished himself very much at the Bar, for so young a man, he was, as soon as eligible, elected a member of the Legislature of his native State. In January, 1812, he was elected Speaker of the Legislature of Massachusetts, being yet scarcely thirty years of age. Having removed to Portland, he was chosen a Senator for Cumberland and Oxford, and, accordingly, took his seat in the Senate. Soon after this, influence by that ardor for military glory which is so distinguishing a trait in the cultivated young men of the United States, he resigned his civil post and received a commission in the Army. During the war which, shortly after this, commenced between this country and Great Britian, he acted in conjunction with that portion of our army stationed upon the frontiers of New York and in the lower parts of Canada. At the attack upon York, Upper Canada, in April, 1813, he "fleshed his maiden "sword." After this, "his blushing honors "thickened fast upon him." He was entrusted with several important commissions, by his superior officers, which he executed with promptness, vigor, and bravery. At Williamsburg and other places, he acted a conspicuous part; but it was at the dreadful Battle of Niagara falls, or, as it is commonly called, of Lundy's-lane, that

General Ripley acquired his most imperishable renown. During the part of that celebrated battle which occurred early in the night, his men fought with a determination and bravery worthy the American name. They succeeded in routing the British and gaining possession of their artillery; but, after a dreadful conflict, in which many lives were lost on both sides, Ripley received a peremptory order from General Brown to retreat, which he obeyed, notwithstanding the mortification he felt in giving up an advantage which he had gained at the expense of the lives of many of his gallant comrades. It was during the siege of Fort Erie, soon after the Battle of Lundy's-lane, that General Ripley received a severe wound upon the back part of his neck, which caused him much poignant suffering, for years, and is supposed to have contributed, ultimately, to his death.

The gallant services of General Ripley were duly appreciated by many of his countrymen. The Legislature of New York voted him a beautiful sword, ornamented with a view of his great battle, as a testimonial of her gratitude for his defence of our common country. The Legislature of Georgia gave him a vote of thanks; and, in many of the new States, the same spirit has been evinced by giving his name to a number of flourishing villages and towns. After the war, he was continued upon the peace establishment, and was stationed at Mobile and Pensacola. Finally, having found it necessary to retire from military life, for which he had a passionate attachment, he settled in New Orleans, in the practice of his early profession. Having subsequently moved to this part of the State, he was, in 1834, elected a member to Congress, of which body he was a member at the time of his death.

Believing, as we do, that a man's best eulogy consists in a proper appreciation of his acts, and his most grateful memorial in the affections of his countrymen, we have not dealt in commonplace remarks with regard to that dispensation of Providence which has added another of our statesmen and defenders to the illustrious dead, but have succinctly enumerated a portion of those acts upon which memory may dwell and around which affection may entwine. We cannot, however, dismiss the subject without a few reflections upon the character and services of the deceased.

As a military man, General Ripley's character stands without any well-sustained stigma. As an evidence of this, after the war, a Major-general's commission was given him by the Secretary of War, according to the direction of the President of the United States, bearing date previous to the Battle of Niagara-falls, at which time he felt himself bound to disobey a command of his superior officer, in a matter upon which our limits do not permit us to dwell; and in the fact that a golden medal—which had long been withheld, on account of some difficulties between him and the Government; and which a cause of sore grief and injury to him—was presented to him, by Congress, at its last Session, as a memorial of gratitude and an evidence of their confidence and respect. As a politician, he was a firm and unbending supporter of those views of our Constitution and Laws which he considered best adapted to promote the permanency and utility of our institutions. From the commencement of his career, in Massachusetts, to its end, in Louisiana, he was a zealous supporter of the principles of the Democratic party. As a man, he was free from those vices which, unfortunately, too often are acquired in the giddy whirl of public life. Although not professedly a religious man, he ever sustained an untarnished moral character. As we stood by his last place of rest, upon a retired farm, far from the scenes of his youth and the fields of his glory, and listened to the solemn strains of martial music, the loud rattle of the soldier's "farewell shot," and the more subdued sound of the "clods of the valley," as they fell in sad succession upon the coffin of one whose voice had once been heard in our national councils, and whose manly form had once braved the battle storm, we could but reflect, with overpowering sensations, upon the frailty of man, the evanescent character of human joys, projects, and desires, and the certainty of that last journey from "whose bourne "no traveller returns."

IX.—*LONG ISLAND POLITICS, IN 1798*

[The following lines, copied from an old manuscript, will show the political spirit which existed in our good old County of Queens, in days gone by

The writer of them was Doctor Samuel L. Mitchell, of Manhasset. He put to it the name of his opponent, Harry Peters, of Hempstead, who afterwards removed to New York City.

GLEN COVE, L. I. J. T. BOANE

POETICAL EPISTLE TO ELECTORS OF REPRESENTATIVES.

CIRCULAR.

Throughout the land Dear Sir it is said,
That Jemmy T—ns—d's * surely dead:
A man whom much the people loved
Is from this wicked world removed;
Has landed on that unknown shore,
Whence mortals can return no more;
And changed his seat in Congress, here,
For one among the Spirits there.

* Doctor James Townsend, of Jericho, was elected to Congress; but died of a mysterious sickness before taking his seat.

But though a loss the public shared,
I hope this loss can be repaired:
Since men as good as he are found
In various parts the country 'round.
Therefore we ought no more to mourn
The dead; but to the living turn;
And seek a man of talent meet
To fill the aforesaid vacant seat.

My friends who search with keenest view,
The Southern District through and through,
Declare—upon their word—they spy
No person *half* so fit as I.
How true they speak I well revolved
The whole affair, and then resolved
With view to benefit the state
To be an open candidate;
And to the world in firmest tone,
To make my grand intention known.
Now Sir, for fear that I should miss it,
These modest lines, are to solicit
Your vote, your interests, and your friends,
To aid my patriotic ends;
And place me safe where sense *like mine*,
May in the federal council shine:
That so South Hempstead, charming town
Possessed of wonderful renown
In sly elections cunning ways
Since Jones and Cornwalls'* glorious days;
May still keep up her ancient name,
And fix beyond dispute her claim
To rule the district, by the means
So long employed to manage Queen's.

I fear the votes, dispersed will be;
But least too few should fall to me,
I further hope and wish you'd strive
To keep election zeal alive;
And make them every mother's son
To vote for me, or vote for none.
Some folks I'm told, are warm espoused
The cause of grave old Daddy Cl—s†
Who, when he moves within the sphere
Of Justice, or of scrivener
Does pretty well; but when the creature
Affects a seat in Legislature,
He brings to mind as Esop jokes
The frog who swells to be an ox.

Theres L—dy—d too,‡ whose high pretense
To be a man of wonderful sense,
Betrayed at first unwary hearts
To think he's got uncommon parts:
But soon I know the curious eye,
Can deep deception there descry;
Which lurks beneath the film of lawn,
That over his shallow sense is drawn
Like Molock, seeks he not a curse?
Or God, or Hell, or what not worse?

They say that whiffling C—r m—n * too,
Displays himself to public view;
And vainly hopes his courteous means
Will coax the folks to put him in.
Ah! Stephen, Stephen, lower thy pride!
And cast thy politics aside;
For since thy influence is grown
So small beyond thy native town;
'Twill be impossible to get,
'Mongst Representatives a seat;
Until the clams and horse-feet each
Inhabiting the bays and beach
Shall gain a vote, and to content them
Thyself be sent to represent them.

Much interest no doubt's employed,
For Tr-dw-l,† V-nd-b-lt,‡ and Fl-d:§
Whose names each warm elector rings
Through Richmond, Suffolk, and in Kings;
But here Sir, now's the regular plan,
Since Suffolk first supplied the man—
'Tis now the time for Queens to choose,
Or else, by George! her choice she'll lose.
'Tis therefore wise that all agree,
On some *one* man, and *I'll be he.*

Last night, I dreamed; and dreams you know
Do sometimes mighty matters show;
That when the canvasing was o'er,
Young M—h—l ‖ beat me ten to four.
I started, waked, and told my spouse,
'Twas time I instantly should rouse
Drive on to York with swiftest pace
To Mother Shoelders ¶ state my case;
And hear, 'till I no more could doubt it
The beldame tell me all about it.
My mind was in a woeful qualm,
The groping witch explored my palm;
Then viewed my cards, and with a look
That chilled my soul, this riddle spoke:
"A chosen youth, whose virtues sleep,
"Like David's, when he kept the sheep:

* Jones and Cornwall, were Queens-county politicians, about 1758.

† Samuel Clowes, of Hempstead, Justice of the Peace, and familiarly known as "Daddy."

‡ Doctor Isaac Ledyard was a prominent politician, who moved into Newtown.

* Stephen Carman was, for many years, Assembly-man; and had a great influence in Queens-county.

† Thomas Treadwell, of Suffolk-county, Member of Congress.

‡ John Vanderbilt, of Kings-county, Member of Congress.

§ William Floyd, of Suffolk-county, Member of Congress.

‖ Doctor Samuel L. Mitchell, the writer of the verses.

¶ Mother Shoelders, we suppose, was a Fortune-teller.

"Shall guard with care each peaceful town,
"And knock the high Goliah down."

Although this prophecy is bad,
And makes me feel severely sad;
Yet still, I'll persevere to court
The people all to grant support.
If Sir, you can afford me yours,
I'll love you while my life endures;
And be the gratefulest of creatures,
Your friend and servant H–r–y– P–t–s.*

AUGUST, 1798.

X.—*A LETTER FROM GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL.*

COMMUNICATED BY JEPTHA R. SIMMS, ESQR., OF FORT PLAIN, NEW YORK.

FRIEND DAWSON:

In the Spring of 1850, I published the first edition of my *Trappers of New York*, in which, commencing on page 101, is an account of the chivalrous deeds of John E. Wool, then Major of the Twenty-ninth Regiment of New York troops, on the sixth of September, 1814. With a handful of brave men, numbering, part of the time, less than three hundred, he met and held in check, on the Beekmantown-road, a body of four thousand of the best drilled British Infantry, for several hours; and, in a road-fight of *seven miles*, killed and wounded some two hundred and forty of the enemy—a number nearly equalling his entire command, when the fight began. This little army, strengthened, near Gallows hill, by a body of troops, under Major Appling, held the enemy in check until the Americans had crossed the Saranac-river, and taken up the bridge behind them. The American loss, in this day's transactions, under consideration, was about forty-five, in killed and wounded.

After my book was out and had been read by General Wool, he assured me, in person, that I had the most authentic account of the transactions in which he figured, that day, then as yet published.

Nicholas Stoner was Fife-major of the same Regiment; and he had stated to me his belief that William Bosworth, Sergeant-major of the Twenty-ninth, who had been a British deserter and was now severely wounded, had been borne from the field, on Major Wool's own horse; and to get his own recollection of that incident, I wrote to General Wool, at Troy. The following is his answer to my inquiry:

"TROY 8th January 1850

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I have just received your communication of "the 7th instant.

"In answer to so much as relates to 'Bos-"'worth,' I would remark, that I well remember "him as, I believe, Sergeant Major of the 29th "U. S. Infantry. He was one of the gallant "detachment, under my command, that resisted "for seven miles, on the Beekmantown road, the "British advancing on Plattsburgh, the morning "of the 6th September 1814, when he was se-"verely wounded.* Being informed of the fact, "he having greatly distinguished himself, I had "him taken care of and carried from the field. "How or in what manner I am now unable to "say. Although I may have furnished him a "horse, I am quite sure I did not give him the "horse which I rode." [*Stoner remembered to have held the horse, while the wounded officer was being placed upon his back.*] "It is thirty-"seven years since the occurence took place, "and in the heat of action. At such a time, "when the attention of the Commander is di-"rected in so many ways at the same moment, "and upon whose prompt decision and action, "success and safety may depend, it can hardly "be supposed that he wouldt charge his mind "with every circumstance, although important "to individuals, that might take place.

"I have no recollection of being on foot at "any time during the period referred to, except "for a moment, when my horse was shot under "me, and then no longer than whilst changing "the saddle to another horse.

"I am very respectfully
"Your ob't serv't
"JOHN E. WOOL.

"To J R SIMMS Esq
"ALBANY
"N. Y.

"P. S. Please send me one of your books "when completed & price W."

XI.—*REVOLUTIONARY INCIDENTS, IN SOUTH CAROLINA.*

WILLIAM BEAL

[From the *Columbia Hive*, July 23, 1856.]

MR. EDITOR:

During the darkest period of our revolutionary struggle, this inflexible friend of liberty was, at all times, actively and zealously engaged in the cause of American Independence, and, at the commencement of the War, attached himself to a scouting-party, in the neighborhood of Nine-

Harry Peters was a store-keeper of Hempstead; and opponent of Doctor Mitchell in this canvas.

* He was taken to Plattsburg, and afterwards to Burlington, Vermont, where he recovered.—J. R. S.

ty-six, who, by their intrepid courage, soon became the terror of their enemies.

Shortly after the village of Ninety-six fell into the hands of the British, a band of plundering Tories, headed by one of the most distinguished Tories in South Carolina, visited the house of Mrs. Beal, the mother of William, for the purpose of stealing, which was their chief occupation. On entering the house, they demanded, in the most peremptory terms, all the money and jewelry that she possessed. She instantly complied with their unmanly request, and gave to the utmost farthing. The commanding traitor pretended to be dissatisfied; and said she had retained a part. She solemnly declared she had not. He then ordered his clan to take every species of movable property that they could lay their hands upon; and all left the place, rejoicing at their success.

In consequence of this savage conduct, Beal's indignation was fired to the highest pitch; and he determined to have revenge, as soon as an opportunity could be afforded. He accordingly set out in quest of those ruffians who had plundered the house of his widowed mother, in his absence; and did not go far before he met with the conspicuous Tory, on Wilson's-creek, who was the principal actor, at his mother's. They immediately recognized each other, as they had been acquainted, for several years. Beal rushed towards the Tory, in a furious manner; who put spurs to his horse and soon had him to the top of his speed, flying from death. After running their horses about three miles, the Tory drew a pistol and shot Beal's horse dead from under him. He then halted and considered whether he should charge on Beal or not. Beal took his pistol from his holsters, and retreating, dared the Tory to come on; but the Tory knowing him to be a swamp-fox and fearing that he might have a party of Whigs, in ambush, considered it was best to abandon the project, particularly as Beal defied him in such a gallant manner.

It is but proper here to state that Beal could have shot the Tory, several times, according to his own statement; but he preferred putting him to death with his sword.

In a few days after this transaction, young Beal met with his antagonist, on Saluda-river, one of them being on either bank of the river. They spoke to each other, as courteously as if they had been mutual friends; and the Tory very politely invited Beal to come over. He asked him if he would remain there, until he came. He replied in the affirmative. Beal then plunged into the river; and when he had swam about half across the stream, the Tory bid him "Good morning," and rode off, in great haste, promising to see him some other time.

It was not long, however, before Beal had occasion to visit the house of a friend, some distance below Cambridge, which he did, at night, in company with a Whig. When they arrived at the place, they dismounted and tied their horses, very close to the door, there being but one door to the house. After remaining a short space of time, they heard a large company riding up, which they were confident must be Tories. "What shall we do?" said Beal's comrade. "Do as I tell you," replied Beal, "and "I think we are safe. The night is dark and "they cannot see us. Rush to your horse; rattle your sword; and make as great a noise as "possible; and I have no doubt we can put "them to flight." This they both did; and Beal called, in a very loud voice, for his men to parade as if he had been commanding a Regiment of Cavalry. The Tories instantly halted. The Whigs then rode towards them, and Beal cried out, "If you are soldiers, stand and prove "it." The Tories, fearing that they were about to be attacked by a superior number, quickly retreated, in great confusion. It was afterwards ascertained that there were thirteen in the company, under the immediate command of the infamous, bloody Bill Cunningham, the distinguished Tory to whom I have alluded throughout this communication. It would be almost superfluous to add that the Tories were greatly mortified on learning that they had been put to flight by two Whigs.

During the Revolution, William Beal was in several engagements, under the gallant General Butler. He lived, for many years after the war, and died in the State of Georgia, highly respected by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The great and good should be held in lasting remembrance. S.

XII.—*SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D., OF SALEM, MASS.*—Continued from Series II., Volume X., Page 113.

From the Originals, in the Collection of Miss Mary R. Crowninshield, of Charlestown, Mass.

[1.—*Colonel David Humpheys to Doctor Bentley.*]

Boston, Aug. 16th 1817.

Dear Sir,

In our short interview (much too brief to satisfy my desire of being more thoroughly acquainted) I flatter myself, I have acquired so much knowledge of your obliging and friendly disposition as to authorize me to bring to your notice and protection, a gentleman not long since

arrived in this country from France, who, I conceive, possesses no ordinary merit as to the literature and eloquence of his own country.

M. Artiguenave, of whom this letter is intended to be introductory, was, as I understand, among the most conspicuous performers at the *Theatre Francais* of Paris. His classical knowledge of the French language, and his correct pronunciation have entitled him to distinction as a scholar and a gentleman, wherever he has been known since his arrival in the U. S.

You will have seen in the public papers some notices of his exhibitions in this town and at the University at Cambridge, which are thought to be far from exaggerating his talents.

It has been proposed to him to give some recitations and readings at Salem– Knowing as I do, the urbanity and liberality of the Inhabitants towards Strangers, I have ventured to encourage him with the hope of patronage and success. Your countenance, I have no doubt will be of great utility to him in making his talents known to the respectable circle of your friends. Even those who are not much or even in any degree acquainted with the French language, I think will be amused with so favorable a specimen of their elocution.

I hope whenever you visit Boston, if I should be in town, you will do me the favor of gratifying me with your company, that I may have an occasion of assuring you in person, with how much respect and regard I am your most obt. humbl. servt.

D. Humphreys

Revd Mr Bentley,
Salem

[2.—*James Sullivan, Attorney general of Massachusetts, to Doctor Bentley.*]

Boston, 28th March 1804.

Revd. & dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive yours of yesterday, by the hand of the young man you recommended; and should have great pleasure of complying with your wishes. You can never be under the necessity of making an apology to me for any communication you shall make to me. The habitual benevolence of your heart, while it excites your exertions for your fellow men in distress, can never involve you in a conduct improper for your character and station.

This young man wishes a prosecution *criminaliter* for the injury he has suffered. As the matter he complains of happened upon, or beyond the sea, in an American bottom, it is without the jurisdiction of this commonwealth, but within that of the United States. I have therefore recommended him to Geo. Blake Esq. Attorney of the general government: and have taken the freedom to allow him to carry your letter to that gentleman. This I did because I know that whatever you write or say will have weight with him.

Should a civil action be brought for damages, that must be done in the County of Essex, where our mutual and valuable friend Mr Storey, will do it for him. I am, Sir, with all the sentiments of respect and friendship your very humble servant

J. Sullivan

Revd. Mr. Bentley
Salem

[3.—*John Philper to Hon. Nathaniel Alexander, Member of Congress from North Carolina, concerning the discovery of gold in that State.*

Cabarras County, Concord, 25th July 1804

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 19th ult. came safe to hand, and agreeable to your request, will give you such information as I am in possession of, on the subject of the gold-mine. Its discovery was made early in the month of July 1803 by a small son of Mr. Reed's who was diverting himself in shooting small fish with a bow and arrow. He discovered a piece near the size of the one I enclose, at the bottom of the creek; and immediately showed it to his father. The face of the country in the neighborhood of this place is for the most part very uneven, the soil barren & rock. The bed of the Creek, where the gold has as yet been found, is composed of perpendicular strata of rock running N.E and S.W. in the chinecks of which, intermixed with sand the gold as found. The flint and a blue colored rock prevail. Another kind is found irregularly interspersed, perfectly black, and incrusted with a substance resembling soot. Another substance resembling a cement made of tar and sand is found. This, Sir, is as near as I can give, a description of the bed of the creek where the gold is found. The large mass you mention (the 28th) lost about fifteen per cent. Smaller masses loose from two to five per cent. The enclosed piece will give you a more correct idea of the gold in its natural state, than any description which I can give.

The total amount found is estimated to be worth between twelve and fifteen thousand dollars–

With sentiments of esteem I remain
respectfully yours
John Philper

Honl. Nathl. Alexander
Washington,
(for Mr. Bentley)

[4.—*A. Rodgers to Doctor Bentley.*]

Dear Sir,

William informs me in a letter this evening, that the body of Mr. Harris was not found unti

this morning; and that they were obliged to bury it this afternoon.

He says "Mr. Bentley's interest in this worthy "young man desires all the information we can "give him." They would have kept him until tomorrow, that his friends at a distance might have attended his funeral, but it was impossible My weak eyes must plead as an apology for this miserable scrawl–

A. Rodgers

Salem, July 10, 1810

Revd. Wm Bentley.

[5.—*Lieutenant-governor Gray to Doctor Bentley.*]

Boston, Dec. 26, 1811–

Dear Sir,

This will be handed you by my friend Dr. Waterhouse, who we think excels in vaccination. We have heard the small-pox has been brought into Salem, which has induced him to visit your place. If he can be useful, it will make both him & me happy. Such seamen as incline to accept the innoculation gratis, may receive it of the Doctor at my expense. Will you introduce him to Dr. Mussey and Capt. Townsend or any other of your friends, which you think will wish to promote the object of his visit–

I am with sentiments of esteem & respect,

Sir, your obt. servt.

Wm. Gray–

Revd. Dr. Bentley

Salem.

[6.—*Colonel Thomas Aspinwall* to Doctor Bentley.*]

Hon. B. W. Crowninshield—Secy of the Navy

Dr Sir,

A certificate of the Commanding officer of the 21st, of the time place &c of John Bentleys death, accompanied by testimony of the right claimants relation to the deceased will entitle such claimant to the half pay for five years. General Miller could furnish this certificate I presume, and give the Revd. Dr. Bentley the assistance he requires. If the deceased was *commissioned* or if he had accepted an appointment, he was an officer and his wife or child can claim the half pay, and if the government consider the *promotion* of an enlisted soldier a *discharge* (and in my opinion it is a most honorable one) an additional certificate of that fact from the commanding officer of the Regt in which he enlisted will entitle his legal representatives to soldiers land & three months pay–

Yours most respectfully

Thos. Aspinwall

Col. &c.

[Endorsement.]

By the 12th Sec. of the Act of the 11th Jany, 1812, provision is made for the heirs and representatives of non-commissioned officers, or soldiers who may be killed in action or die in the service of the United States, of three months' pay and 160 acres of land. By the 15th Sec. of same act provision is made for the representatives of commissioned officers of the military establishment, who are killed in action or die by reason of any wound rec'd in the actual service of the U. S. who leaving a widow, or if no widow a child or children under 16 years of age, of half pay for five years.

If the person about whom this letter was written was killed either as a private, or as an officer, his case is embraced in the foregoing and it may be applied to his situation.

Robert Brent, paymaster of the Army.

April 29. 1815

[7.—*The Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Society to Doctor Bentley.*]

The Revd. Mr. Bentley is respectfully requested to give notice to his Congregation, that a sermon will be preached at the Tabernacle before the Foreign Missionary Society of Salem and its vicinity on Wednesday next at 2 o'clock P. M. after which a collection will be made especially for the purpose of aiding in imparting the Holy Scriptures to the heathen nations of the East in their vernacular languages. The collection is to be thus specially appropriated, on account of the well known and deeply deplored loss by fire at Serampore, a loss towards repairing which the friends of the Scriptures & of the best interests of mankind, will contribute with peculiar pleasure.

January 2, 1813. . . Saml. Walker Sec'y of the F M Society of Salem & vicinity.

[8.—*Doctor Bentley to the Secretary of the Navy.*]

Salem 20 April 1815.

Sir,

In the last session I wrote to Genl. Varnum among other things to obtain the half pay, which the Inspector G. Snelling told me he believed was justly due to my brother John Bentley of Thomastown Maine. For four generations we have fought in Canada, and no one of the family ever received a favor from the government. John was led into Maine by Genl. Knox, and shared

* Colonel Aspinwall still lives, in Boston, enjoying the reward of a well-spent life, in the society of his friends and family. He is an officer—Vice-president, we believe—of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and it is our privilege to count him among our warmest personal friends and most constant supporters.—Editor.

as the General's creditors did. A warm patriot by inheritance, he named his children, Jefferson, Madison, &c. and a fine set of boys they are.

His neighbors told him, when enlistments were discouraged in Maine, if he would engage with the volunteers, they would join him. They did. Its term was out, but he still continued, but if through the war, he told me, he should wish some commission. A commission of Ensign (21st Regt. of Intantry) was granted him by Mr. Madison. I received it after his death from Genl. Snelling, and sent it to his family.

He died gloriously in the battle of Bridgewater, after having been repeatedly wounded in several former actions.

His commission was in camp before his death, but he did not receive it. He has merited the privilege of it. Yesterday I received from one of my nephews the following article respecting one of our sons, and the paragraph will assure you that we have no ordinary claims

"A son of your brother Thomas, who was a "prisoner on board the *Bulwark* 74 and yet on "shore at Belfast Maine, spent a day or two at "Thomastown, on his pilgrimage to Boston. "He states that he sailed in the privateer *Leo*, "and was captured on board of one of her prizes. "His treatment was barbarous in the extreme."

If sir you would make some enquiry & give me a definite answer you would much oblige me and a family that only asks a little aid to supply the Union with some of the best hearted men in it.

Pray Sir, such are our commercial habits, that perhaps it would not be amiss to employ such a man as Capt. Thomas Webb of Salem on a revenue cutter on the shores of Maine. A man of his firmness is seldom to be found.

With all affection and respect,
your devoted servant
WILL'AM BENTLEY.

I received a letter from Dr. Mitchell of New York lately. He recollects your worthy brother Jacob with great esteem and affection–

Hon. BENJ. W. CROWNINSHIELD,
Sec'y. of the Navy,
WASHINGTON,
D. C.

Gen[l]. Miller paid us a visit last tuesday. He gave no notice. He was regarded with affection by our citizens, visited our fortifications, was handsomely received by Major Putnam, and returned at noon to Boston.

When I learn the title of your Salem Library, I will write it, and my own name in the blank leaf. W. B.

[9.—*Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D. to Doctor Bentley.*]

REVD. MR. BENTLEY–

Permit me to introduce to you Mr. Wilson, a student in divinity who would be obliged by some aid from you, in regard to German literature–

Yours dear Sir, with respect–
S. WORCESTER–

Rev[d] MR BENTLEY
SALEM

[10.—*Hon. Charles Turner, Jr., Member of Congress, to Doctor Bentley.*]

WASHINGTON, April 5th 1812

REVD. SIR,

With pleasure I received your favor of the 25th ult. as it affords satisfaction that there is no defection among the genuine Democratic Republicans, and as it is understood that New Hampshire is *safe*, even without the knowledge of Henry's disclosures, I trust and from information from various parts of Massachusetts, entertain a great degree of confidence that she will be *sure*. The wincing of the *fluttering pigeons* proves more than they intended, they were not bound by our laws to furnish evidence against themselves. Their reflections upon the character of Henry falls on *their friends* who employed him. The disclosures furnish the evidence of what we did not doubt, but could not prove. Sensible I am that the apparent inactivity of Congress must have made unfavorable impressions on our friends, while our opponents have taken advantage of it to circulate ideas of our incinceurity, want of talent, of nerve &c. knowing perhaps better than they the cause, we have suffered, *thus far;* and while the question remained undecided, every art has been resorted to, to divide us; this situation was favorable for them to make impressions by indirect insinuations, to excite jealousies between the executive and legislative, and particularly to touch every discordant string between *States;* while laboring under these disagreeable circumstances, it was difficult for us to give assurance to our friends that certain measures would be pursued. The assuming, and enquiring state of N. Y. has taken advantage of our situation to push their claims. If they had come forward with modesty, there appeared early in the Session a disposition to think favorably of their candidate (not for the first seat) but they have overdone and must fall back, and rest four years longer. The Vice President is sick here, many doubt his recovery. That and other circumstances, have delayed the Republicans here giving to the public their opinion of suitable candidates.

For two days past the House has been in secret Session; the votes are no longer of a doubtful nature, disagreeable as is the idea of the national Legislature excluding themselves from public inspection. Our friends will judge of the propriety of the measure when they consider

the licensed and secret spies that attend us. The subject matter of the first inst. will soon be known, that of the second perhaps not immediately, the majority is great in the House, and although modesty might forbid the declaration, as I have the happiness to rank with them, I think they are not wanting in talents. On them rests the tremendous responsibility. I feel its pressure. As we need, so I trust we shall have the prayers of all who wish well to their country.

Please Sir, to accept such Documents as I may be able to procure & transmit.

I am Sir, with sentiments of respect & esteem
Your most humble servt.
CHAS. TURNER, JR.

Rev'd WM BENTLEY
SALEM.

[11.– *General Eleazer W. Ripley, U. S. A., to Doctor Bentley.*]

HEAD QUARTERS, CHARLESTOWN–
March 29, 1816.

REVD. MR. BENTLEY–
VERY DEAR SIR,

The friends of President Wheelock in the event of the state of things being changed at Dartmouth (of which there exists very little doubt) wish to have the liberty of inserting your name among the members of the board of Overseers– The institution will be placed on a ground as it respects its funds its politics, and its religious principles which will be highly gratifying to the friends of science and our social institutions.

You will be pleased to favor me with your views in relation to the subject. This communication is confidential.

With the most sincere respect–
Dear Sir yo. mo. ob. servt.
E. W. RIPLEY–

Revd WM BENTLEY
SALEM

[12.—*Charles Darley, Esq. to Doctor Bentley, on book-borrowing.*]

TEN HILLS CHARLESTOWN 10th June 1811

REVD. WILLIAM BENTLEY–
SIR,

I hope you will not take an exception at my calling on you for two volumes of the French Dictionary of the Academy, also a complete set of John *Jaques Rosseau's Works* & such other books as you may have in your possession belonging to my library. If I mistake not you have some of the works of the Abby Mably's. I should not make this call on you, but my affairs have induced me to dispose of my books to the best advantage.

Perhaps your memory may not recall the circumstance relating to those books; the first, you wished me to spare you, at a time when misfortune followed me hard. I informed you I then expected to sell my library and would spare it at any price, *you* thought it worth; *you* named $8.— to which I assented; but probably through forgetfulness this money was never received. You may now return the work or pay Mr. Henslow as you please. The other work you requested, observing that I had two sets, and that you would send Mrs. Darley an English Set instead of the small one, which from probably the same cause was not performed. I must now request you to return the work itself; bidding you welcome to the use of them for the time you have had them, I am Sir

Your humble Servt.
CHAS. DARLEY–

P. S. In the free access my friends have had to my library, I find missing, 1st Vol. of the Encyclopedia & its first Vol. of plates. Also other books. If you can put me in the way of finding them you will greatly oblige me–

[13.—*John N. Vaughan, Esq., Secretary of the American Philosophical Society, to Doctor Bentley.*]

PHILADELPHIA 5 Jany, 1803–

REVD. MR. BENTLEY
SALEM,

By Mr. Nichols & by order of D. Priestly I send you the Compn between Socrates & Jesus & 2nd Ans. to Linn, the 1st I sent before Mr. Pelham of Boston, I am told by the booksellers here, has all the pamphlets of this controversy for sale: should any enquiry be made for them. Possibly some may be sent to Mr. Natty of your place. The Governor of Kentucky Gerrard has embraced Unitarianism & I find some pamphlets on the subject are reprinted there–

Yours with respect
J. N. VAUGHAN–

[14.—*Samuel Harris, Jr. to Doctor Bentley.*]

BOSTON September 30th 1803.

DEAR SIR,

Soon after my return I sent you by the stage driver some persian paper, ink &c. with the music which I had promised to the young lady in Wenham, which last I hope you will have the goodness to send with yours. I am sorry the paper is not better, it appears to be that which is used for very common purposes, and you will find our hot-pressed paper much better.

I now return "Dizirnani" &c with my thinks. I communicated to Miss Adams your obliging offer of *Wolfries* for which she desired me to express her gratitude. I called on your friend Judge Winthrop on the first opportunity of his

being disengaged from Court, and desired for you the loan of Extracts. He is at present using it, but will let you have it as soon as it is unemployed. To write a little in the old style, you have observed in Kennicott's Notes, that he renders the word in Psalm I. verse 6– Job. 9, 5, which the common version translates *to know* as having the meaning of *to stand*. I have observed several other places where the meaning should be the same. You may probably be willing when looking at your bible to notice these places, or perhaps Eichorn has set them. The chief places are these I Sam. 22. *6*. 21. *2*.—1 King 20. *22*. Job 21. *19*. Pe. 144. *3*. 98. *2*. 77. *14*. 74. *5*– Prov. 31. *23*. 10. *3*. 3. *6*. Isaiah 19. *21*. 50. *9*. Ezeck, 35. *11*. 38. *14*. Neh 9. *14*– Habbac. 3. *2*. Hosea 6. *3*d. and many other places doubtless–

SAML HARRIS, JUN–

Rev'd MR BENTLEY
SALEM.

[15.—*John Pintard, founder of The New York Historical Society, to Doctor Bentley.*]

NEW YORK, 10th July 1816–

REVD. SIR,

Your favor of Jany 27, 1814, has remained a very long time unacknowledged. It was received together with the box containing seven Volumes of the *Salem Register*, which remained unopened 'till the beginning of these events, when at the first meeting of the N. Y. Historical Society, in their new apartments in our city Institution they were presented in your name, and I am instructed to return you the thanks of the Society for your very valuable donation and to request your acceptance of the only two volumes of our *Collections*, as yet published. Also to desire that you will be pleased to forward *annually* the successive volumes of your *Register*, half bound like the preceding, the expense of which I will cheerfully pay to your order. We prefer keeping up the series in this way, as single papers are apt to miscarry, be mislaid or purloined. Without compliment or flattery, the summary compiled as I understand by yourself, is the best brief chronicle of the times in this or perhaps the European world.

Our Society has lain dormant for a time. During the late war, the apprehension of invasion and possible Vandalic destruction of the public buildings and their contents, led us to take warning from the fate of Washington. Our library was cased up for transportation, and not unpacked until within a fornight, when the books which have not materially suffered were placed, but still unarranged on the shelves of our library in the New York Institution, formerly the Alms house, which on the removal of the establishment to the splendid buildings at Bellevue, was granted by our munificent corporation for the accommodation of the Academy of Arts. The Literary & Philosophical Society, the U. States Military & Philosophical So., the N. York City Library, our Hist. So., and Mr. Scudder's Museum. The Philosophical & Hist. S[o] apartments are already in order. The improvements for the other Societies are in progress. This concentration of every thing which relates to Science taste and literature within the walls of one extensive edifice, will be very accommodating to all interested in these pursuits. We hope that the former garden of the Alms House in the rear of our proud City Hall and between it and the Institution, will be converted into a botanic garden This however is the work of another year, as well as an application to our Legislature for State patronage; our city having abundantly done its part. Happily the interests of our State & city are so identified that we have everything to hope from the liberality and patronage of our Legislature. The cause of Science soars above all local or political prejudices. Our president elect, Mr. Benson having declined, is the Hon. Gouv. Morris; and a committee was appointed to arrange his inauguration on our anniversary festival, St. Nicholas day 6th Dec. We intended originally to have observed the 4th of Sept. the day of Hudson's discovery of our country, as our anniversary, but it occurs when our citizens are much scattered abroad. We therefore adopted the legendary birth day of the old Dutch tutelary Saint Nicholas, which happens at this festive season of the year. I have given this brief detail as some compensation for my aparent neglect, not excusable, only that I had partly recognised your favor by transmitting *Mr. Clinton's discourse*.

When we come to the fruition his grant of $12.000. to our Society which will come in its course, our Society will be handsomely established. We propose to place the capital on mortgage & apply the annual interest to increase our library, by which means we shall perpetuate its advantages. Of my kinsman the late John Mandus Pintard, Consul at Madeira, whose hospitality to his countrymen was commensurate with his generous spirit, I have to acknowledge your polite recollection and to inform you that he is no more. He died about five years ago, on a plantation he was enterprising at Bayou Sara near Baton Rouge.

Will it be possible to add to your many favors, by obtaining and forwarding to us such pamphlets, discoveries &c as may not interfere with your private collections.

The tracts relating to Dartmouth College controversy will be very important if obtainable thro'. any of your N. Hampshire friends.

Accept reverend Sir, my acknowledgments for your attentions & sincerity to our Society.

I am with great respect
your ob. sevt.
JOHN PINTARD.

Revd WM BENTLEY
SALEM

[16.—*Hon. Charles Turner, Jr., M. C., to Doctor Bentley.*]

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1812

REVD. SIR,

Your favor of the 13th inst. has lain by me several days unanswered, for want of leisure. I agree perfectly with you in sentiments contained in yours, and only regret that imperious circumstances render delay necessary, sensible at the same time that that delay may change in some degree the public sentiment; and give the opposition further advantages for intrigue. The shoals, (as we say of fish) of young men from other States, imported into Massachusetts to assist at the Gubernatorial Election, will account for the Federal, alias Tory, gain. But at the May Election the requisite *residence* will cut off many, and I trust Massachusetts may yet be secured. A resolution passed the Senate on Saturday morning last for an adjournment from the 29th inst. 'till the 8th of June next, by a majority of *one*. The House postponed it indefinitely by a majority of seven. This vote gives no data as to numbers who will eventually divide the *main question;* many think a short adjournment will operate no injury, other than the effect on public sentiment; but so strong are my impressions that even a short adjournment would have an ill effect, that I cannot & shall not consent to it, however desirous I am to visit my family, and have some relaxation. I am the more convinced of the *iniquity* of the measure, from its being very much desired by Mr. Foster, and who after the decision expressed very great dissatisfaction and held *a parasynanis* (?) with the British partizans of both Houses, the evening following. It is not for me to express my feelings, excited by the wicked arts, intrigues, and machinations of the enemies of *heaven* born Liberty, to extirpate it from the earth, but supported by a steady trust in the *God of Our Fathers, I can not despair of the Commonwealth;* even if we should be severely chastised for our ingratitude. Accept Sir, the sincere respects of

your friend & humble sevt.
CHAS. TURNER JR

Revd WM BENTLEY.

[17.—*William Kerny to Doctor Bentley.*

SALEM June 20th 1803.

SIR,

My health has become so bad I can attend to our miserable [?] business no longer– I should have offered it to Mr Palfrey– but I find our old friends not inclined to lend him their aid, say they, he tried to obtain Mr Heard's place & has tried the same method to injure you

To a weak unprincipled creature I will bestow no favors, when I have proved him so– want of principle is worst of every thing but meanness? the wretch with this vacuum of soul has from his *D E I T Y* but half his creation.

If I had enjoyed good health last fall I should have done you good service but a bird void of wings never can soar with the eagle. If I recover my health, as I expect, I would do the same business again.

one man says he would not have the place for large sums of money– this same man would be pleased with the offer– but he is all vanity therefore I cannot recommend him.

Sir I am with much respect,
Yr obedient Servant,
WILLIAM KERNY

Rev'd WM BENTLEY
SALEM.

[18.—*Memorandum—probably by Doctor Bently—as a guide for writing a pamphlet against clerical titles, addressed to James Tytler of Salem, with a letter transmitting it.*]

[MEMORANDUM.]

The pamphlet should not exceed 30 pages. It should be calculated to convince the illiterate that University titles, as also the title of Revd. particularly the title of D.D. are repugnant to scripture. To this end all the texts of scripture that are most to the purpose should be introduced, with such reasoning and explanation as may be necessary to show that clergymen cannot lawfully give and receive these titles. Indeed the general tenor and spirit of scripture is opposed to the pride of man, these titles are in favor of it; the conclusion then is obvious. The subject should be treated with great delicacy; severity should be avoided. Public worship should be encouraged. The clergy treated with proper respect, and represented as an useful and important order of men, so long as they make the scripture the rule of their conduct; so that none shall say the writer is an enemy to the clergy, to religion &c. It may be well to notice that the Federal Government have wisely rejected all titles except the name of office &c That there is no class of men in the United States so loaded with vain & employ titles as the clergy, who are particularly bound to be patterns of meekness & humility. These titles may be represented as empty, the offspring of pride, the food of pride, calculated to excite pride & vanity; unworthy the accept-

ance of an humble follower of the meek & lowly Jesus &c. Dwell principally on the title D.D. which seems to be the toy or plaything of riper years, or of old age.

Will you Sir be so obliging as to make one more attempt, $20. will accompany this paper.

I am, Dear Sir
With much respect, your friend.

Mr. JAMES TYTLER,
SALEM.

BOSTON, Aug. 13, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

You will see by the preceding, that our friend though much pleased with the ingenuity of your piece, thinks that it was not in every respect suitable for publication. I hope you will be willing to try again; and have no doubt but you would give entire satisfaction.

You friend & humble servt.
C— B—

Mr. JAMES TYTLER–

[19.—*John Pinta d, founder of The New York Historical Society, to Doctor Bentley.*]

NEW YORK, 16th Sept, 1816–

REVD. SIR,

Your favor of the 14th ult. together with the box containing the *Essex Register* 4 vols. neatly bound, for 1805–6 and 14 & 15 have been safely received and presented at the last meeting, 10th inst, to the Society; togother with many valuable donations from other friends and correspondents. I am instructed to return you the sincere acknowledgements of the Society, and the additional thanks for your promise of completing the series from 1800, which will prove a very valuable Register of events during the present century. I beg leave to add my own individual thanks for your attention to the interests of an Institution that has long been the object of my personal care. and which with the fostering protection of our State will undoubtedly be perpetuated and become a valuable legacy to posterity. "Those men are the only truly "great, who leave some durable monument be-"hind them." My earnest and sole ambition is to enrol my name among the benefactors of the human race. I have every confidence that the fruits of my incessant labours will remain, when I am mingled with my kindred dust; and that the accumulation of Historical documents already acquired, with the prospect of future acquisitions will render our library invaluable to future Historians. We begin to be rich in revolutionary MSS. to the attainment of which I give my undivided attention. We have rescued from oblivion & destruction most important and serious political correspondance, which detail the events of our revo.ly war printed documents, are more easily acquired. I do not mean of anti-revolutionary date, which are becoming exceedingly scarce, but of which, as you perceive by our catalogue, thro: the means of our mutual friend the Revd. T. Alden, we boast of no small store. We shall acknowledge your future kind attentions to this department, nothing so trifling or obscure, but will be acceptable, and find its place in our collection of tracts.

My coadjutor Dr. Francis has recently returned from Europe, to his aid I look for the arrangement of a large stock of pamphlets unbound, when I shall not forget to furnish you with such duplicates as may be worthy your notice & acceptance.

I enclose you here a certificate of Honorary Membership for your friend Prof. Ebeling, whose name is an honor to our Society. I hear Dr Mitchell has sent him the two only Vols. of our *Collections*, if not, I will forward them on notice, either to you or him direct. Should he have any thing redundent which he can spare, we shall be thankful for the favor. The Society expects that every member will do his duty. You have seen a short notice of our *commemoration* of Hudson's Discovery– by our Presd the Hon'l Gouv. Morris who gave us an elegant address– truly American & free from all party politics to a respectable and enlightened auditory– It was a proud day for this society– It is our aim to make this address drag along a hard volume for which we have ample materials. But I fear, in vain. We wish the printer to take the work we paying for 200 copies for the use of the society. There is not a sufficient taste, if it existed, nor interest taken in our national history as with you to encourage an annual volume of rare & important documents. *Never despair* is my motto, and we must not complain, for considering everything we are working wonders in this State & city. It falls to my lot to tug at the Oar of our academy of arts. A few strong pulls we shall get our bark into harbor.

You are a diligent examiner of the public prints. You will see an advertisement of the Academy in the en'g. prints of the city which explains our hopes & will abridge this head. We have a noble apartment in the N York institution (late old almshouse) I have little doubt but that in the course of two or three years the Academy will be an honor to our city, productive in its receipts, and after reimbursing considerable expense for repairs– enable her Directors to educate young artists & with the patronage of the State send them to Europe to perfect their education & return and enrich our country with their talents. Happily the interests of our State & city are identified– no local jealousies exist and we must avail ourselves of this circumstance before "1804 egketai"

I have not yr favor at hand & may not reply

particularly to all its contents. I feel sensibly obliged to you for yr warm & friendly recognition of my dear departed brother J. N Pintard who was most dear to me, it revives every tender feeling & recollection when his name is called.

This will be forwarded through yr friend Mr Goodhue who was made a member of our society the 10th I hope he will bring some of his eastern zeal with him to inspire us with fresh vigor

Accept my rev'd friend the best wishes for yr health & happiness

of dear Sir

Yr obdt humble Ser't

JOHN PINTARD

Rev'd WM BENTLEY

SALEM

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XIII.—*FLOTSAM.*

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Our venerable fellow-citizen, Charles Harrod, who lives among us in the quiet autumn of his life, honored and respected for his virtues and good deeds, has furnished us with the following contribution to the history of the ever-glorious battle of the eighth of January, 1815.

It has been said that the generally received account that cotton-bales were used as breastworks at that battle, was a myth; and many other conflicting reports, respecting them, have somewhat weakened men's trust in the assertions of written and printed history. It is that there still lives a witness, whose personal connection with the use of the cotton gives him knowledge of its effectiveness and of the disposal of it; and that he has thus given to the world the facts to be treasured up and recorded in such future editions of existing histories, or future chronicles thereof, as may hereafter be published.

"NEW ORLEANS, March 19, 1869.

"MESSRS. EDITORS OF THE *Picayune*,

"GENTLEMEN: Understanding that a discussion is now going on in England as to the number of bales of cotton that were used by order of General Jackson, in the lines, on the eighth of January, 1815, and having some knowledge of that transaction, I am induced to hand you a copy of a note, addressed to a friend of mine, dated 'July 1, 1861,' and that friend, I think, handed it to William H. Russell, Esq., one of the correspondents of the *London Times*:

"'NEW ORLEANS, July 1, 1861.

"'DEAR SIR: At your request, I hand you 'the following memorandum, showing the 'number of cotton-bales sent to the American 'lines for use in 1814 and 1815. At that 'time I took notes relating to the matter, 'which notes were burned, some years ago, 'with my office.

"'After the battle, on the night of December '23, 1814, in which the Quartermaster-general, 'Colonel Piatt, was wounded, and at his re-'quest, I was ordered by General Jackson to 'go into his office as his Assistant.

"'About the 26th of December, 1814, an 'order was sent from Headquarters to the 'Quartermaster-general, to send to the lines, I 'think, 500 bales of cotton; that order was 'placed in the hands of the writer to execute. 'At that time, there were but few carts or drays 'in the city, and all the roads, leading from 'the city to the lines, were so cut up and 'muddy, that it was quite impossible to trans-'port the cotton by land.

"'The brig *Sumatra*, belonging to Cornelius 'Paulding, Esq., was lying at the levee, at that 'time, partly loaded for France, having on 'board 277 bales of cotton, shipped by Messrs. 'Vincent Nolte & Co.

"'A barge was hired and taken alongside of 'that brig, with orders to the brig to discharge 'the cotton into the barge, which was done; 'the 277 bales of cotton were taken to the 'lines; and there discharged (I believe about 'the 26th or 27th of December, 1814). No 'more cotton was sent to the lines, at that or 'any other time.

"'At that time, the troops were busily em-'ployed in throwing up the breastworks; and 'about 230 bales of cotton were taken to build 'a magazine in the garden at Headquarters '(and near this magazine Judah Touro, Esq., 'received his wound). The cotton placed in 'this magazine was covered with earth, which 'made it the form of a sugar-loaf. A part of 'the cotton was placed on end in the line, and 'a part in what was called the Half-moon 'battery.

"'During the battle, January 8, 1815, and in 'subsequent bombardments, the enemy's balls 'passed through the bales of cotton, they of-'fering but slight resistance. The bales used 'in the magazine answered a very good pur-'pose; and were not much damaged by the 'bombarding.

"'After peace was made known, all the cot-'ton remaining (some was lost,) was gathered 'together by order of General Jackson, and 'sold for the benefit of whom it might con-

"'cern; and three Commissioners were named
"'by the commanding General to determined in
"'what way Messrs. Nolte & Co. should be
"'compensated for the 277 bales of cotton
"'taken from the brig *Sumatra* and used at the
"'lines, Nolte & Co. to furnish the weights.

"'The Commissioners named were Benjamin
"'Morgan, Peter V. Ogden, and W. W. Mont-
"'gomery, all merchants and honorable men.
"'The day the commission met, the price of
"'cotton was 14 cents per pound, and that price
"'was awarded to Messrs. V. Nolte & Co., and
"'they received the money, at that price. I do
"'not recollect what the cotton taken from the
"'earthworks brought, but think about $2,000
"'for the lot.

"'Respectfully,
"'CHARLES HARROD.'"

—*New Orleans Picayune.*

GENERAL HOOKER ON GENERAL HOWARD.

General Joseph Hooker was found at the Astor House, yesterday, by a *Sun* reporter; and a conversation about General O. O. Howard ensued.

"I have no desire to strike a man who is "down, or who, at least, is very rapidly fall-"ing," said the General; "but I can assure you "that these new developments, in relation to him, "have not altered my opinion of the man. Al-"though I had not known him as a speculator, "I am well aware of his inherent hypocrisy. "And he is such a profound Christian, too! "Why, down in the Army—when I was in com-"mand of the Army of the Potomac, and he "had the Eleventh Corps, under me—he was full "to overflowing with his miserable cant. Now, "nobody has more respect for genuine Christian-"ity than I, and I would be slow to doubt the "genuineness of any man's piety; but Howard "has always been a downright hypocrite. Do "you know, Sir, that he read once about an "English General—I do not recall the name, at "this moment—and he at once settled down "into an imitation of that character. He has "been playing a part, Sir, with a view to es-"tablishing himself as an eminent Christian. "He used to keep his tent hung with religious "mottoes, so as to catch the eyes of visitors. "Bah! it was all pretence. He is no more a "Christian than my boy James. Why, Sir, all "the while that he was maintaining these pre-"tensions of piety, he was backbiting his fel-"low officers, and trying to undermine them, in "my estimation. General Slocum was a fellow "Corps-commander; and against him Howard "directed much of his venom. At last, I told "him that I would listen to no more of his "whisperings about his fellow officers: that if "he had charges to make, they must be present-"ed to me in writing, as I had determined to "put a stop to his unsoldier like spying. I was "satisfied, then, and certainly have now no "reason to change my opinion, that he was "playing a part in the Army, and that his "semblance of piety was assumed to cover "and help on his selfish purposes. As an offi-"cer, he was totally incompetent; and his in-"competency affected the tone of his Corps. "He was a perfect old woman; and paid more "attention to Sunday-schools and prayer-meet-"ings, than to discipline. He is a bad man, "Sir, a bad man."—*New York Sun*, December 31, 1873.

A MEMENTO OF FRANKLIN.

Levi W. Groff, one of the stanch old Pennsylvania farmers and stock-growers, in Lancaster-county, has in his possession, the memorable "Benjamin Franklin watch," which he politely exhibited to some friends, in Philadelphia, recently. The time-piece is a curiosity in itself. It is manufactured of silver, in the old bull's-eye pattern, with open face, and on its back bears the following inscription, in lettering still well defined, notwithstanding its extreme age and, no doubt, extensive handling: "BEN FRANKLIN, "1776." An old paper, on the inside, indicates that it was "repaired by Thomas Parker, of "Philadelphia, on the 24th of January, 1817." The watch, it appears from another paper, was made in London, by W. Tomlinson, and is numbered 511.

It would be a matter of curiosity for antiquaries interested in such matters, to learn the history of its sale and purchase by the great American philosopher. It was probably bought by Franklin, when he represented the independent Colonies at the British Court, in London.

There appears to be no doubt about the authenticity of this interesting relic of the past. Mr. Groff has a letter from the late William Duane, of Philadelphia, dated August 17, 1866, which states that Doctor Franklin's watch was worn, after his decease, by his son-in law, Richard Bache, the great-grandfather of Mr. Duane, who resided, during the latter years of his life, in Bensalem township, Bucks-county, Pennsylvania, who mislaid it while on a visit to Philadelphia, and all traces of it were supposed to have been lost, until Mr. Groff became its fortunate possessor.

The watch will probably be one of the most curious relics on exhibition, at the coming Centennial, in Philadelphia. That Mr. Groff is one of the sturdy old "Dutch" farmers of Pennsylvania, may be realized from the fact that, prominent among his valuable historical collec-

tions, is the original Grant-deed, conveying the land he now lives upon, from the sons of William Penn to his great-grandfather.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.

"The words 'on to Richmond' were not Mr. "Greeley's, but Mr. Dana's; and they were 'right words."—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

The real author of these words, was the gallant and brilliant General Fitz Henry Warren, then a Washington correspondent of the *Tribune.* —*New York Sun.*

SCRAPS.—Bishop Cheverus, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, and afterward Archbishop of Bordeaux, was on a visit to a French family, in Bristol, Rhode Island, when Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese, to gratify the universal desire to see and hear a prelate of such reputation for piety, sent a complimentary message by one of his divinity students, and placed the Episcopal-church, in the town, at Bishop Cheverus's service. The invitation was accepted with characteristic simplicity and courtesy; and, after brief devotions, the Roman Catholic Bishop preached from Bishop Griswold's pulpit, to the great satisfaction of a large congregation. This was in the year 1817 or 1818, while Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, Doctor Jones, of New Jersey, and Doctor Robertson, of Saugerties (who is my authority for the above statement) were studying theology under Bishop Griswold.

J. BREWSTER.

NEW HAVEN, March 24, 1873.

—Governor Letcher, the other day, related an incident of the war. He said that, in one of the battles before Richmond, four flag-bearers had been shot down, and a call was made for a volunteer, to carry the colors. A stripling took the torn standard. In a few minutes, the staff was snapped by a shot. The boy sat down; unloosed a shoe-string; and tied it. He started in front, again. Another bullet splintered the staff. It was then fastened by the other shoe-string. He had hardly shook the folds out, a second time, when down fell the flag, struck by a ball. The shoe-strings had given out. He unbottoned his jacket; ripped his shirt to ribbons; and wrapped the broken rod, and carried the tattered ensign, through the fight. Governor Letcher said: "When they brought me the "boy, with the shattered staff patched up with "shoe-strings and shirt-tails, I made him an of-"ficer and give him the best sword Virginia "had."

—The Supreme Court has decided that Confederate War-bonds, issued by any State, in aid of insurrection, could not be treated in the same way as Confederate money, which the Court has before decided did not vitiate a contract, provided the contract was a lawful one. The Southern Confederacy held exclusive jurisdiction over the territory where the contract was made; and the Confederate money was the usual medium of exchange. The Plaintiff in the case, in which this opinion was given by Justice Field, sued to recover a note given at Memphis, in December, 1862. The admitted consideration of the note, was a lot of war-bonds, issued by the State of Arkansas, to aid the rebellion, then worth about 75 per cent of their par value, and used at that time in Memphis, to some extent, as a circulating medium. The Court held that the issue of the bonds being unconstitutional, the consideration of the note was void.

—A graveyard in Delaware-county, New York, has this epitaph:

"The Lord, He made her, and lent her to me
"Till He should call for her again;
"He had a right His own to take;
"Oh, praise Him for His goodness' sake."

XIV.—*BOOKS.*

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. "DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., *Booksellers,* 654 *Broadway, New York City,* as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*A Brief Notice of the Library and Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society.* From the Semi-Annual Report of the Council, presented at a Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 30, 1873. By Nathaniel Paine. Worcester: For private distribution. 1873. Octavo, pp. 59.

At the semi-annual meeting of the Society, in April last, the Council presented, in its usual semi-annual Report, an unusually extended description of the Library and Cabinet of the Society; and, some additions to that portion of the Report having been made, subsequent to its presentation to the Society, the whole has been printed, in a separate form, for private distribution.

After a brief sketch of the Society and its Library, Mr. Paine proceeds to describe, in detail, the Library and the Cabinet, dwelling, especially, on its "nuggets." The former contains more than fifty-three thousand volumes, estimating ten distinct pamphlets as one volume—a mode of estimating which, with all possible respect, we most heartily condemn—and some of

its treasures are of great rarity and importance. Its manuscripts, too, are numerous and of priceless value, including the papers of the Mather family—Richard, Increase, and Cotton; of Doctor Bentley, and of other notable men; its newspapers are numerous and important; and its Cabinet is one of the best in the country.

The descriptions of all these are sufficiently in detail to enable the readers to understand the great importance of that collection to all who profess to write on American history; and besides being a welcome memento of a valued friend, this handsome volume will be serviceable as a guide to the contents of that collection.

2.—*A Statement of the proceedings of Citizens of Englewood, Bergen County, New Jersey, in relation to the Suspension and Removal of Gen'l Thomas B. Van Buren, from the office of Commissioner General, from the United States to the Universal Exposition, at Vienna, Austria.* 1873. Hackensack, N.J.: n. d. [1873?] Octavo, pp. 50.

The country is already well informed of the proceedings of John Jay and of the disgrace which he attached to the United States, in connection with the Commissioner to the recent Exposition, at Vienna; and we need not repeat the story.

The pamphlet before us is a statement of the measures adopted by the neighbors of the Commissioner-general, General Van Buren, for the vindication of that gentleman; and to those who are not as well acquainted with John Jay as we are, it will be very serviceable in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the affair.

3.—*Sketch of the life of John A. Sheppard, A.M., author of* The Life of Commodore Tucker, The Defence of Masonry, *&c.* By John Ward Dean, A.M, Boston: 1873. Octavo, pp. 16.

A very graceful tribute to the memory of our late friend, John A. Sheppard, Librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, by his successor in that office, Mr. Dean.

It originally appeared in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register;* but, we believe, with an additional paragraph, it is reproduced, in this form, for private circulation.

The edition numbered one hundred copies; and, as it is also illustrated with a well-executed portrait, it will be very acceptable to Mr. Sheppard's many friends.

4.—*The Town of Hollis, N. H.* S. l., s. a. [*Boston:* 1873?] Octavo, pp. 14.

The Historical and Genealogical Register for October, contained a paper, by the Hon. Samuel T. Worcester, of Nashua, N. H., on *Hollis, in the Battle of Bunker-hill and the first year of the Revolution;* and it has been re-produced, in this form, with a new title, for private distribution.

The author opens with a discussion of the question of the spelling of the name—Hollis or Holles; then glances at the early history of the Town itself; and finally discusses the action of the Town and the conduct of the townsmen, in the earlier days of the War of the Revolution, introducing copies of several original papers illustrative of the subject.

It is a well-written, well-supported historical paper; and a welcome addition to the locals of New Hampshire.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

5.—*Address delivered before the New York Society Library on the One Hundredth Anniversary of its Incorporation, November 9th,* 1872. By Thomas Ward, M.D. Octavo, pp. 30.

If we understand the matter correctly, there was an historical address, on the same occasion, and the orator was not, therefore, expected, in this instance, to explore the annals of the Society, to describe its origin or its early adventures, to expose the thieves who have stolen its treasures and then openly exulted in their possession of them, to compare the Present with the Past, nor even to guess about the Future.

With this knowledge before us, we have read the Doctor's *Address* with pleasure. It tells us of Books, and their uses and results; it glances at libraries, without doing more than allude to the one whose centennial the orator was celebrating—leaving to Mr. de Peyster that congenial duty—it notices "the literature of a land," in its importance and its results; it introduces the stale subject of "liberty" in the West, and her apocryphal influences and consequences—in the overthrow of feudalism, "the steady pro-"gress of reform," the overthrow of slavery and serfdom, "the elevation of Italy and Germany," the opening of the East to Western "civiliza-"tion" and vice, a looser Divinity, a laxer law, a less rigid medicine, a reformed literature—in a release from the trammels of the classics, in the increase in the *number* of Colleges and Schools—no matter about the *quality*—in a regenerated Art, a better developed Music, a purer Drama; in a non-progressive Architecture, a more daring school of Engineering, in speculative Philosophy—Geology, Astronomy, Science, the Arts all are reviewed. Steam, photography, anæsthetics, the stethoscope, the spectroscope, gas-light, and water-works, labor-saving machines, canned-fruits, artificial teeth, steel-pens, lucifer-matches, india-rubber, the growing indifference for females and the disrespect of

children for their parents, "women's-rights,' mediæval worship, the Mormons, party-politics and their abuses, the prevailing thirst for wealth, increased healthfulness, a lower death-average, and a score of other subjects all pass under review; and it is closed with an appeal to the next centennial orator, telling that distinguished person what he shall say, on that occasion, of the Society Library and its surroundings.

Altogether, this is a very well written paper: and, under the existing circumstances, it is as creditable to the Doctor as, probably, it was acceptable to the audience.

6.—*Report of the Proceedings at the Memorial Meeting in honor of the late Mr. Joseph Andrews, (Engraver) held at the Rooms of the Boston Art Club, on the evening of May* 17, 1873. Boston: Published by the Boston Art Club. 1873. Octavo, pp. 21.

Joseph Andrews was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, in August, 1806, and died in Boston, in May, 1873. A few days after his death, the Art Club, in Boston, met for the purpose of offering a testimonial of respect to his memory; and the beautiful pamphlet before us contains a record of the proceedings of the Club, on that occasion.

After a few prefatory remarks, by the President of the Club, Charles C. Perkins, Esqr., Mr. S. R. Kœhler read an admirably written memoir of Mr. Andrews, which was followed by an appropriate address by Rev. C. S. Waterston, in which the high professional character of Mr. Andrews, as well as his modest worth, as a man, were feelingly portrayed.

The proceedings of the Club were marked, throughout, with excellent taste; and we have seldom seen the details of such a meeting carried out with so much delicate propriety.

The pamphlet is a very neat one.

7.—*Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O., August*, 1870. *Historical and Archæological Tracts, Number One.* Battle and Massacre at Frenchtown, Michigan, January, 1813, by Rev. Thomas P. Dudley, one of the survivors. Octavo, pp. 4.

..... *September*, 1870. *Number Two.* Judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, under the First Constitution. 1803–1852. By Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Society. Octavo, pp. 7.

..... *November*, 1870. *Number Three.* Papers relating to the War of 1812. [*From the papers of the late Elisha Whittlesey, of Canfield, Ohio.*] Octavo, pp. pp. 4.

..... *January*, 1871. *Number Four.* First White Child Born on Ohio Soil. By Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Society. Octavo,

..... [Jannary, 1871? Number Five?] Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio, by Col. Charles Whittlesey, President of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society. Published for the Society by a Gentleman of Cleveland. Cleveland, Ohio: 1871. Octavo, pp. 40, with nine pages of plates.

..... *July*, 1871. *Number Six.* Papers relating to the first white settlers in Ohio. Octavo, pp. 8.

..... [Number Seven?] War of 1812. From the Papers of Hon. E. Whittlesey. Selection No. 2. Octavo, pp. 5–7.

..... *December*, 1871. *Number Eight.* Indian affairs around Detroit, in 1706. Octavo, pp. 6.

..... *February*, 1872. *Number Nine.* Archæological Tracts.—Inscriptions attributed to the Mound Builders.—Three Remarkable Forgeries. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey, President of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society. Octavo, pp. 4.

..... *May*, 1872. *Number Ten.* Annual Meeting at the Museum, May 13th, 1872. Octavo, pp. 4.

..... *August*, 1872. *No.* 11. Ancient Rock Inscriptions in Ohio, an Ancient Burial Mound, Hardin County, O., and a Notice of some Rare Polished Stone Ornaments. Edited by the President of the Society and Published by a Gentleman of Cleveland. Cleveland: 1872. Octavo, pp. 16. and two folding Maps.

..... *Nov.*, 1872. *Number Twelve.* Selection No. 3. War of 1812, from the Papers of the late Elisha Whittlesey. Octavo, pp. 3.

..... *No.* 13. *February*, 1873. Papers relating to the Expeditions of Colonel Bradstreet and Colonel Bonquet, in Ohio, A.D., 1764. Selection No. 1. Octavo, pp. 7.

..... *No.* 14. *February*, 1873. Papers relating to the Expeditions of Colonel Bradstreet and Colonel Bonquet, in Ohio, A.D., 1764. Selection No. 2. Octavo, pp. 6.

..... *No.* 15. *April*, 1873. Correspondence of Major Tod, War of 1812.—History of Northfield. Octavo, pp. 8.

..... *No.* 16. *May*, 1873. List of Publications.—Annual Report, 1873.—Origin of the State of Ohio. Octavo, pp. 5.

Historical Manuscripts. [*No.* 1.] Broadside.

Western Reserve Historical Society. List of Manuscripts in Binding. No. 2. *August* 1, 1870. Broadside.

..... *No.* 3. *January* 1, 1871. Broadside.

The above is, we believe, a complete collection of the publications of the Western Reserve Historical Society, of Cleveland, Ohio, which is one of the youngest of the sisterhood of Historical Societies, and yet one of the most active.

With very limited means, this Society is, nevertheless, doing a very good work in arousing a taste for American history in northern Ohio; and, by a happy thought, in adopting the system of tracts, which the churches have found so useful, in other fields of labor, it is scattering the material of history among the people, at a small cost, and, we trust, with good results.

Such a Society, so usefully employed, is worthy of sturdy, substantial support; and if the Reserve shall allow it to flag in its work, for the want of a little money, it will be a disgrace to the boasted intelligence of that New England community which it cannot afford to bear.

8.—*Fifteenth Annual Report of the Corporation of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the year* 1872–3. In two parts. Compiled by George Wilson, Secretary New York: Press of the Chamber of Commerce. 1873 Octavo, pp. xiii., [*Part I.*,] 124; [*Part II.*,] 228.

We have annually referred to the admirable Reports of this venerable and distinguished Corporation; and we regret that our space is so limited that we can do little else than announce this addition to the file which is on our shelves.

The first Part is occupied with a record of the proceedings of the Corporation, its lists of members and officers, its Charter and By-laws, and the donations to its library. The second Part is occupied with the Reports of the various branches of Trade, seventeen in number, and with a mass of statistical tables, illustrative of the Commerce of the Port of New York, which no one who is interested in the history of the good old city can afford to disregard. The Trade Reports, we believe, are the work of gentlemen engaged in the respective branches reported therein; and the Statistics are generally, if not wholly, the result of the patient labor—the stern hard work—of the excellent Secretary, Mr. Wilson; and to both, the reporters and the statistician, the highest credit is due.

As we have often said, before, these Annual Reports of the Trade and Commerce of the Republic are too little valued, in these days of frivolity; but the time will come when their importance will be understood—those who make them will not receive, until then, however, that credit for usefulness which is now too much withheld from them.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

9.—*History of the town of Windham.* Prepared at the request of the Town, by Thomas Laurens Smith. Portland: Hoyt & Fogg. 1873. Octavo, pp. 104.

The few working-men who remain among those who profess to write history, will remember that exceedingly interesting volume which contains the *Journal of the Rev. Thomas Smith, of Falmouth* (now Portland) *Maine*, written during the earlier days of that settlement; and they will have pleasure, also, in receiving another contribution to the local history of the same State and vicinity, from the pen of the grandson of that very useful annalist.

The volume before us is a history of the town of Windham, Maine; prepared at the request of the town; and published at its expense. It appears to have been based on a Centennial Address, delivered by the author, on the anniversary of the incorporation of the Town; and, although it is well filled with information concerning the Town and those who have lived there, that information is poorly arranged and, by no means, accessible, without undue labor in searching for it.

The make-up of the book reflects no credit on a city printer; and Hoyt & Fogg ought to be ashamed of it: beyond that, the book is well enough printed.

10.—*Reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer of the New York Bridge Co.* Brooklyn: 1872. Octavo, pp. 75.

Reports of the Executive Committee, Chief Engineer, and General Superintendent of the New York Bridge Company, June 1, 1872. Brooklyn: 1872. Octavo, pp. 45.

Report of the Chief Engineer of East River Bridge, on prices of materials and estimated cost of the structure. June 28, 1872. Octavo. pp. 15.

Reports of the Executive Committee, General Superintendent, and Treasurer of the New York Bridge Company. Brooklyn: 1873. Octavo, pp. 105.

Pneumatic Tower Foundations of the East River Suspension Bridge. W. A. Roebling. 1872. New York: s. a. Octavo, pp. 92 and twelve folded plates.

There are few specimens of bridge building which will equal, either in the expected results or in the mode of structure, in importance or in interest, the proposed suspension-bridge connecting the cities of Brooklyn and New York; and we have been favored with the above complete collection of the literature of the subject.

The first named contains a report of the receipts and expenditures, from the beginning until May 1, 1872, and the others continue that portion of the story. The Report of 1873 contains the elaborate Report on the effects of High Atmospheric Pressure, including the Caisson Disease, made by Doctor Andrew H. Smith, the Company's Surgeon—a most important paper, whether considered from the engineer's or the surgeon's standpoint—and the pamphlet descriptive of the foundations of the towers, by the Chief Engineer, is certainly a very important one.

11.—*Report in favor of the Abolition of Capital Punishment, to the House of Representatives.* Prepared by Hon. Isaiah Pillars, for the Minority of the Judiciary Committee. Printed by Order of the House. Columbus, [*Ohio*]: Nevins and Myers, State Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. 16.

This, to us, is an old subject; but, here, it is in a new dress. Our interest in the matter was originally created by John L. O'Sullivan; and we have enjoyed the advantages of the arguments of that distinguished scholar, on this subject, both from the rostrum, the Committee-room, and the social circle.

We have heard much and read much, and we have listened and thought much, on the subject; but we have failed to see as much force in the arguments of those who would abolish the practice as others have seen in them; and we have inclined to believe that—in the absence of sin, in the execution of most if not all who suffer—as matter of mere expediency, society and the State would suffer no injury if more rather than less were dismissed from the scene of their mischief-making, either by hanging or some other equally certain process.

We say "in the absence of sin," because we cannot conceive that to be wrong, *per se*, which God himself, as the direct law-maker of a Commonwealth or a Confederacy such as Israel was, established in a body of Statutes for its government; nor can we understand the force of the argument, reiterated in the Report before us, that, because "the taking of human life, as a "punishment for crimes, comes to us from the "most remote ages of antiquity and from the "most barbarous conditions of mankind," that "taking of human life" is necessarily wrong, else God, himself, in the Code referred to, would not have adopted and endorsed it. If it is wrong, *per se*, now, it was, necessarily, wrong, *per se*, then; and the law-maker of Israel, in such a case, was, necessarily, as much of a wrong-doer and quite as unwise, thousands of years ago, as this Report would indicate the law-makers of Ohio to be, to-day.

The law of capital punishment, for crimes committed, must be assailed, if success is desired, on some other grounds than its alleged sinfulness, its alleged origin in barbarism, its alleged abuse, its alleged employment by "brut-"ish and sensual peoples or from a bigoted, intol-"erant, and revengeful fanaticism." It must be shown that such a penalty for such a crime is inexpedient; that society and the Commonwealth can make more from such characters, living, than from them, dead; that those whose outrages on the rights of others have entitled them to this bad eminence are better entitled to the minor "revenge and retaliation" of forced retirement to the seclusion of a State-prison than to the major "revenge and retaliation" of the gallows; that the practice of this mode of punishment either induces crime or does not check it, while the practice of some other punishment would have an opposite effect.

We deny, *in toto*, the idea that "the great "purposes" of "punishment for crime" are "the protection of society" and "the reforma-"tion of the offender." These may be secondary purposes, but they are, certainly, far from being the primary "great purposes," thereof; and we insist, just as rigidly, that the infliction is, really, what it professes to be, "a *punish-"ment* for crime," call it what else you will. If "society" can, also, be, thereby, "protected," and if "the offender" can, also, be, thereby, "reformed," so much the better; but the original, fundamental purpose of that infliction—whether it is hanging, or imprisonment, or a mere fine—is *punishment*, and only *punishment*—a penalty for having violated the rights of others and the laws of the land.

This, with all due respect to our friend, Judge Pillars, is the rock on which we stand. The law *owes nothing* to those who offend it, except *punishment*—"the reformation of the offender" is not the province of either the law or the law-maker; and the best way to "protect society" from the outrages of those who have no respect for either the rights of society or the rights of individuals, is, not to make pets of them, "wards "of the nation," but to apply to them the same laws which are invoked for the eradication of wolves and the removal of other nuisances, and to make the application, earnestly and impartially. Society would, then, be really "protected;" and if the offenders were not "reformed," they would, quite as surely, seek some other place of residence. It is the weakness of administration rather than the defects of the law which makes all the trouble; and, if the society needs protection, let the laws against offences be enforced, and let the Christian influence, within and without the churches, occupy the field for that "re-"formation" of offenders of which they may be, now and then, found susceptible.

12.—*Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York, for the year* 1872. Albany: The Argus Company, Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., 484.

One of those volumes which are annually printed, *at the cost of the tax-payers*, for the gratification of the vanity or the promotion of the interests of private parties, embracing the Minutes of the Medical Society and divers papers, of more or less value, which might have been printed with much more propriety and justice, either in special tracts or in medical and surgical journals, at the cost of those who read them.

While the State cannot afford to print its own records, it cannot, with any decency, take the public monies to print the records of a private corporation, no matter what the objects of that corporation may be; and we insist that, even in the halls of legislation and in public printing-offices, there should be some regard paid to the fitness of things and to the capabilities of tax-payers, as beasts of burden. Let the burden of taxes, which is now crushing the very life out of thousands of the working-men of this State, be made lighter, by a more rigid economy; and let those ambitious doctors who desire a receptacle for their essays find one among the excellent journals of the day, which are paid for by those who resort to them for information.

The volume is well-filled with, probably, essays which would have been welcomed in other publications—we notice, among their authors, some well-known names; and, were not our tax-bills quite as high as we care to see them, we should have received it with more satisfaction than we now enjoy.

13.—*Annual Report of the Secretary of State, to the Governor of Ohio, including the Statistical Report to the General Assembly, for the year* 1872. Columbus: Nevins & Myers, State Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. 436.

Ohio has some good practices; and one of these is the annual publication of a carefully-prepared Report of the statistics of the preceding year, embracing minute records of her products in agriculture and horticulture, her mineral wealth, her social statistics, her wealth and taxation, her pauperism and crime, her railroads, her population, and her manufactures.

The volume before us is that for 1872; and the Secretary who prepared it, no longer Secretary, has done his work with admirable skill and industry. The value of such a record, year by year, no one can estimate; and, if all the States would pursue the same practice, posterity would bless the memory of him who projected the system.

14.—*Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads and Telegraphs of Ohio, for the year ending June 30th*, 1872. Prepared by O. L. Wolcott, Commissioner. Columbus: Nevins & Myers, State Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. 448.

There are three thousand, seven hundred, and eighty-seven miles of railroads, *in operation*, in Ohio, costing, with their equipments, two hundred and six million, three hundred and fifty-two thousand, eight hundred and five dollars; earning, from the first of July, 1871, to the same date, in 1872, thirty-four million, two hundred and fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred dollars, or nine thousand, six hundred, and forty-seven dollars per mile of roadway, or 5.55 per cent on the cost; costing, for operating expenses, twenty-three million, five hundred and two thousand, seven hundred and thirty-nine dollars, or sixty-eight and a third per cent of the earnings; and employing twenty-five thousand, three hundred, and ninety-three persons in operating them, besides those whose interests are indirectly concerned.

Need we wonder that railroads are now above the law, making and repealing statutes, at will, and defying those whose servants they are?

The volume before us tells the story, as far as Ohio is concerned; it tells, too, how unwisely Ohio bears the yoke of her iron-bound oppressors.

15.—*Nineteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Common Schools. State of Maine.* 1872. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1872. Octavo, pp. 104, 222.

Maine contains six hundred and twenty-six thousand, nine hundred, and fifteen souls—less than two-thirds the population of the city of New York—occupying four hundred and twelve towns and eighty-eight "plantations;" with two hundred and twenty-six thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-one "scholars," of whom ninety-two thousand, seven hundred, and fifty only go to school in Summer and one hundred and two thousand, four hundred, and forty-three in Winter—where the rest go to, we are not told; averaging only nine weeks and a third of school-*teaching* in the six months of Summer and ten weeks in the six months of Winter—*only nineteen weeks out of the fifty-two, per year;* paying an average of thirty-three dollars per month to her male teachers and three dollars and sixty cents per week to her "school-marms," exclusive of ten dollars per month for their board; and taxing her people just two dollars and eighty-seven cents per scholar, for the support of her schools.

With a heavy majority of her children out of school, from year's-end to year's-end, Maine certainly need say little about the intelligence of her coming men and women; and if, as is so often said, the public-schools are essential as preservatives from crime, we wonder, while this record is before us, just how virtuous Maine will be, a few years hence. With more than one-half of her children, over four years of age, entire strangers to a school, Winter and Summer, what intelligent and virtuous men and women they will become, when they shall have ceased to be children.

It really seems, with such records as this before

us, that the shams of New England must be made to include her much talked-of intelligence, her boasted common-schools, and the virtue of her rising generation, if not that of those who are older.

MAPS.—Some years since, a well-known and competent City Surveyor, John B. Holmes, Esq., commenced the publication of a series of maps of the various large estates on which the greater portion of the city of New York now stands, showing, on a large scale, their ancient boundaries, together with the courses of the old roads as well as those of the modern streets, the original divisions into lots, the numbers of the respective lots, and other information, concerning the several estates, of which lawyers, conveyancers, land-owners, and historical students so well know the value.

As these maps were prepared with the greatest care, from original surveys, and as they were protracted on a large scale, their great importance to the Bar of New York and to the landholding and antiquarian public was readily appreciated; and Mr. Holmes has been encouraged to continue the series, with the same care and scientific accuracy. We trust he will not suspend his good work until he shall have extended his attention to every portion of the island, as well as to those portions of the main-land which—embracing the ancient Manors of Morrisania, Fordham, and Van Cortlandt—are now included within the limits of the City and County of New York.

Mr. Holmes having placed a complete series of these invaluable maps on our table, for notice, we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers, the country over, to their great usefulness to every one who is interested in the details of New York history, New York genealogy, and New York topography. The series, as far as published, embraces,

I.—*Map of the West Bayard Farm, the property of Nicholas & Stephen Bayard and of Ald. John Dyckman, Dcd., property*, as surveyed and laid out into lots, in the year 1788, by Casimir Th. Goerk, City Surveyor.

[This estate extended along the western side of Broadway, from below Howard-street, to above Bleecker-street, and westward nearly to Bedford-street; and was bounded by the several Estates of the Widow Mary Barclay and Leonard Lispenard, the Richmond-hill property, and the Estates of John de Peyster and Samuel Jones, and the Haring—Map Number III., post—and "the East Bayard" Farms—Map Number II., post.]

II.—*Map of Bayard's East Farm*, accurately made from old maps, (not in Register's Office) from Conveyances on Record from Nicholas Bayard, Sheriff's Sales, Lottery Lots, &c., &c., New York, September, 1869.

[This Map embraces property from Pell-street, along the Bowery, to Prince-street; along the latter to Mulberry-street; along the latter to the middle of the block between Prince and Houston-streets, thence to Broadway; along the latter to one hundred feet below Howard-street; thence eastward to Center-street; thence, diagonally, to Baxter street, opposite the line of Pell-street; thence to the place of beginning.

This map also contains notes of the partition of the Stephen Van Rensselaer property; of conveyances by Nicholas Bayard and wife, Nicholas Bayard alone and jointly with others; Lottery Lots conveyed by Richard Sharpe and others; Sheriff's Sales of property of Nicholas Bayard and Nicholas Bayard, Junior; of the partition between William Houston and wife, Gerard Rutgers and wife, John H. McIntosh and wife, Robert C. Johnson and wife, and Cornelius C. Roosevelt; and of the fraudulent deeds of property, in this farm, which have caused so much trouble during the past few years.]

III.—*Map of the Haring or Herring Farm*, showing its Original Perimeter, as surveyed, in 1784, by David Haring, with the Streets and Avenues accurately laid down. Also the Division of the Farm by Partition.

[This estate is of an irregular form, extending from the Bowery, westward and north-westward, along the North line of what is now Bleecker-street and the old line of Amity-lane (now closed) to the vicinity of the corner of Macdougal and Amity-streets; thence, westerly, to the vicinity of Hammersley and Varick-streets; thence, northerly, to the vicinity of Christopher and Hudson-streets; thence, easterly, along Christopher-street, beyond Fourth-street; thence, southerly, to Amity-street, midway between Macdougal-street and Sixth-avenue; thence, easterly, including two-thirds of Washington-square, to Broadway, opposite Astor-place; thence, southerly, along Broadway, to the middle of the block now occupied by the New York Hotel; thence, easterly, to La Fayette-place; thence, southerly, along that place, to the middle of the block bounded by Fourth and Great Jones-streets; thence to the Bowery, a few feet to the northward of Great Jones-street; and thence, along the Bowery, to Bleecker street. It was bounded by the Trinity-church, the Ludlow, the Sailors' Snug-harbor, the Nicholas Stuyvesant, and the Anthony L. Bleecker estates, the "Bayard's West Farm"—Map Number I., ante—and other properties, less widely known.]

IV.—*Map of the East and West De Lancey Farms*, showing the Perimeter & Streets, as surveyed under its original owner, James De Lan-

cey, Esqr. Also the present Streets and Perimeter, as laid down on the maps in the Register's Office, together with their Lot and Block numbers

V.—A second edition of the same Map, "containing many corrections and additions of "much value to the Lawyer," including a list of purchasers of the property, from the Commissioners of Forfeiture.

It was made from the descriptions of the property, given at the time of the sales by the Commissioners of Forfeiture. The original perimeter and ancient road lines were taken from an original map, made for Lieutenant-governor De Lancey and now in the possession of his grand-nephew, Edward F. De Lancey, Esqr.

This princely estate, which was confiscated by the People of the State of New York, as a punishment of its proprietor, because of his unyielding loyalty to his Sovereign, extended, *First*, from the corner of the Bowery and Division-street, along the line of the latter, to Clinton-street; along the latter nearly to Houston-street; thence, diagonally, to Orchard-street, a few feet above Rivington; thence, along Rivington-street to Houston; thence, diagonally, to Eldridge-street, below Stanton; thence to the Bowery, midway between Stanton and Houston-streets; thence, along the Bowery, to Division-street: and, *Second*, from the corner of Division and Montgomery-streets, along the line of the latter, to the East-river; thence, along the latter, around the Hook, to the foot of Grand-street; thence, along Grand and Division-steets, to the place of beginning.

This Map also includes the estate of Thomas Jones, Esq., which embraced all the lands between Division and Grand streets, on the South; Fifth-street, on the North, Clinton-street, on the West; and the East-river.]

VI.—*Map of part of the Stuyvesant Property, together with the other properties adjoining*, accurately made from old deeds, maps, & other reliable sources. Second edition.

[This map embraces property bounded as follows: Commencing at the present Bible-house, thence along the line of Stuyvesant-street, extended to the East-river, near Seventeenth-street; thence, along the river, to the corner of Fifth and Lewis-streets; thence to Orchard-street, near Rivington; thence to the Bowery, near Stanton; and thence to the place of beginning.

It embraces various estates, including the "Burnt Mill property," those of the "Lewis "Association," Pierre Van Courtlandt, Margaret and Nicholas Romaine, Samuel and Sarah Hallett, John, Philip, Henry, and Mangle Minthorne, Paulus and Vierte Banta, William Hillyer, Abraham Cock, and others.

The particular portion of "the Stuyvesant "property" embraced in this map, was formerly known as "The Bouwery Farm," to distinguish it from "The Petersfield Farm," to the northward of it—Map Number VII., post.

VII.—*Map of part of the Stuyvesant Property, known as the "Petersfield Farm," together with the adjoining properties formerly owned by C. T. Williams, Tompkins & Dunham, Thomas H. Smith, and others*, accurately made from reliable data.

[This map embraces property bounded as follows: From the Bible-house, along the line of Stuyvesant-street, to the East river, at Avenue C and Seventeenth-street; thence, along the river, to the foot of East Twenty-third street; thence to Broadway, near Twentieth-street; thence, along Broadway, to Union square; and, down the Fourth-avenue, to the Bible-house.

VIII.—*Second Edition. Map of Property formerly a part of the 12th Ward of the City of New York, belonging to the Estate of James A. Stewart, Deceased*, accurately made from Deeds recorded in the Register's Office.

[This was a small estate near Seventh avenue and Thirtieth-street.

The purpose of this map was the location of "Stewart-street," which had been so serious an obstacle to every conveyancer, for many years.

IX.—*Map of Rose-hill Farm, Gramercy Seat, and the Estate of John Watts.* Compiled from Maps in the Register's and Street Commissioner's Offices, together with private and reliable data.

[This map embraces properties bounded, on the East, by the East-river; on the North, by Thirtieth street; on the West, by the old Eastern Post-road and Broadway; and, on the South, by Nineteenth-street.

It was bounded, on the South, by the "Peters "field Farm," belonging to the Stuyvesant estate—Map, Number VII., ante; and, on the North, by the Kip's Bay Farm—Map Number XI., post.

X.—*Map of the "Murray Hill Farm," "Ogden Place Farm," Lawrence & Astor, Wiswell & Price, Corporation, Wm. Wright, John Taylor, and other property.* Accurately made from Maps on file in the Register's Office, Deeds on Record, and other reliable data.

[The estates laid down on this map are situated between the Eastern Post-road—near the line of Lexington-avenue—on the East, and Broadway, on the West; and between Thirtieth-street, on the South, and Forty-fourth-street, on the North: being bounded, on the East, by the Kip's Bay Farm—Map Number XI., post—and, on the South-east, by the Rose-hill Farm—Map, Number IX., ante.]

XI.—*Map of Kip's Bay Farm*, showing the original Farm lines, sub-divisions into Lots and Parcels, and the old Streets and the present

Streets and Avenues. Accurately plotted from the original Deeds and compared with the old Surveys.

[This Farm fronted on the East-river, from Twenty-sixth-street to Thirty-ninth, and extended, westward, to the Eastern Post-road, near the present line of Lexington-avenue.

It was bounded, on the South, by the Rose Hill Farm—Map Number IX.; on the West, by the Murray-hill Farm—Map Number X., ante; and, on the North, by the Turtle Bay Farm —Map Number XII., post.]

XII.—*Second Edition. Map of the Turtle Bay Farm and its Six subdivisions.* Accurately plotted from the field-notes of Surveys, made in the year 1820, by John Randall, Jr., City Surveyor.

[This Farm fronted on the East-river, from Thirty-ninth-street to Forty-ninth; and extended, westward, to the old Eastern Post-road, near the line of Third-avenue.

It was bounded, on the South, by the Kip's Bay Farm—Map Number XI., ante; and, on the North, by the Beekman Estate—Map No. XIII.]

XIII.—*Map of the James W. Beekman, Catharine Livingston, Brevoort & Odell, Spring Valley, Thomas Buchanan, Thomas C. Pearsall, Mount Vernon, and Abraham and William Beekman Estates.* Accurately made from the most reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, November, 1870.

[The properties embraced in this map extend from about a hundred feet South from the foot of Forty-ninth-street, along the bank of the East-river, to one hundred feet North from Sixty-third-street; thence, by an irregular line, to the corner of Sixty-fifth-street and Fourth-avenue; thence to a point about a hundred feet below Sixty-third-street; thence to the Old Post-road, near the corner of Sixty-second-street and Second-avenue; thence along the Old Post-road, nearly to Fifty-ninth-street; thence to the corner of Third-avenue and Sixtieth-street; thence along the Avenue, to Fifty-second-street; thence, including the lots fronting on the West side of the Avenue, to Fiftieth-street; thence nearly to Lexington-avenue; thence, by an irregular line, to the place of beginning. The Turtle-bay property—Map No. XII., ante—bounds them, on the South; and the Estates of the Widow Hardenbrook and Peter Sawyer—Map No. XIV., post—on the North.

The Map includes notes of the conveyances when the several estates were sold; with the names of the several purchasers and the parcels purchased by each.]

XIV.—*Map of the Louvre Farm*, showing its original perimeter, its division, by partition, into six parcels, and the subsequent division, by partition, of four of these parcels. Also the Widow Hardenbrook and the Peter Sawyer Farms. Accurately made, from the most reliable data.

[This Farm, the property of Isaac Jones, fronted on the East-river, from below Sixty-fourth-street to Seventy-fourth; and extended back to the Third-avenue—including the grand old "Jones's Woods," so well known to all New Yorkers of twenty years ago.

It was bounded, on the South, by the Beekman Estate—Map No. XIII—and, on the North, by the Riker Estate.]

XV.—*Map of that part of the Harlem Commons East of the Fifth-Avenue & Central Park.* Copied from the Original map made by Joseph F. Bridges, City Surveyor, January, 1826, now in possession of a gentleman who purchased it through A. R. Morgan, Esqr., from Mr. Bridges, showing also the boundaries given by Charles Clinton, Surveyor, December, 1825, and the inaccuracies of both the above-named maps, with other important information, by J. B. Holmes, Civil Engineer & City Surveyor, May, 1871.

[The property included in this Map was bounded, from Seventy-fourth to Eightieth-streets, by the East-river; nearly along Eightieth-street to the First-avenue; thence, diagonally, to Ninety-sixth-street, near the Fifth-avenue; thence, along Fifth-avenue, to seventy-five feet below Eighty-seventh-street; and thence, diagonally, to the East-river, at the place of beginning.

This map contains, also, the Dongan Charter of New Harlem; notes of the different conveyances of property on Harlem-Common, by Dudley Selden; a note on the respective surveys of the Common, by Clinton and Bridges; and outline sketches of Estates of the Protestant Episcopal Charity School, Mr. Lawrence, and Richard Riker.]

XVI.—*Map of the Third Avenue Tract, formerly the property of Benjamin P. Benson and Doctor P. Van Arsdale*, accurately made, from the most reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, July 29, 1873.

[This Map embraces the old farm of Peter Benson, of whom Benjamin was the son and Doctor Van Arsdale the son-in-law.

It extended from the Fifth-avenue and One hundred and sixth-street, eastward to the First-avenue; thence, diagonally, along Roosevelt-lane, to the "Old Harlem-road," near One hundred and seventeenth-street and Lexington-avenue; thence, along that road to near One hundred and ninth-street and Fifth-avenue; and thence, to the place of beginning.

It embraces the pond and the ancient creek known as Marretje Davit's Vly; and the Map contains notes of the different conveyances, to Benjamin P. Benson; and his various conveyances to others.]

XVII.—*Map of the Benson and Vredenburgh*

Farm, accurately made from reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, C. E. and City Surveyor, April, 1873.

[This property commences at the old "Mill "Creek," at the corner of One hundred and eleventh-street and Fifth-avenue; thence, along that ancient water-course, to One hundred and twentieth-street, midway between the Fifth and Sixth-avenues; thence to the "Old Kingsbridge-"road," to the northward of One hundred and twenty-first-street; thence, in an irregular line, along that old road, the "Harlem-lane," and the "Old road to Harlem," to the place of beginning.

The map contains elaborate notes on the title of Peter Poillion to this estate, and a list of the several conveyances, by him and his wife, when it was sold; and, because of its minute description of the ancient roads, in the vicinity of Harlem, it is important to antiquaries and those who are engaged in historical inquiries.]

XVIII.—*Map of property in Harlem, formerly belonging to Charles Henry Hall, together with adjoining Properties, accurately made from the most reliable data*, by J. B. Holmes, C. E., & City Surveyor, January 1, 1874.

[The property included in this map extends from Harlem-river, at Harlem-bridge, along the bank of that river, to One hundred and forty-first-street; thence, diagonally, to Seventh-avenue and One hundred and thirty-sixth-street; thence, along Seventh-avenue, to One hundred and thirty-third-street; thence, diagonally, to the Old Kingsbridge-road, at One hundred and thirtieth-street; thence, diagonally, along the Harlem and Kingsbridge-road, to One hundred and twenty-fourth-street, near Fifth-avenue; thence, along the said Street, to Fifth-avenue; and thence, diagonally, to the place of beginning.

The map contains, also, notes of conveyances to and from Charles H. Hall, and of various errors in the records.]

XIX.—*Map of the Franklin & Robinson, Janet De Kay, Henry Eckford, Mary Clarke, & Clement C. Moore Estates.* Accurately made from reliable data by John Bute Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, November, 1869.

[The estates described in this map, extend along the exterior line, on the North-river, from Nineteenth to Twenty-eighth-streets; thence, along the latter Street, to the Tenth-avenue; thence, to Ninth-avenue, seventy-five feet North of Twenty-eighth-street; thence, southerly, about two hundred feet; thence to the old Fitzroy-road—Twenty-seventh-street near Eighth-avenue; thence, along that old road, nearly to Twenty-ninth-street; thence, easterly, to Twenty-ninth-street, about two hundred feet easterly from the Seventh-avenue; thence, nearly parallel with the Seventh-avenue, to Twenty-first-street; thence along the latter Street to the Fitzroy-road, near the Eighth avenue; thence, along the Fitzroy-road, to Nineteenth-street; and thence, along the latter Street, to the place of beginning.

This map contains, also, memoranda of the conveyances by James De Kay, Charles P. Clinch, Francis R. Tillou, &c., &c., Executors of Henry Eckford; of the Partition of the Mary Clarke Property; and of the conveyances of the Franklin and Robinson Estate, by Elbert Haring, Master in Chancery.

The courses of the Fitzroy and the Abingdon-roads are laid down on this map, making it peculiarly interesting to antiquaries.

XX.—*Map of the Glass house farm. Also the Schroepple, Ray, and other Estates, Down to the Franklin & Robinson, and the Widow Mary Clarke and Thomas B. Clarke.* Accurately made, from reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, Civil Engineer and City Surveyor, January, 1873.

[The estates embraced in this map extend from the Hudson-river, on the West, to the old Fitzroy-road, near the Eighth-avenue, on the East; and from Twenty-eighth to Forty second streets.

They are bounded, on the South, by the Estates of Thomas B. and Mary Clarke; on the East, by the Estates of Franklin and Robinson—Map No. XIX., ante; William J. and James A. Stewart—Map No. VIII., ante; Jacob S. Arden, Samuel Osgood, and Isaac Moses; and, on the North, by the Hermitage Farm—Map No. XXI., post.

The map contains notes of conveyances by George Rapelje and wife, Susanna Elizabeth Rapelje, the Chemical Manufacturing Co., the Trustees of Esther Nelson, Richard Pennel and Henry W. Schroeppel and their wives, and David S. Jones and wife, together with a description of the forged titles, to Ann Smith, which were made by one Skidmore, in January, 1835.]

XXI.—*Map of the Hermitage Farm and the Norton Estate.* Compiled from authentic data, by John Bute Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, November, 1872.

[This is the old Leake Estate, extending, from Forty-second street, near Twelfth-avenue, along the North-river, to Forty-eighth-street; thence to the Bloomingdale-road, near Forty-third-street; thence, along that road, to Thirty ninth-street; thence, along the latter Street, nearly to Ninth-avenue; thence, northerly, to the middle of the block, between Fortieth and Forty first-streets; thence, westerly, in an irregular line, to the place of beginning.

This map presents the courses of the old Lake tour and the old Fitzroy-roads; and contains an abstract of the title to the Hermitage Farm, as well as a list of the purchasers from Norton.]

The map of the Rutger Estate is nearly ready and will materially increase the value of this series of surveys, both to antiquaries and members of the Bar.

Our readers will perceive, from this description of them, the exact character of these Maps, as well as their very great importance.

They are very handsomely executed, both in the engraving and the coloring; and, if we do not mistake, they may be purchased either single or in complete sets, from the Publisher, Mr. Holmes, 39 Nassau-street, opposite the Post-office, New York City.

Our Exchanges—*Continued.*—We continue the notices of our various exchanges, commenced in our last; and, in our next number, we shall extend our attention to the very few newspapers which we have cared to exchange with.

—*Harpers' New Monthly Magazine*, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, at Four dollars per annum, is now in its forty-eighth volume; and is the most profusely illustrated of American monthlies. Without pretending to be very profound or very philosophical, in its teachings, it is, nevertheless, one of the best, for general reading in the family; and its enormous circulation makes it one of the best known.

—*The Phrenological Journal and Life Illustrated*, published by Samuel R. Wells, New York, monthly, at three dollars per year, is a really excellent work, devoted to Science, Literature, and General Intelligence, and richly deserves the extended support which it enjoys. It is peculiarly interesting to all who have brains which they care for, to all who are not ashamed to look another in the face or be looked at by him, to all who are interested in the Natural History of Man and to all whose life is worth preserving, whose children are worth a decent training, and whose wives are worth being cared for. It is well edited, well illustrated, well printed; and our old friend Wells is eminently entitled to all the prosperity he enjoys.

—*The Science of Health*, a new monthly devoted to health on Hygienic Principles, published by Samuel R. Wells, New York, at Two dollars per annum, is a very useful work to all who are interested either in their own good health or that of others; and, although many will not concur in *all* that it contains, all will find *much* in it, which they may usefully read and profitably practice. It is illustracted with appropriate cuts: and it is very neatly printed.

—*St. Nicholas. Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys. Conducted by Mary Mapes Dodge.* Published by Scribner & Co., New York. A new condidate for the favor of the little folks, "girls and boys;" and one which appears to be well adapted for its peculiar mission. It contains articles by several well-known authors; is well printed; and its illustrations are abundant, appropriate, and beautiful specimens of wood-engraving. Altogether, it is full of promise; and our knowledge of its publishers is a sufficient guarantee, to us, that it will be just what it promises.

P. S.—The *first* number was sent to us, and we penned the above notice of the work: as no other number has reached us, we suppose the Magazine was too good to be well received, in this frivolous age, and so was not continued. So we go.

—*Wood's Household Magazine.* New York City and Newburgh, N. Y. Monthly. Octavo, pp. 48. Price $1. per year.

Several numbers of this interesting monthly have been sent to us; and we have looked over them, carefully. It is evidently edited with good judgment; and the spirit of its articles is unexceptionable. It does not pretend, we believe, to be a religious periodical; but many of its articles are eminently religious, in their teachings, and all of them, as far as we have seen them, are such as may profitably find readers in every family. In short, we consider it one of the very best of the smaller periodicals, for family reading; and we do not hesitate to admit it into our own family.

We have also received from the same office, a copy of a very beautiful chromo of *The Yosemite Valley*, which is supplied, as a premium, to subscribers of the Magazine for two subscriptions or subscriptions for two years. We have seldom seen a landscape which has been more faithfully copied, in the finer details; and we do not hesitate to pronounce it a perfect little gem.

—*The Sunday Dispatch*, published by Everett & Hincken, Philadelphia, at Two dollars and sixty cents per year, is an excellent weekly, devoted to Philadelphia and her interests, and widely circulated. It is important to us and to all collectors of local histories, because of *A History of Philadelphia*, from the pen of our friend, Thomas Westcott, which is being published in it. It has already extended to upwards of three hundred Chapters; and Philadelphia may well be proud of her historian, who is able and willing to present her annals.

THE

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I.—*REMINISCENCES OF THE MEXICAN WAR.*

By General E. P. Scammon, U. S. A.

In passing up the Fifth Avenue, during a recent visit to New York, our attention was directed to the monument raised in honor of a noted soldier, who has long been numbered with the dead heroes of almost forgotten wars. We were not disposed to question the justice of a sentiment which found expression in this noble cenotaph; though we could not but ask —"Where is the public monument to the older "and greater soldier, the master in war, and, "through all his life of usefulness, the active "patron of him whose deeds are here commem- "orated?" We know of one which filial piety gave to the memory of a noble father; but we know of none raised in honor of the man who, when a whole country lay dejected by defeat, inaugurated victory; who, by a wise discretion, saved the nation from war, when even successful war had been disaster; who, when age began to tell upon his strength, led our armies to victory, in a foreign land, though means for waging war were given grudgingly, lest the too successful *General* might prove a dangerous rival in the field of politics, at home. We asked ourselves, why some great men are so soon forgotten. The memory of their deeds may live, and their record may fill the brightest page of a country's history; while their names, if not buried in oblivion, live in connexion with their foibles, rather than by the memory of their achievements. It is the fate of some men to have few points of contact with the age in which they live. To them, merit is rarely conceded, save for selfish ends. Urgent necessity, alone, can give them power; and, that allayed, the greedy world hastens to decry their claims to greatness, lest greatness should gain reward.

We have long purposed to contribute to our country's history, one brief chapter which has remained, till now, unwritten. While the parties here mentioned were living, one would naturally shrink from heralding their claims to honor; and, now that they have passed away, we would not be unmindful of the words—"*de mortuis nil nisi bonum;*" but, when justice to the wronged implies the reproach of others, should justice be withheld?

The little that we purpose to write may not demand so long a preface; which may mislead the reader to expect some wondrous revelation; but we cannot enter upon the record without this brief reference to motives and restraints.

It was our fortune, in early life, to become acquainted with General Scott. In the Winter of 1846-7, we joined him, at Brazos Santiago, and, for a time, made one of his military family. Much of his correspondence passed under our eyes; and what we write became known to us, as the copyist of his letters and the witness of whatever else we here record, beyond what has before been published. We are not professing to write the history of our War with Mexico, nor to discuss the merits of its cause. A reference to both, is but the revival of recollections pertaining to our subject.

Sundry adventurers, for the most part Americans, who, under certain conditions, changed their nationality to colonize the Mexican territory of Texas, had declared their independence of the parent State, and confirmed the declaration by force of arms. Whether they were justified by wrongs imposed by their Mexican rulers, is not here discussed. We only state the fact of their recognition, as an independent State, by the principal maritime powers, and their subsequent annexation, by formal Treaty, to the United States. Mexico declared the river Nueces to be the western boundary of Texas; and attempted to enforce her sovereignty over the country lying between that river and the Rio Grande del Norte. To repel a threatened invasion of this territory, the United States, during the Winter of 1845-6, assembled a considerable body of troops, at Corpus Christi, on the Texan coast. Early in the following Spring, this force advanced to Brazos Santiago, and established an intrenched camp, at Point Isabel. Actual war began with the combats of the eighth and ninth of May, 1846. The close of that year, found our forces, under General Taylor, in possession of the Brazos and the line of the Rio Grande, to Monterey and

Saltillo. But, as far as *conquering a Peace* was concerned, the battles, won with such credit to the bravery of the General and his little army, might as well have been fought upon the islands of the sea. The head of the War Department, in all but name, the *head* of the Administration, was restive under fruitless victories. The glories of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey served to silence opposition, while the shouts of victory lasted; but, barren of results, could scarce survive their echo. Something more than victories must be gained to save *the party* from disgrace. Their ablest statesman was alive to this necessity; and his measures proved his shrewdness equal to its exigence. How they were taken, is what we have to tell.

Some years after the Mexican War was ended, and its recriminations had become dead issues, —long after the conquered Peace was found to consist of California, New Mexico, and Democratic succession in the Presidency—we chanced, in Florida, to meet this astute statesman, under circumstances of unrestraint. Knowing our *quondam* relations to General Scott, he seemed more than willing to discuss the recent War and its events. Since then, we have sometimes witnessed what soldiers call "*making history;*" but how the history *makers* were managed, from behind the scenes, we might sometimes chance to guess, but never had been told. After the lapse of more than twenty years, we do not pretend to recall precise words and phrases, though they seemed stereotyped in memory; and what may have been the motive of the revelation, beyond the pleasure which old soldiers take "to fight their battles o'er again," we now, as then, but guess.

"Scott"—said he—"thought I opposed his "going to Mexico. But, in fact, I sent him there. "It required some management; but I saw that, "while Taylor was brave enough, and had been "successful in fighting the Mexicans, he was "not equal to directing the more extended opera- "tions which the War demanded. I told the "President that some one of more ability must "conduct the War, or the Administration "would be disgraced. In short, that Scott "must take command of the Army in the field. "The President opposed me. 'It would never "'do.—It would end in making Scott President "'of the United States!' I replied, that "failure in prosecuting the War would ruin "the Administration and the party; for "the country would certainly ascribe our dis- "comfiture to jealousy of the General-in-chief. "If anything would make him President, that "would, unquestionably, do it. But then, "'Benton would disapprove; and, if he opposed "'us in the Senate, we were almost powerless. "'No, it would never do.' After much discus- "sion, the President yielded, very reluctantly, "subject to the assent of Colonel Benton. On "suggesting the matter to him, it was again met "by the same objection.—'It would make Scott "'President and destroy the Democratic party.' "'Well,' said I, 'we have no other resource. "'We cannot, without ostensible reasons, set "'him aside for a younger man; and, I think, "' we need not have much fear of the result "'you apprehend. Let him go to Mexico and "'get affairs *in train;* and, before the War is end- "'ed, we can easily take the wind out of *his* sails. "'We might send a Lieutenant-general to "'supersede him. You are a military man: "'How would you like to go, yourself?' 'O, "'he had no ambition in that direction.' But "the bait was taken."

"But," we replied, 'you actually introduced a "Bill to create the office, or rank, of Lieutenant- "general; and, as was supposed, with the pur- "pose of appointing Colonel Benton." "O, "yes, we had to introduce the Bill; but I took "good care that it should never get through "Congress!"

How far this care would have been effectual, if unaided by the earnest protest of other men, it is now impossible to know. The essential change in the Bill, before its passage, enabled the Government to offer Colonel Benton only the rank of a Major-general; which, under the existing law, would have placed him in subordination to General Scott. It was, therefore, declined; and the demolition of political aspirations, on the part of the commanding General, was left to the chapter of subsequent events.

Between Scott and Benton, though of opposite parties, the political manager could find little ground of choice. Both were alike impracticable. In fact, the passage of *the Bill,* as first proposed, would have been almost as great an embarrassment as the War itself. The Secretary knew his subjects, well. He did not underrate their power; but, knowing how to utilize it, he made their strength his own.t I was a happy conception to gain credit to the Administration for increase of territory—"ex- "tending the area of freedom"—and the re- dress of national wrong! while getting rid of both. So Colonel Benton strengthened the Government while awaiting what never came; and General Scott assumed command of the army in Mexico, *to conquer a Peace.*

The commanding General reached the Brazos about the end of December and awaited the arrival of troops and transports, ordnance, and other *material* of war, which came so tardily as to provoke impatience and distrust. He had started for the seat of war, in full assurance of

prompt and vigorous support, only to find his measures thwarted by disappointments and delay. To those cognizant of the correspondence between the General and the War Department, the lack of mutual confidence became but too apparent. While one party chafed under imposed restraints, the other was worried by conflicting fears. On one hand, protracted and unsuccessful war entailed disgrace: on the other, rapid and brilliant conquests might dangerously exalt their author in popular esteem. Hence, while censuring delay, "*festina lente*," became the more appropriate motto of the War Department. The Government, as well as some of the military commanders, seemed to regard the War only as affecting party ends, at home. In war, justified by the pretense of vindicating the national honor and redressing wrong, the South might think to gain a wider field for negro slavery. Adventurers, both North and South, and all to whom any change was gain, were fain to hope that through California and New Mexico lay that easy road to fortune which is ever the dream of indolence and unthrift. Then, war once declared, to fight was patriotism! and they who made the war must needs be patriots. The charms of conquest would strengthen their hold of power. To gain it, and ignore the conqueror, was, then, the problem to be solved. It was a game in which the stakes were patronage and the Presidency. To this extent, all parties saw alike. Where the game ended, when the stakes were won, was quite another question; which the able manager, at Washington, proposed and answered, before a move was made. The right or wrong of playing with the selfish aspirations of friend and foe, as means to attain a necessary end, we leave for others to decide. That he believed the War was just—demanded by the bad faith and aggressive acts of Mexico—we do not doubt. That, finding himself embarrassed in the administration of the War Department, by the jealousies of political opponents and the rivalries of friends, he gave opportunity to accusations of bad faith, we know; but it has always seemed to us that, while loyal to his political party, he *foresaw*, rather than created, the means of thwarting the ulterior designs of both. And yet, there is abundant evidence that the Administration did not, from the commencement of General Scott's campaign, intend that he should bring the War to a close. Those in the confidence of the President were under the belief that the organization of the invading army and the taking of Vera Cruz would terminate the service of the commanding General, in Mexico. The extraordinary delay of transports and vessels laden with the surf-boats, for landing troops, and the necessary *material* for conducting a siege threatened to make the capture of that city and its fortress the end of the campaign.

Though the troops destined for the invasion of Mexico were assembled at the Brazos and Tampico, by the middle of January, it was not until the fifteenth of February that the General was enabled to set sail. Touching at Tampico, he reviewed the command of General Twiggs, and prepared the General Orders announcing the organization of his Army, and directed to the preservation of its *morale*, while in the enemy's country. He reached the Island of Lobos, sixty miles South of Tampico, on the twenty-first. Worth's command sailed from Brazos, on the twenty fifth. Twiggs embarked from Tampico, on the twenty-eighth. On the second of March, most of the transports having arrived at Lobos, the General Orders, prepared at Tampico, were published to the Army; and the fleet got under way for Anton Lizardo—a point some twelve miles South of Vera Cruz. The fleet numbered about one hundred vessels. Four of this number were left at Lobos, under special instructions, to await the arrival of missing vessels.

On the sixth, the General, accompanied by the Division and Brigade Commanders, Commodore Connor, and other officers of the Navy, and sundry officers of the Staff and Staff Corps, went on board the captured Steamer *Petrita*, for the *ostensible* purpose of reconnoitering the coast North of Vera Cruz. The *real* object was to leave the enemy in doubt as to the place of landing; which the General had already determined should be made at a point nearly opposite the island of Sacrificios, South of the city. Of some thirty officers on board the *Petrita*, but six or seven are now living. Some of the party have played conspicuous parts on larger fields than those of Mexico—most notably, *Lee*, *Jo. Johnston*, *Meade*, and *Beauregard*.

The reconnoissance, at one time, threatened to prove a disaster. The course of the Steamer lay between coral reefs, which brought her within range of the heavy guns of San Juan de Ulloa. As the boats of the squadron had repeatedly made the passage, without molestation from the guns of the castle, the naval commander supposed it beyond their reach. It was impossible to change the Steamer's course, until the passage was cleared; and, for a few minutes, the commanders of both Army and Navy, their Lieutenants, and the chief officers of the Staff and Staff Corps, became a target to the batteries of San Juan. Some of their missiles passed astern; some athwart the bows of the Steamer; and one just cleared the wheel-house. Happily, the vessel was soon beyond the range of the Mexican guns, or the Army would have

been left without Generals and the fleet without a Commodore; and, perhaps, Bull's Run and Gettysburg would now have no significance beyond the designation of a muddy streamlet and a country village. To attempt the passage was an act of gross rashness or more criminal carelessness, because unnecessary for attaining the end proposed.

On the ninth, the troops of Worth's command were transferred to Navy-vessels and Steamers; and, the British, French, and Spanish Squadrons having been advised that the space between the island of Sacrificios and the shore would be required by the American war-vessels and transports, the whole fleet moved up to that anchorage, and the landing was effected, without opposition. By the twelfth of the month, despite the occurrence of unfavorable weather, the troops were in position, and the Engineers busily engaged in examining the ground and establishing batteries. Operations were delayed by the occurrence of a violent gale, which prevented the landing of ordnance, and in which some of the transports were driven ashore. On the twenty-second, seven ten-inch mortars and one or two guns being in position, the surrender of the place was formally demanded. Captain Joseph E. Johnston, of the Topographical Engineers, was bearer of the summons. Accompanied by Mr. Cox, a gentleman well versed in the Spanish language, as interpreter, and by a white flag, borne by a diminutive trumpeter mounted on a very tall horse, not unworthy the name of "Rosinanti," the gallant soldier advanced toward the walls and sounded *the Parley*. Our camp was behind a ridge of sand-hills, South of the town; and we remember that curiosity, excited by what seemed so like the *gesta* of Knights, in the olden time, led many of our comrades to climb to the summit of the ridge, to witness the novel spectacle of summoning a walled city to surrender. The General could not restrain his impatience to await the return of his messenger; but, accompanied by his Aides and the Surgeon-general, he rode along the beach, to meet him. The answer was "*the only one consistent with the honor of the gar-*"*rison.*" The General did not expect a surrender at his demand; but the prompt refusal, followed by a shot from the town, by way of defiance, seemed to rouse all the combativeness of his nature. Turning to one of his Aides, he exclaimed—"Ride to the batteries, as fast as "possible, and order them to commence firing! "If they don't open within five minutes, I shall "feel eternally disgraced!"—and so the ball opened.

To most of those engaged, the work that then began was like the realization of a dream. Vera Cruz was the only walled city they had ever seen. The quick flash and booming sound of cannon, the shriek of shot and shells, had all the interest of novelty; though, at times, it might be hard to persuade ourselves that what was passing, was other than the artillery and mortar-practice, so often witnessed on the banks of the Hudson. Indeed, the casualties were so few as to seem the result of accident rather than hostility.

On the fifth day of the bombardment, a Memorial was received from the English, French, Spanish, and Prussian Consuls, in Vera Cruz, asking a *truce*, to enable them and the women and children of the city to retire. Due notice of the investment and of the purpose to bombard the town had been given. The blockade had been left open to Consuls and other neutrals, up to the twenty-second of the month; and safeguards had been offered to enable them to pass our lines. It was manifest that they, advised of the slender means at hand, for prosecuting the siege, had chosen to remain and give the Mexicans the moral support of their presence. The experience of a few days awakened "sentiments of humanity," that, before, were dormant. Now, they "supposed the "American General did not purpose to make war "on neutrals, or upon women and children!" "By no means!" said the General; "but all "that was duly considered, and ample time and "opportunity to leave the city was afforded. "You chose to remain. You now want to go "out, to enable our enemies to prolong a hope-"less defense, only *to augment our casualties*. We "too, have women and children, who are liable "to be made widows and orphans by the resist-"ance which you have encouraged. You shall "remain where you are; and I will receive no "more proposals from the town, not made with "a view to its surrender."

General Landero had now succeeded General Morales, in the command of Vera Cruz. On the morning of the twenty-sixth, the new commander proposed to surrender the place. Generals Worth and Pillow and Colonel Totten, Chief Engineer, were appointed Commissioners, on the part of General Scott. They met the Mexican Commissioners, near an old Lime-Kiln, between our camp and the town. The conference lasted until night; when the Commissioners returned and made their report. Nothing had been concluded. "Well, General," said Worth, "they are "only trying to gain time. They expect forces "to come to their aid and compel us to raise "the siege, or else to keep us back, by *dilly-*"*dallying*, until the yellow fever does it for them. "They don't mean to surrender! You will be "obliged to take the town by assault." "What "did they say? Did they make no proposi-"tion?" replied Scott. "Oh! they drew up some

"propositions, which I declined to receive. I "told them it was quite useless to propose "*terms*: they would not be entertained. I did, "however, consent to receive a paper which they "were anxious to have submitted to you. But "I told them it was useless. It is understood "that if nothing is received from you, in the "meantime, the fire of the batteries will re-open, "at six o'clock to-morrow morning. Here is "the paper: it is only a *ruse*, to gain time." "Well, Gentlemen," said the General, "we can "do no more, to-night. We must all have "sleep. Good night!" and the Commissioners retired.

We were seated near the General's tent, as Worth passed out. He halted, for a moment, and said, "Well, Mr. ———, it is just as I ex- "pected. The Mexicans are only trying to gain "time. We have the game in our own hands; "but, I am afraid it will end in a *muss*. We "ought to assault the place, to-morrow morning. "I am ready to do it, with my command; as I "have just told General Scott. I am afraid it "will be deferred until it is too late. I wash my "hands of it." He was hardly out of hearing when General Scott appeared at the opening of his tent. "Is General Worth gone? Call Mr "———, and ——. I want you all! Now let "us see what the Mexican gentlemen have to "say for themselves?" The paper was found to contain *six propositions*, as a basis of Convention between the contending parties. They were substantially as follows: The Mexican forces to evacuate the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa and the forts Santiago and Conception. The garrisons, retaining their arms, to salute their flag, and, with drums beating and colors flying, retire to the interior, by the *Camino Real*. Non-combatants and neutrals to be protected in persons and property. Churches and religious houses to be protected. The inhabitants to be secured in the free exercise of their religion.

On hearing this paper read, the general was both surprised and annoyed. He, at once, declared it quite evident that the Mexican Commander wanted but the appearance of terms, before making a surrender. "And now," said he, "I am obliged to override the action of my "Commissioners, or be responsible for the lives "of two or three thousand men, who would in- "evitably be destroyed in taking the place by "assault. How could they help seeing that the "garrison only wanted an excuse, to surrender?" And then he wrote out a reply to the propositions, thus informally presented. The terms set forth in this reply differed from the original demand only *in accepting the surrender of the Castle of San Juan with the city*. The town and all its defenses were to be surrendered. The garrisons of the several forts were to march out, with their arms and colors; pile them at a point designated; formally surrender, as prisoners of war; and be paroled. The protection of private persons and property, churches and religious houses, was formally guaranteed. The General was careful to note that all this was virtually implied in his original demand. Thus the *terms* offered, were precisely what would have been observed had no stipulations been made. The *form* of Convention was granted to the pride of the garrison, while, in fact, it was a surrender at discretion.

The Articles of Capitulation were signed and exchanged on the night of the twenty seventh. At ten o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-ninth, the Army marched into the city. As the General, with his escort, passed along the beach, in view of the fleet, its guns thundered forth a grand salute; and cheer after cheer was given by the crews who manned the yards and lined the bulwarks of the ships. Vera Cruz, with its great fortress, was ours. About *five thousand prisoners of war, six thousand stands of arms, five hundred pieces of artillery, the possession of the city and its Castle, the two forts of Conception and Santiago, together with the only valuable port on the Gulf-coast of Mexico,—the key to the country and its capital—were the immediate results of the Siege of Vera Cruz*: and, knowing, as we do, every step in its history, from its inception to its close, the inherent difficulties, and the embarrassments arising from jealousy, indiscretion, and bad faith, we can recall no great achievement in war, which may, with equal justice, be ascribed to the General in command.

It seemed almost incredible, that so strong a place had really surrendered to our little army. But, as we entered the town, all wonder ceased. A considerable part of the city was in ruins. On some of the streets, most exposed to our batteries, one saw only fragments of wall, standing amidst heaps of stone and mortar, to mark where buildings stood, before the siege began. On entering the great fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, which makes, at once, the port and its defense, the soundness of judgment which directed the mode of attack, was fully demonstrated. It was almost uninjured. A single dismounted gun, of all its mighty armament, was the only evidence of injury. But a few years had elapsed since this Castle of San Juan had been captured by a French fleet, a part of which was commanded by the Prince de Joinville, whose success was due to the accidental explosion of a magazine, as well as to the apathy and disaffection of the garrison. Its gray walls showed, here and there, a slight abrasion: but neither the French nor the American batteries had done them serious injury; but when the city and its forts—Santiago and Conception—

had succumbed, the reduction of the Castle became a certainty; and further resistance, without hope of succor, could only assure the speedy destruction of the town and its defenses. General Scott was so well assured of this, that, wishing "to spare their beautiful city," his first demand was limited to its surrender; and was coupled with a pledge not to construct batteries within its limits, nor to employ its guns against the Castle of San Juan. The Mexican commander fully comprehended the situation; and when the surrender of the town became a necessity, he gave up its fortress as untenable.

The day before the victorious army entered Vera Cruz, we expressed some apprehension of rudeness or irreverence in churches or to other monuments of religion—an occurence which could not fail to provoke the resentment of the inhabitants, and give color to the assertions of their unprincipled chiefs, that we were a nation of heretics, and warring against their religion. "Well thought of!"—said the General—"I "place all the churches and convents under "your charge. You may post sentinels before "every one; and I will hold you responsible "for their protection from insult or injury."

A few days after the surrender, a small vessel, partly laden with ice and other commodities likely to find a ready market among soldiers, in the first flush of victory, entered the port. Consequent upon this arrival, the General invited the Division and Brigade Commanders, and the chiefs of the several Staff-departments, to a *Symposion*, at Head-quarters. We were the only junior officer present, and, of course, played the part of respectful listener. The conversation, very naturally, turned from recent events to past experiences. Several of the party had been the General's companions-in-arms, in what was yet called "*The last War*"—in 1812–14. It was by direct questions, rather than by suggesting the subject, that he was led "to fight "his battles o'er again." Queenstown Heights and Chippewa were fully discussed; and many interesting incidents of personal experience rehearsed. There was no boasting, either in language or manner; nor a display of that more offensive phase of pride, which challenges applause by aping humility. A General could not as well describe events of which he was the author, as if he had played no part therein. That were the play of Hamlet without a Prince of Denmark. All knew that he was invited to describe the incidents of what had long been part of history. Yet we remember seeing glances exchanged, between Worth, and Pillow, and one or two others, that plainly told the motive of their seeming interest; and that the fling of "*egotism and vanity*" would follow the narrative, so frankly given, at their own request.

When the guests had left the palace, the General seemed annoyed at some slight indication of *nervousness* on our part; and turning, in his walk across the room, said, "Young "gentleman! I hope, I sincerely hope, that "you do not think me quite so great a *fool*, as "not to know that I sometimes say silly things." To this we answered—"You have said nothing "silly—nothing that could have been left un-"said, without real or apparent affectation. "But I was annoyed, because I knew the sub-"ject of conversation was introduced for a "purpose, by those who are not your friends." "Stop, sir!" said the General, "You shall not "make use of your position to prejudice me "against others." "I do not wish to do so," we answered, "but I know, as you have often "told me, that 'an Aide-de-camp, should be "'eyes and ears to his General;' and I have "told you the truth."

As soon as means of transportation could be obtained—for the supply of draught animals, as of every thing else, was insufficient—the order of march towards Jalapa was issued. The Division of General Twiggs was given the advance. A few hours after the publication of the Order, General Worth was announced. He entered with an air that told the character of his errand, before a word was spoken. When he did speak, it was in these words: "I have "come, General, to ask a question, if I may be "permitted to do so." "Certainly!" "It is, "why am I to be disgraced?" General Scott replied, with much deliberation, "I will not "affect ignorance of your meaning; but, General "Worth! I have been too long your friend to "be suspected of a desire to do you an injustice. "Nor will I be unjust to others. It *would* be "unjust to the rest of this army, to allow your "command always to have the advances. Others "should have opportunities as well as you; and "I will not do an injustice to please my best "friend." Worth muttered some disjointed sentences, to the effect that his command felt that they had been degraded; but, really, could make no reply. He went away, evidently dissatisfied. Vexed that he could not always have the post of honor, and angry at knowing himself to be in the wrong, he never forgave it. It was a notable example of that worst phase of human selfishness,—that makes it easier for some natures to forgive a wrong received, than the *occasion* of their own wrong-doing. How far other influences than selfish greed of distinction were then at work, in the mind of Worth, we do not know; but it is very certain that, consciously or unconsciously, he then commenced the work which made part of the political programme of the Administration—*to vanquish the victor.*

Perhaps no profession or calling in life affords a better field for the study of human nature, in its selfish aspects, than that of arms. The politician may afford, like Cæsar, to refuse a regal crown, only to assure its coming. The soldier *glories* in his greed for honor—without it, the world deems him too *tame* for the eager strifes of war. We have had but one Washington; and of him a poet has said, half sneeringly,

"*Nature designed thee for a hero's mould,*
"*But ere she cast thee, let the stuff grow cold.*"

We applaud the soldier who perils his life for honor; but he must be imbued with loyalty to truth. A stern *sense* of honor must go with him, or he becomes only a trickster or a hired assassin.

We remember that, after there had been a decision of some question relating to service, in which Pillow was interested, this favorite of President Polk seemed almost overcome with admiration of the commanding General. Whether its expression was given with a view to its reaching the ears of the General, we cannot say; but we cannot forget the effusion with which he declared—"I'll be the friend of General Scott, as long as I live!" Only a few months had passed, when it became patent to the world that he was so thoroughly faithless to his commander, that nothing but utter insignificance could shield him from the weight of infamy due to his intrigues and false pretensions. He, too, could correspond with the Government, without the *vizé* of the commanding General; and aid the work of "*taking the wind out of his sails.*"

We have not hesitated to name these Generals, because their combined enmity became matter of official record; and their determined bitterness was only commensurate with the life-long obligations of the one, and the professions of grateful friendship which both so loudly proclaimed, until hostility promised larger rewards. Both knew the unfriendliness toward General Scott, of those holding the reins of government; and safely trusted to its protecting ægis, when self-interest might conflict with duty. In a large army, small cabals of grumblers may be of little weight; but, in small commands, where the chiefs are few in number and in constant, familiar intercourse, such *cliques* assume proportions almost of mutiny. But when rulers, eager to seize some pretext to rob a commander of his laurels, lend willing ears to the clamors of discontented selfishness—the greed for honors, where *honor* has no claim—the success of intrigues and slander is almost assured. Such was the position of the commanding General, in Mexico; and, as we recall the names of his lieutenants, we see how certainly the political chess-player could count upon results. The chiefs of the several Staff departments were men of science as well as soldiers, whose political preferences were not partisan in character. Duty, professional renown, and military rank were their sole incentives. In the old army, there was but one, and he the special friend and *protegé* of the commanding General, who might even be suspected of other than professional ambition; though some of lower rank might minister to his vanity or pander to his wishes. But some of the commanders who came from civil life—there were bright exceptions—were politicians more than soldiers; and, in their normal character, too insignificant to excite distrust, sure to do the work expected at their hands, and *think it all their own*. Is it strange that, irritated by the failures of promised support from home; harassed by the intrigues of subordinate Generals and their satellites, and soured by the ingratitude of those who owed all—even their power to injure—to his favor, his naturally quick temper was not always under wise control? Thus opportunity was given, and seized, most eagerly, to mar the freshness of his laurels, lest their brightness might daze the eyes of his countrymen, and the conqueror of Mexico, not unlike the saintly discoverer of this western world, returned, to learn that the mind which could compass the conquest of a nation in arms, was held in light esteem, in the strife of politicians, without principle, and by a people disciplined in obedience to the tribunes of a party. And so the world was given one more of those examples of national ingratitude and a people's folly, which almost make one doubt if men should choose their rulers. A life devoted to a nation's service; great deeds, so tempered by discretion that one may question whether the glories of the battle-field equalled, in merit, the less glittering conquests of peace; unsullied fame, all weighed in the balance of popular esteem, against clownish jests and tricks of party management—held but as "*trifles light as air!*" Even, when bent with years and yielding to the sure approach of death, he ventured to indicate the only mode of suppressing "the great rebellion," his words were held in derision as the senseless drivel of senility. Yet the great General who so worthily fills his place, did, after all, but crush the monster, born of treason and fanaticism, in the folds of that "*Anaconda*" whose name was but a *synonyme* for the folly of imbecile old age. It was eminently proper that the conceptions of Scott, in his dotage, should be approved and executed by the insanity of Sherman. Let us hope, for our country's sake, that he may never regain his *reason*.

Even as we write, we learn that Congress *has*

voted a statue to the memory of General Scott. It is a mighty recompense; and marks the greatness of a people, and, to-day, as in future years, the rich banker and the prosperous merchant can point, with swelling pride, to this evidence of a nation's gratitude for great and life-long service, given to preserve the integrity of a nation and the glorious institutions that have made *them* Princes in the land.

II.—*PATRICK HENRY.*

A VINDICATION OF HIS CHARACTER, AS AN ORATOR AND AS A MAN.

By his Grandson, William Wirt Henry, Esq. of Charlotte C. H., Virginia.

Charlotte Co. Ho. Va.
October 3rd. 1872.

Vine Wright Kingsley, Esq.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 7th ulto. has been received, together with the *Galaxy* for September, 1870, which you enclosed me; and I avail myself of the first moment of leisure, to furnish you the comments you desire, on the article of Mr. E. A. Pollard, entitled, *Historic doubts concerning Patrick Henry.*

After assuming that the life of Mr. Henry, by William Wirt, is the only historical evidence we have of the assertion that Patrick Henry was a great orator, Mr. Pollard endeavors to destroy the value of that evidence, by his assertion, that Mr. Wirt's description of the eloquence of the Reverend Doctor James Waddell was false; and that Mr. Waddell was not even blind, as stated by Mr. Wirt.

We are not favored with any authority for these statements of Mr. Pollard, in reference to the Reverend Doctor Waddell; and did the matter rest between the assertions of Mr. Wirt and Mr. Pollard, perhaps I would not be singular in believing the former. Mr. Wirt, however, was not the only man who considered Doctor Waddell as a man of extraordinary eloquence, as is testified to in the *Sketches of the Presbyterian Church, in Virginia*, by the Reverend Doctor W. H. Foote, (*Chapter XVI,*) and in the *Life of Archibald Alexander, D. D.*, by James W. Alexander, D. D. his son, and the grandson of Doctor Waddell (*Chapter IX*). The eloquence and the blindness of Doctor Waddell are abundantly proven by these authors. But, had Mr. Wirt overdrawn the picture, it would prove nothing to his prejudice, as a historian, as he was doing nothing more than contributing a series of entertaining articles to a newspaper, under the assumed name of a *British Spy.*

In the preface to his life of Henry, Mr. Wirt gives the names of Mr. Henry's contemporaries, who aided him in preparing his book. Amongst others, we find the names of Judge Tyler, Judge Roane, Judge Tucker, Governor Page, Edmund Randolph, and Thomas Jefferson—names illustrious in Virginia annals. The last-named examined the work, in manuscript, and advised its publication. (*See letters of Jefferson and Wirt in Kennedy's* Life of Wirt, i., 407-412.) After its publication, John Adams wrote to the author "I esteem the character of Mr. Henry an honor "to our country and your volume a masterly de- "lineation of it." (*See* Life and Works of John Adams, *by Charles Francis Adams*, x., 277.) I might add much more testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Wirt's picture of Patrick Henry; but I care not to say more on this point; and, as Mr Pollard questions his veracity, I will only refer to him, when he is sustained by others.

Mr. Pollard asserts that the fame of Henry is almost exclusively traditional; and that it is an exceptional case, in American history—a reputation so great as is, in our present day asserted for him, so utterly naked of historical evidences, and so utterly dependent on the popular imagination to sustain and transmit it, that none of his utterances survive, not one of his actual speeches, except a few detached sentences of doubtful authenticity; and he arrives at the conclusion that he was no orator, in the sense in which Cicero, Burke, Fox, Mirabeau, and men of their stamp, were orators.

It is certainly much to be regretted that so few of the speeches of Mr. Henry have been preserved. He had no vanity about them; and was remarkably careless as to their preservation. He probably never wrote out a speech, either before or after its delivery. The speeches delivered in the Virginia Convention of 1788, and before the Federal Court, at Richmond, in the British debt cause, were the only ones taken down by a stenographer, so far as I know; and Mr. Robertson, in his preface to the *Virginia Debates*, does not vouch for their literal accuracy, always, and, in many passages, confesses his inability to follow him. Mr. Henry never corrected the manuscript; so, at best, we can only regard his speeches, in that volume, as an outline, rather than a fair and full report of what was uttered by him.

Admit all of this, however, and still there is enough in these speeches, taken in connection with other evidence, to prove that Patrick Henry was an orator of the very highest order. As to the other speeches given by his biographer, I am not prepared to establish, by other evidence than that adduced by Mr. Wirt, himself, that they were all delivered by Henry, exactly as given. But there is conclusive evidence

that some of the celebrated passages were actually uttered by Mr. Henry. The passage in his speech on offering his Resolutions against the Stamp Act, commencing, "Cesar had his "Brutus," etc., is vouched for by Judge Tyler and Mr. Jefferson; (*See note of Mr. Wirt, to the passage*) and is given by Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, (v., 274,) on the authority of a contemporaneous letter to England. The passage in his speech before the Virginia Convention, in March, 1775, on the proposition to arm the Colony, concluding: "Give me liberty "or give me death," is given by Mr. Wirt on the authority of Judge Tucker and Edmund Randolph's manuscript *History of Virginia*. In the October number, for 1870, of *Debow's Review*, the Rev. Edward Fontaine, of Louisiana, relates that John Roane, of King William-county, Virginia—one of the first Presidential Electors; for many years, a member of Congress; and a member of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, in which distinguished body he was revered as one of the conscript fathers of the republic,—once gave him an account of this speech, which he heard. He verified the correctness of the language given by Mr. Wirt; and so impressed had he been, by the particular passage I have mentioned, that he gave Mr. Henry's gestures, in every part of it. The eloquent passage in the speech before the Virginia Legislature, after the close of the Revolution, on the proposition to remove the restrictions to British commerce, commencing "Why should we fetter commerce" etc, is given, by Mr. Wirt, on the testimony of Judge Tyler. The fine figure used in the speech on the proposition to allow the return of the Tory refugees, after the Revolution, in the following words: "Afraid of *them!* What, "Sir, shall *we*, who have laid the British *lion* at "our feet, now be afraid of his *whelps?*" was frequently quoted by Chancellor Wythe, to his Class, while Professor of Law, at William and Mary-college. I might produce evidence for other celebrated passages: but I will pursue the subject no further, having shown enough, I am sure, to establish Mr. Henry's right to a place, denied him by Mr. Pollard, amongst those orators, "whose words, even if they had not "been transcribed, could have no more eluded "our memory than the live fire touching our "bodies; and which, whether few or many, "were they gathered up, would have been trea-"sured, forever, in brilliant fragments." Of none of Mr. Henry's contemporaries have so many brilliant fragments been treasured up, in the memories of his hearers; indeed, of no other orator, ancient or modern, whose words have not been transcribed, have so many brilliant passages survived.

It was the misfortune of the orators of his day that their speeches were not reported, unless written out by their authors. The misfortune of Henry was the misfortune of George Mason, of Pendleton, of Wythe, of the brilliant Grayson, and of James Innis, whose eloquence, according to Mr. Henry, himself, was "sufficient to shake "the human mind." Such also was the fate of Richard Henry Lee, who spoke in almost every debate, in the House of Burgesses, from 1765 to the Revolution, and in the old Congress, to its dissolution, in 1788, yet of whose speeches, during that entire period, hardly a vestige remains.

In passing on Mr. Henry's claim to be considered an orator of the first rank, it is well to understand what is considered oratory of the highest order. It is asserted by the best writers on oratory, amongst whom is Quintilian, to whom Mr. Pollard appeals, as authority, that the rarest and noblest specimens of eloquence are those that appeal to the passions, and carry captive the hearer, a passive instrument in the hands of the orator. (*See Quintilian's* Institutes of Oratory, *Book VI., Chapter II.*) "The life and "soul of eloquence is shown in the effect on the "feelings." "Orators who can seize the attention of the Judge, and lead him to whatever "frame of mind they desire, forcing him to "weep or feel angry, as their words influence "him, are but rarely found," says this writer. This power was wielded, in a pre-eminent degree, by Demosthenes, Cicero, Chatham, Sheridan, and Mirabeau: but not often, if at all, by Burke. Of none of the others could it have been said, even in sarcasm, as of him, that he was one,

"Who, too deep for his hearers, still went on
"refining,
"And thought of convincing, while they thought
"of dining."

The speeches which remain of the great orators are but an imperfect test of their excellencies. There is something in the manner which no language is adequate to convey. Take, for instance, Henry Clay, who is in the memory of the present age. Compare his speeches with those of Calhoun and Webster. As regards the intellect displayed, they are decidedly inferior, yet we know that, as an *orator*, he far surpassed them both. Doubtless, this is what was meant by Demosthenes, when, on being asked for the first, second, and third requisite of an orator, he replied, each time, "ὑποκρίσις," which Cicero translates by the rhetorical term "*Actio*," but which means, more exactly, "Delivery." Unless the unanimous testimony of his contemporaries is false, Patrick Henry possessed this power of moving and controlling men, in a most extraordinary degree. When we consider the men he swayed and the results he accomplished, by his elo-

quence, he will not suffer, in comparison with any one of the great orators I have named. His great triumphs were not before promiscuous assemblies,—we only know of his addressing the people twice,—but before the ablest Judges of his day and the most intellectual deliberative bodies of his age. I will refer to a few of the occasions where his power was irresistible; and, first, may be mentioned his triumph over Pendleton, Bland, Wythe, Peyton Randolph, Nicholas, and all the old leaders, in the Virginia House of Burgesses, in 1765, in the passage of his Resolutions against the Stamp Act. He was a new member, from the country, without acquaintance, without personal or family influence; and yet, in one of the ablest, most aristocratic, and most conservative bodies which ever sat in the Colony, under the very eye of the Royal Governor, he proposed and carried a series of Resolutions, revolutionary in their character, and, for that reason, resisted by all the old leaders of the House, who but represented the feeling of submission which had overspread the entire Colonies, and, in the magnificent triumph of his eloquence, "put in "motion, the ball of the Revolution."

Again, after measures had been taken which, as were believed by the wisest in the land, would be effectual in averting a conflict between the helpless Colonies and the powerful Mother Country, when the warmest patriots were determined to take no steps to provoke Great Britain, we find him carrying captive the Convention of Virginia, crowded with her great men, and wresting from them a Resolve to arm the Colony—in fact, sounding the very tocsin of War.

And, when the War had closed, and a new form of Government was proposed for the United States, in the Virginia Convention, in which Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, James Monroe, Henry Lee, James Madison, and John Marshall were his opponents, and were, themselves, amongst their equals, we find him the grandest orator of them all, and the leader of the debate, on his side. And, though the friends of the Constitution began with an estimated majority of fifty, for the paper, as it was, yet they were glad enough to obtain a ratification with a proposal of a Bill of Rights and twenty Amendments; and only carried it, then, by a majority of ten.

That Mr. Henry's influence over the Legislalature of his State was irresistible, is abundantly attested; but I will mention one instance, for which I may well challenge a parallel. It is given in Rives's *Life of Madison*, ii., 538., in a Note.

In the year 1787, at the request of Congress, and in conformity with the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, Resolutions were brought before the Legislature of Virginia, repealing all Acts prohibiting the collection of debts due to British subjects. These were advocated by George Nicholas and George Mason, both men of great ability. Mr. Henry opposed them, unless amended so that the repeal should depend on Great Britain's first performing her part of the Treaty, by surrendering the Western Posts, and providing indemnity for the slaves captured and carried away, at the close of the War. After a warm debate, lasting four days, Mr. Henry's Amendment was lost; and the Resolutions passed, by a majority of thirty votes. A few days afterwards, the Bill came up, which was reported in pursuance of the Resolutions. Mr. Henry renewed his proposition, as a substitute; and *carried it, in the face of the former action of the House, by a majority of forty-nine;* counting, among his converts, George Nicholas, the leading champion opposed to him, in the debate, who confessed himself convinced by his arguments.

Amongst Mr. Henry's triumphs at the Bar, I will only allude to his great argument in the British Debt Cause, before Chief-justice Jay and Judges Iredell and Griffin, sitting as a Federal Court, at Richmond.

Judge Iredell, in rendering his Opinion in the case, on appeal, (*See* Ware's Exer, etc., *vs* Hylton, etc, 3 *Dallas*) alludes to Mr. Henry's effort, as having "been adorned with a splendor "of eloquence surpassing what I have ever "felt before." John Randolph of Roanoke was present at the trial, and obtained a position near enough to the Judges to hear their conversation. He gave an account of Henry's speech, to the late Hon. James W. Bouldin of this County, who wrote it down, and it is before me. The Chief-justice told Judge Iredell, who had never heard Henry, that he was the greatest of orators. Iredell doubted it; and, becoming impatient to hear him, they requested him to proceed with his argument, before he had intended to speak. Randolph describes Mr. Henry as old, very much wrapped up, and resting his head on the Bar. As he arose, he began to complain, that it was a hardship, too great, to put the laboring oar in the hands of a decrepid old man, trembling, with one foot in the grave, weak, in his best days, and far inferior to the able associate by him. Randolph said, although he knew it was all deceit, still such was the power of his manner and voice, that he would, in a moment, forget and find himself enraged with the Court for their "cruelty." Randolph then gave a brilliant outline of his progress, and compared him to the practicing of a first rate four mile race-horse, sometimes displaying his whole power and speed, for a

few leaps, and then taking up again. At last, he got up to full speed, and took a rapid view of what England had done, when she had been successful in arms; and what would have been our fate, had we been unsuccessful. The color began to come and go in the face of the Chief-justice, while Iredell sat with his mouth and eyes stretched open, in perfect wonder. Finally, Henry arrived at his utmost height and grandeur. He raised his hands in one of his grand and solemn pauses. Randolph said his hands seemed to cover the whole house. There was a tumultuous burst of applause: and Judge Iredell exclaimed: "Gracious God! "He is an orator, indeed!"

I may safely affirm that no one who ever heard Patrick Henry, ever denied his consummate powers of eloquence; while many have left on record glowing tributes to his genius. I will detain you with but a few; but they shall be from men whose capacity to estimate an orator can not be doubted.

Chief-justice John Marshall, in Note XVIII. to Volume V. of his *Life of Washington*, speaking of the vacancy which occurred in the office of Secretary of State, during Washington's Administration, says: "This place was offered to Mr. "Henry, a gentleman of eminent talents, great "influence, and *most commanding eloquence.*"

The late John Randolph of Roanoke, himself one of the greatest of American orators, described him as "*the greatest orator that ever "lived,*" and, in his own inimitable manner, pronounced him to be "*Shakespeare and Garrick "combined.*"

The late General William S. Cabell, of Danville, Virginia, related, that he heard Mr. Randolph, on one occasion, attempt to give some idea of Henry's oratory. Randolph suddenly paused, and picking up a piece of charcoal from the hearth, and pointing to the white wall, he said, "But it is in vain for me to "attempt to describe the oratory of that won-"derful man. Sir, it would be as vain for me "to try, with this black coal, to paint, cor-"rectly, the brilliant flash of the vivid light-"ning, or to attempt, with my feeble voice, to "echo the thunder, as to convey, by any power "I possess, a proper idea of the eloquence of "Patrick Henry!" (*See article of Rev. E. Fontaine, above quoted*).

George Mason, one of the greatest men of our Revolutionary era, described Mr. Henry in the following words: "He is, by far, the most "powerful speaker I ever heard. Every word "he says not only engages, but commands the "attention; and your passions are no longer "your own, when he addresses them." (*See letter to Cockburn, in* Virginia Historical Register, *January number*, 1850.)

Thomas Jefferson, in describing the debate on the Resolutions against the Stamp Act, (*See his* Memoir, Volume I. Page 3, *of Randolph's edition of his* Works) says: "I heard the splendid display of "Mr. Henry's talents, as a popular orator. "They were great, indeed; such as I have never "heard from any other man. He appeared to "me to speak as Homer wrote. On page 40 of his *Memoir*, in describing Edmund Pendleton, he adds, "He had not, indeed, the poetical "fancy of Mr. Henry, his sublime imagination, "his lofty and overwhelming diction."

Some expressions of Mr. Jefferson have been quoted by Mr. Pollard, which seem to detract from this estimate of Mr. Henry; but it is to be noted, that these have not come down to us under the hand of Mr. Jefferson, himself, but are reports by others of conversations with Mr. Jefferson, in his old age; and they cannot be relied on to contradict his written testimony.

The Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., the distinguished Professor, at Princeton, himself a man of genius and eloquence, was born and reared in Virginia. In an article contributed to the *Princeton Review* for 1850, he gives his recollections of Mr. Henry. They are embodied in the *Life of Archibald Alexander*, by the Rev. James W. Alexander. He says: "From my "earliest childhood, I had been accustomed to "hear of the eloquence of Patrick Henry. On "this subject, there existed but one opinion in "the country. The power of his eloquence was "felt equally by the learned and the unlearned. "No man who ever heard him speak, on any "important occasion, could fail to admit his "uncommon power over the minds of his "hearers."

James Madison bore testimony to his remarkable power, in the following anecdote, related to a parcel of gentlemen, while he was President. (*See Howe's* Virginia Historical Collections, 222.) The certificates given by Virginia to her soldiers, during the Revolution, became a subject of speculation, owing to the necessities of the soldiers. Mr. Madison brought in a Bill to stop it. Although he had previously spoken to Mr. Henry, to support his Bill, he feared he had forgotten it, and turned, with an anxious eye, towards him, when it was read. Mr. Henry immediately rose and addressed the House. Mr. Madison said he was, on that occasion, particularly eloquent. His voice reminded him of a trumpeter on the field of battle, calling the troops to a charge. Mr. Madison looked, alternately, to the House and to the audience, and saw they were with the orator: and, at the conclusion, one of the chief speculators in certificates, then in the gallery, exclaimed in an audible voice: "That Bill ought "to pass." *It did pass, unanimously.*

On the same page of Howe's book, is an account, by the Rev. Conrad Speece, D. D., a distinguished Presbyterian Minister and pulpit orator, of a speech of Mr. Henry, in a criminal case. Having sketched the evidence and the speeches of other Counsel, Doctor Speece continues: "The general whisper through a "crowded house was, that the man was guilty "and could not be saved.

"About dusk, candles were brought; and "Henry arose. His manner was exactly that "which the *British Spy* describes, with so much "felicity—plain, simple, and entirely unassuming. 'Gentlemen of the Jury,' said he, 'I "'dare say we are all very much fatigued with "'this tedious trial. The Prisoner at the Bar "'has been well defended, already; but it is "'my duty to offer you some further observa-"'tions, in behalf of this unfortunate man. I "'shall aim at brevity. But should I take up "'more of your time than you expect, I hope "'you will hear me with patience, when you "'consider *that blood is concerned.*'

"I cannot admit the possibility that any one "who never heard Henry speak, should be made "fully to conceive the force of expression which "he gave to these few words, '*blood is concerned.*' "I had been on my feet, through the day, "pushed about, in the crowd, and was excessively weary. I was strongly of opinion, too, "notwithstanding all the previous defensive "pleadings, that the prisoner was guilty of "murder; and I felt anxious to know how the "matter would terminate. Yet, when Henry "had uttered these words, my feelings underwent an instantaneous change; I found every "thing within me answering, at once, 'Yes, "'since blood is concerned, in the name of all "'that is righteous, go on; we will hear you, "'with patience, until the rising of to-morrow's "'sun.' This bowing of the soul must have "been universal; for the profoundest silence "reigned, as if our very breath had been suspended. This spell of the magician was upon "us; and we stood like statues around him. "Under the touch of his genius, every particle "of the story assumed a new aspect; and his "cause became continually more bright and "promising. At length, he arrived at the fatal "act itself. 'You have been told, Gentlemen, "'that the Prisoner was bound by every obliga-"'tion to avoid the supposed necessity of "'firing, by leaping behind a house, near which "'he stood, at the moment. Had he been "'attacked with a club, or with stones, the "'argument would have been unanswerable, "'and I should feel myself compelled to give "'up the Defence, in despair. But, surely, I "'need not tell you, Gentlemen, how wide is "'the difference between sticks or stones and "'double-triggered *loaded rifles, cocked, at your* "'*breast.*' The effect of this image, exhibited "in this great orator's peerless manner, cannot "be described. I dare not attempt to delineate the paroxysm of emotion which it excited "in every heart. The result of the whole was, "that the Prisoner was acquitted, with the "perfect approbation, I believe, of the numerous assembly who attended the trial. What "was it that gave such transcendent force to "the eloquence of Henry? His reasoning "powers were good; but they have been "equalled, and more than equalled, by those of "many other men. His imagination was exceedingly quick, and inexpressibly happy. "But his most irresistible charm was the vivid "feeling of his cause with which he spoke. "Such feeling infallibly communicates itself to "the breast of the hearer."

The Rev. Doctor Archibald Alexander, in the article already quoted from the *Princeton Review*, bears similar testimony to the characteristics of Mr. Henry's oratory. He also heard him defending a criminal; and he gives the few words in which he requested the Court to adjourn the trial, to the next day, after the day had been spent in the examination of the witnesses. "The impression made by these few "words," adds Doctor Alexander, "was such "as, I assure myself, no one can ever conceive "by seeing them in print. In the countenance, "action, and intonation of the speaker, there "was expressed such an intensity of feeling, "that all my doubts were dispelled; never "again did I question whether Henry felt, or "only acted a feeling." After giving a further account of the part Henry took in the trial, and relating several incidents, showing his power, Doctor Alexander continues, as follows: "The "power of Henry's eloquence was due, *first*, to "the greatness of his emotion and passion, accompanied with a versatility which enabled "him to assume, at once, any emotion or "passion which was suited to his ends. Not "less indispensable, *secondly*, was a matchless "perfection of the organs of expression, including the entire apparatus of voice, intonation, pause, gesture, attitude, and indescribable play of countenance. In no instance "did he ever indulge in an expression which "was not instantly recognized as nature itself; "yet some of his penetrating and subduing "tones were absolutely peculiar and as inimitable as they were indescribable. These were "felt by every hearer, in all their force. His "mightiest feelings were sometimes indicated "and communicated by a long pause, aided by "an eloquent aspect, and some significant use "of his finger." "Patrick Henry, of course, "owed much to his singular insight into the

"feelings of the common mind." Had I time, I would gladly insert the entire article; but I will only add, here, that Mr. Henry's appearance struck Doctor Alexander, at first, as that of an old clergyman; and he found him, in his latter days, spending much of his time in reading the works of such authors as Sherlock and Tillotson. Perhaps this turn of mind accounts for his failure to read through Hume's *Essays*, lent to him by Jefferson, and not Hume's *History*, as stated by Mr. Pollard.

It has always been considered a test of an orator of the highest order, that he be able to attempt and sustain bold flights, which, from the mouths of others, would be ridiculous for want of power to sustain them. Take, for example, the splendid apostrophe of Demosthenes to the manes of the heroes of Marathon, Platæa, etc.; and the bold figure of Cicero, representing the rocks and mountains as moved with horror, at the bare recital of the enormities of Verres. These, alone, would entitle Demosthenes and Cicero to the highest niche, in the temple of fame. Tried by this test, Patrick Henry shows himself in no way their inferior. Before a more illustrious audience than ever hung upon the lips of Greek or Roman, the Virginia Convention of 1788, he attempted and achieved, with complete success, a flight as perilous and as eloquent. Towards the close of the great debate, and while making his last great effort to defeat a form of government which, he believed, would be ruinous to his country; in the language of his eloquent biographer, whose account was derived from eye-witnesses: "After "describing, in accents which spoke to the "soul, and to which every bosom deeply re-"sponded, the awful immensity of the question "to the present and future generations, and the "throbbing apprehensions with which he look-"ed to the issue, he passed from the house and "from the earth, and, looking as he said, "'beyond that horizon which binds mortal "'eyes,' he pointed, with a countenance and ac-"tion that made the blood run back upon the "aching heart, to those celestial beings who "were hovering over the scene and waiting, "with anxiety, for a decision which involved "the happiness or misery of more than half the "human race. To those, with the same thrill-"ing look and action, he had just addressed "an invocation that made every nerve shudder "with supernatural horror; when, lo! a storm, "at that instant, arose, which shook the whole "building, and the spirits whom he called "seemed to have come at his bidding. Nor did "his eloquence or the storm immediately cease; "but, availing himself of the incident, with a "master's art, he seemed to mix in the fight of "his ethereal auxiliaries and, in the language "of one of his opponents, the late learned Judge "Archibald Stewart, of Augusta 'rising on "'the wings of the tempest, to seize upon the "'artillery of Heaven, and direct its fiercest "'thunders against the heads of his adversa-"'ries.'" The scene became insupportable; and the house rose without the formality of adjournment, the members rushing from their seats, with precipitation and confusion.

The effects of this grand scene were never forgotten by the audience. Doctor Alexander records the account given him, by General Posey, a man of observation and cool judgment, whose nerves had been hardened by the Revolutionary War and his contests with the Indians. He says: "he felt himself as fully "persuaded that the Constitution, if adopted, "would be our ruin, as of his own existence; "yet subsequent reflection restored his former "judgment, and his well-considered opinion "resumed its place."

But I need not multiply proof, further. I may well stop here, and ask, what orator of ancient or modern times exercised more complete sway over the human passions?

A brillant writer, in comparing Mirabeau and Chatham, has said, "Sudden bursts, which "seemed to be the effect of inspiration; short "sentences, which came like lightning—liz-"zling, burning, striking down everything before "them; sentences which, spoken, at critical "moments, decided the fate of great questions; "sentences which everybody still knows by "heart—in these, chiefly, lay the oratorical "power of both Chatham and Mirabeau."

In these, our great American orator will not suffer in comparison with the great Englishman or the great Frenchman.

Let us examine, now, "the few certain "historical evidences" adduced by Mr Pollard, to support his peculiar theory, which assigns to Patrick Henry a position only in the ranks of what is called, in America, "*Stump-*"*speakers.*" One would suppose that a gentleman who has aspired to write history would know "*historical evidence*" when he met with them. Certainly, the public have a right to demand, that those who put themselves forward, as historical writers, should carefully search and faithfully represent their "*historical* "*evidences.*"

In the opinion of Mr. Pollard, the most important fact in Henry's life, touching the question he discusses, is his utter failure in the Continental Congress. Mr. Pollard asserts that Mr. Henry sat, for two whole years, in this body, so well qualified to hear him, without ever venturing to speak, once, though the most inspiring themes were debated, appealing to mind and heart, and calculated to stir men's

hearts to their depths; and he doubts whether any great reputation had preceded him. This entire statement of Mr. Pollard is not only without foundation; but is contrary to the facts. It is true that the Congress which sat in 1774 was well-qualified to hear and appreciate a great orator. The splendid eulogy of Lord Chatham is alone sufficient to immortalize that body.

Patrick Henry sat in the Session of 1774, which lasted fifty-one days, and during the last seventy-four days of the succeeding Session, in 1775, as is shown by the Journal; making his entire service one hundred and twenty-five days, instead of two years. He was not returned to Congress, because he had been appointed Colonel of the First Virginia Regiment, on the fifth of August, 1775. The Continental Congress sat with closed doors: how has Mr. Pollard been informed that Patrick Henry "never ventured to speak, once?" His biographer represents him as opening the first Session with a magnificent display of eloquence; and Mr. Jefferson, who took his seat in the latter part of the Second Session, was told by the members, that, in the earlier Session, Henry "had captivated all, by his "bold and splendid eloquence." (*See letter of Jefferson, published in the* Philadelphia Age *July* 29, 1867.) Nor is this all the evidence we have. John Adams served with Mr. Henry, during both Sessions, and kept a Diary. The Diary for the Session of 1774 has been published in the second Volume of the *Life and Works of John Adams*, by Charles Francis Adams. On page 357 of that Volume, John Adams records that, previous to the opening of Congress, he was informed, by Duane, "that the "Virginians speak in raptures about Richard "Henry Lee and Patrick Henry, one the Cicero "and the other the Demosthenes of the age." This establishes the reputation with which Henry entered Congress. On the first day of the Session, (*see Page* 365) Mr. Adams records that Patrick Henry made a speech, and gives some of the heads of his argument. There are published with Adams's Diary, fragmentary notes of the debates, on several important questions. On each one, Mr. Henry is represented as speaking, when the debate is in the Congress. On Pages 395–396, Mr. Adams sketches the prominent members; and he uses these words: "Lee, Henry, and Hooper are the "orators." On Pages 387–390, a debate is recorded, which, of itself, would entitle Mr. Henry to imperishable fame.

The celebrated Joseph Galloway, who, afterwards proved himself to have been a disguised Tory, by openly joining the British Army, introduced a plan to settle the difficulties between the Colonies and Great Britain, which was voted for, by five out of the eleven Colonies represented in the Congress. It was cunningly devised, and, if successful, would have checked the tide of Revolution and prevented Independence. The plan provided for a British American Legislature, to pass on all laws in which more than one Colony was concerned. It was advocated by Duane, Jay, and Edward Rutledge. Richard Henry Lee said he could not agree to it without consulting his constituents, thus indicating a willingness to accept it. Patrick Henry, alone, of all the speakers mentioned by Adams, opposed it; and, so far as we can see, from the debate, defeated it; and this with a knowledge of the only alternative left to the Colonies, for he admits, in the debate, that the measures taken by the Congress would lead to War.

No notes of the debates, during the next Session, are given in Mr. Adams's *Works*, and we are without this contemporaneous testimony, as to the part taken by Mr. Henry. The Journal shows, however, that he was placed on many important Committees, and was the member selected by General Washington to present his first communication to Congress; thus showing, beyond question, his high standing in the body. When we remember that these Sessions of Congress were the only occasions on which Patrick Henry appeared before any other than a Virginia audience, and that his reputation, as an orator, became co-extensive with the Colonies, and far surpassed that of all of his contemporaries, it must have been that his appearance was not a failure, but a splendid success. So much for Mr. Pollard's "most important fact."

Equally groundless is Mr. Pollard's second "*historical evidence.*" He asserts that Mr. Henry "remained silent when the proposition for "Independence was about to be decided by the "Virginia Convention;" and that, "although "a member of the Committee that drafted the "Declaration of Rights and the first Constitu- "tion of Virginia, Mr. Henry spoke on none "of these inspiring themes, and permitted "another member of his Committee to offer the "Resolution of Independence."

Mr. Pollard hints at his authority for these assertions, in the following words: "there has "been brought to light, in modern times, a very "curious letter from General Charles Lee, "written in May, 1775, in which he refers to "Mr. Henry, on the supposition of a letter from "the latter taking grounds against Indepen- "dence." (*American Archives*, Fifth Series, i., 96.) Charity leads me to believe that Mr. Pollard never saw the letter of General Lee, to which he refers. It is dated on the seventh of May, 1776, and not 1775. It does not refer to any *letter* from Mr. Henry, but to a *conversation*

with him, on the day before. It does not represent Mr. Henry as taking ground *against* Independence, but as holding that *the pulse of France and Spain ought to be felt*, before Independence should be declared—that is the Resolution *be made public*. The following extracts from the letter show how Mr. Pollard has misstated it.

"If I had not the highest opinion of your "character and liberal way of thinking, I "would not venture to address myself to "you; and if I were not equally persuaded of "the great weight and influence which the "transcendent abilities you possess must natur- "ally confer, I should not give myself the "trouble of writing, nor you the trouble of "reading, this long letter. Since our conver- "sation, yesterday, my thoughts have been "solely employed on the great question, whether "Independence ought or ought not to be *imme- "diately* declared." * * * "You say, with great "justice, that we ought, previously, to have "felt the pulse of France and Spain. I more "than believe, I am almost confident, that it "has been done; at least, I can assert upon "recollection, that some of the Committee of "Secrecy have assured me that the sentiments "of both these Courts, or their agents, have "been sounded and were found to be as favour- "able as could be wished." The writer then proceeds to argue that an *immediate* declaration of Independence would be best, in every contingency. So far from this letter showing that Mr. Henry was opposed to Independence, it undertakes to assure him that the only precautionary steps which he had urged should have been first taken, before an open declaration, had been taken; and thus shows that Mr. Henry must have been an advocate of the *immediate* declaration, if satisfied with General Lee's statement.

The Resolution of the Virginia Convention, directing our Delegates in Congress to move a declaration of Independence, in that body, contained also a direction that they unite in measures for forming a Confederation of the Colonies and foreign alliances: and it was resolved, at the same time, and as a part of the same set of Resolutions, that a Committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration of Rights and a Plan of Government for the Colony. Mr. Pollard is correct in saying that Mr. Henry was placed upon this Committee; but he is in error, in asserting that another member of this Committee offered the Resolution of Independence. As the Committee was not appointed until after the Resolution of Independence had passed, it could not have emanated from the Committee: and Thomas Nelson, who proposed the Resolutions to the Convention, was not placed on the Committee provided by them, he being Delegate elect to the Congress. The Resolution was reported to the Convention, from the Committee of the Whole, on the fifteenth of May, nine days after the conversation between General Lee and Mr. Henry. (*See Journal*, 11 June, 1776).

The order in which the three great transactions should occur, which went to establish Independence, to wit: the *open* Declaration, the Confederation, and Treaties with foreign powers, was the subject of grave discussion amongst the warmest advocates of Independence. Mr. Henry's contemporaneous letters show that he thought the Confederation should be first made, then the *open* Declaration of Independence, and, then, Treaties of Alliance with foreign powers; and that steps ought to be taken, immediately, to secure France and Spain, before Great Britain could forestall the Colonies, at their Courts. In writing to John Adams, on the twentieth of May, 1776, he says: "Before "this reaches you, the Resolution for finally "separating from Britain will be handed to "Congress, by Colonel Nelson. *I put up with "it, in the present form, for the sake of unanimity.* "'*Tis not quite so pointed as I could wish.* Excuse "me for telling you what I think of immense "importance; 'tis to anticipate the enemy at "the French Court." * * * "Excuse me, "again. The Confederacy—that must precede "an open Declaration of Independency and "foreign alliances." (*See* Life of Adams, i., 201.) In Mr. Adams's reply (*See the same work*, ix., 386) he says: "I esteem it an honor and a "happiness, that my opinion so often coincides "with yours. It has ever appeared to me that "the natural course and order of things was "this; for every Colony to institute a Govern- "ment; for all the Colonies to Confederate, "and define the limits of the Continental "Constitution; then to declare the Colonies a "sovereign State or number of confederated "sovereign States; and, last of all, to form "Treaties with foreign powers."

Richard Henry Lee wrote to Mr. Henry, on the twentieth of April, 1776, expressing his views on the subject, and setting forth, substantially, the views expressed by Mr. Henry. I have his letter in manuscript. On the twentieth of May, following, Mr. Henry replied to him, using this language: "Your sentiments, as to "the necessary progress of this great affair, "correspond with mine." (*See Campbell's* History of Virginia, 648.) While the exact order was not followed, as suggested by Mr. Henry, yet Congress was impressed with the importance of making their action, on each branch of the subject, as nearly contemporaneous as possible; and, on the same day that a Committee was

appointed to draft a Declaration of Independence, it was resolved to appoint Committees to prepare a form of Confederation, and a plan of Treaties. (*See Journal*, 11 *June*, 1776.)

So far, then, from Mr. Henry's "taking "grounds against Independence," it appears, by his contemporaneous correspondence, that he held the same views on the subject entertained by Richard Henry Lee, the mover of the Resolution in Congress, and by John Adams, the great advocate of the Resolution, in debate.

But, perhaps, Mr. Pollard might answer that "all this does not prove that Mr. Henry "spoke on this inspiring theme, and *I have as-* "*serted that he did not.*"

Strange as it may seem, one of the very authors quoted by Mr. Pollard proves, conclusively, the fact that *Mr. Henry did speak*, on this great occasion, and with tremendous effect. Had Mr. Pollard read "Appendix, No. 38," to Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, he would have seen this question ably discussed by the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, in a letter to the author, and the fact developed that Edmund Randolph, once an enemy to Mr. Henry, stated, in his Oration over the dead body of Edmund Pendleton; "that "the Resolution of Independence was drawn "by Pendleton; was offered in Committee by "Nelson; and was sustained, against all opposi- "tion, by Henry, with that abounding energy "and eloquence of which he was a master." The Journal shows that the Resolution was *unanimously* adopted, by the Convention, on being reported from the Committee of the Whole. It was, therefore, in the Committee of the Whole that Henry sustained it against all opposition, and brought about unanimity; and, so far as the testimony of Edmund Randolph, a member of the Convention, goes, Henry was the *only* advocate of the Resolution, in debate—if there were others, they were forgotten; and only the *Colossus* of the debate was remembered.

Mr. Grigsby refers to the *Virginia Gazette*, November 2nd, 1803, in the State Library, as authority for his statement. I have examined the authority, and find it contains a more splendid testimony to Mr. Henry's effort on the occasion, than was remembered by Mr. Grigsby, when he wrote his letter. Edmund Randolph is reported as saying, that, in enforcing the Resolution of Independence: "Henry's eloquence "unlocked the secret springs of the human "heart, robbed danger of all its terror, and "broke the keystone in the arch of royal "power."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—Iowa city has sold its public library, and is now going to invest it in a theatre.

III.—*THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES.*

A LETTER FROM THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE IN NEW YORK, ORGANIZING AN OPPOSITION TO THE RATIFICATION OF IT, "AS IT WAS PROPOSED BY THE LATE CONVENTION TO THE "RESPECTIVE STATES FOR THEIR ADOPTION."

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EDITOR.

NEW YORK May 18. 1788.

SIR,

The importance of the Subject upon which we address you, we trust will be a sufficient apology for the liberty we take.

The System of government proposed by the late Convention to the respective States for their Adoption, involves in it Questions and Consequences in the highest Degree interesting to the People of these States.

While we see in common with our Brethren of the other States, the Necessity of making alterations in our present existing federal Government: We cannot but apprehend that the one proposed in its room, contains in it principles dangerous to public Liberty and Safety.

It would far exceed the bounds of a Letter to detail to you our objections to the proferred Constitution; and it is the less necessary we should do it, as they are well stated in a publication, which we take the liberty of transmitting you in a series of Letters from the federal Farmer to the Republican. We renounce all Ideas of local Objections and confine ourselves to such only as affect the cause of general liberty, and are drawn from those genuine republican principles and maxims which we consider as the glory of our Country, and which gave rise to the late glorious revolution, and supported the Patriots of America in effecting it

Impressed with these Sentiments we hold it a duty we owe our Country, our Posterity and the Rights of Mankind to use our best endeavours to procure amendments to the System previous to its adoption.

To accomplish this desireable event it is of Importance that those States which have not yet acceded to the plan should open a Correspondence, and maintain a Communication—That they should understand one another on the Subject, and unite in the Amendments they propose.

With this view we address you on the Subject and request a free Correspondence may be opened between such Gentlemen in your State as are of Opinion with us on the Subject of Amendments. We request your Opinion on the matter, and that you would state such amendments as you judge necessary to be made.

We think it would conduce very much to promote Union, and prevent discord and an hostile disposition among the States if a correspondence could be brought about between the Conventions of your State, Virginia and this, who we presume will be in Session at the same time. We have the highest hopes that such a Measure wou'd produce the happiest effects—We shall write to Virginia and propose it, and wish your Convention may be inclined to agree to it—We have every reason to believe it will be agreeable to ours.

It is not yet declared who are the Members elected for our Convention—The Ballots are to be counted the last Tuesday in this Month—But, by the best Information received from the different Counties, we have not a doubt of their being a decided and considerable Majority returned, who are opposed to the Constitution in its present Form. A number of the leading Characters, who will compose the Opposition in our Convention, are associated with us. We are anxious to form a Union with our Friends in the other States, and to manifest to the Continent, and to the World, that our Opposition to this Constitution does not arise from an impatience under the restraint of good government, from local or state attachments, from interested motives, or party Spirit—But from the purer sentiments of the love of Liberty, an Attachment to republican Principles, and an adherence to those Ideas which prevailed at the commencement of the late revolution, and which animated the most illustrious patriots to undertake and persevere in the glorious but arduous contest.

In behalf of the federal
Republican Committee,
I have the Honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obed. Servant
JOHN LAMB
Chairman

Hon'ble NATHANIEL PEABODY Esqr

PS. We shall write to North & South Carolina on the *general* Subject of this Letter—But as their Conventions will not be in Session at the time that yours, Virginia, and ours will, we cannot propose a correspondence between them

—A tombstone in Texas has the following inscription:

"He remained to the last a decided friend "and supporter of Democratic principles and "measures. Blessed are the dead who die in "the Lord."

IV.—HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO COUNTY, NEW YORK.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 234.

BY S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

IX.—*THE TOWN AND VILLAGE OF GREENE. EARLY SETTLEMENTS—THE BIRDSALL FAMILY —THE VILLAGE.—PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.*

EARLY SETTLEMENTS.—The first settlement of the town of GREENE, which was formed in 1798, from parts of Union and Jericho, dates back to 1794, when Conrad Sharpe, a Dutchman, located himself about two miles North of the present village, and was, soon afterwards, followed by a number of his countrymen, who formed a considerable little hamlet. Stephen Ketchum, David Bradley, Derick Race, Joseph Tillotson, Elder Gray, and Elisha Smith, a few years later, effected settlements in the town; and the latter gentleman became the Agent of the Hornby Estate, surveyed the town, and, in 1806, laid out the present village, which, then, was known by the name of "Hornby."

The original patentees of the township, embracing fifteen thousand, eight hundred, and thirty-five acres, were Malachi Treat and William W. Morris, in 1788, and it was designated as the "French Tract," and subsequently divided by their Agent, Charles Felix Baloigne, assisted by Captain John Harris, of Norwich, a surveyor, into one hundred and fifty lots, exclusive of that portion of the village plot, on the East side of the river, known as the "French village-plot," and occupied, at that period, or soon afterwards, by eight or ten French refugees, with their families.

The first of these French settlers appears to have been Simon Barnett, a Creole, from the West Indies, who arrived from Philadelphia, as the pioneer of the company. His son, Charles F. Barnett, now, or recently, residing near the village, is the sole survivor of these original settlers. Among their number was M. Dutremore, who was the purchaser of the tract from the original patentees, and contracted with the settlers. Talleyrand, the celebrated French Minister, in company with one of his countrymen, in Philadelphia, visited the place, in 1795, and took with him, on his departure, as his Private Secretary, a son of M. Dutremont. Captain Joseph Juliand emigrated from France to the settlement, in 1797. Dutremont was accidentally drowned, while fording a river, on horseback, on his way to Philadelphia; and the land purchased by him reverted to the original patentees. Most of the French emigrants, with the exception of Captain Juliand,

left the place, discouraged, and joined a settlement, below Towanda, in Pennsylvania.

Among the earliest permanent settlers in the town, prior to 1797, were Captain Joseph Juliand, Nathaniel Kellogg, Zopher Betts, Benajah Loomis, Cornelius Hill, Daniel Tremaine, (who located on the East side of the river, in 1793) Nathan Bennett, Joshua Root, Eleazer Skinner, Thomas, Joab, and Aden Elliott, Roswell Fitch, Philo Clemmons, Captain Mandeville, Simeon and Benjamin Jones, Harden Bennett, Record Wilbur, and Deacon Richards, on the "Chenango-road," leading to Bainbridge, from 1792 to 1795; and, on the West side of the river, in the southern portion of the town, James and Herman Terwilliger, Elisha and Noah Gilbert, Stephen Palmer, and Joseph and Cornish Messenger, about the year 1796.

The first town-meeting was held at the tavern of Conrad Sharp, in April, 1798, and was presided over by Nathaniel Kellogg. Benajah Loomis was chosen Supervisor, John Hallenback, Town Clerk, and James Wiley, Isaac Perry, and Allen Button, Assessors. The first grist-mill was built, in 1794, by Abraham Storm and Henry Vorse; and the first saw-mill by Mr. Sharp, in 1795. Elisha Smith kept the first store in the village, at about the commencement of the present century. The first frame house was erected in 1803, by Thomas Wattles, on the site of the present "Chenango-house." Doctor Charles Josslyn opened, at Sharp's inn, the first physician's office, in 1805, and removed to the village, during the succeeding year, where he remained in practice for twenty years, and, in 1817, was promoted to the Bench of County Court of Common Pleas. The first organized church was the Baptist, in East Greene, Elder Nathaniel Kellogg, in 1795; the second, in 1807, Elder Jeduthan Gray. Enoch Greene opened the first school, in East Greene, in 1796, and taught ten years; an Englishman, by the name of Cartwright, however, appears to have taught near Chenango Forks, as early as 1794.

Among the subsequent settlers in Greene, prior to 1820, were Charles Cameron, Agent of the Hornby estate, Benjamin Birdsall, Robert Monell, Charles and Anthony Squires, Doctor William D. Purple, Warren Gray, Elijah Rathbone, Alvah Hunt, William Hatch, Benjamin Birdsall, Junior, Doctor George Birdsall, Maurice Birdsall, Maurice Birdsall, Junior, Joseph Juliand, Junior, Frederick Juliand, and George W. Juliand.

The Birdsall Family.—From an article in the *Chenango American*, published in Greene, I have taken the liberty to abridge the following sketch of the Birdsall family, communicated by Doctor Purple.

Colonel Benjamin Birdsall, with his sons, Benjamin, Junior, George, and Maurice, came into the town, in 1816, from Columbia-county, which he had represented in the Legislatures of 1792 and '3, 1796, and 1804. He held a Colonel's Commission, in the Revolutionary War, and occupied a prominent position in the early history of the State; was a member of the Convention, held in 1801, for the amendment of the Constitution; and possessed great enterprise and force of character, combined with the most pleasing and popular manners. After attaining to the advanced age of eighty-eight years, he died, in 1828, at his residence, in Greene, universally esteemed and lamented.

Colonel Birdsall's eldest son, Benjamin Birdsall, Junior, resided, for many years, a few miles West of the village, and sustained a high reputation as a local magistrate and an intelligent, upright citizen. *His* son, Benjamin was an officer in the War of 1812, and, while in command of the military station, at Greenbush, near Albany, in 1818, was shot by James Hamilton, one of his soldiers, who was afterwards convicted and executed in Albany. His brothers were Samuel Birdsall, of Waterloo, Seneca-county,—a Member of Congress, in 1838–9, and, by profession, a lawyer, recently deceased; Doctor William Birdsall, of Wayne, Steuben-county; and George Birdsall, a farmer, in Pennsylvania; and his sisters, Mrs. Noah Ely, of New Berlin, and Melinda Birdsall, who died, unmarried, a few years since, in Pennsylvania.

George Birdsall, the second son of Colonel Benjamin Birdsall, settled, as a physician, in the village of Greene, and became the father of two daughters, one of whom was the wife of David O. Perry, formerly a Teller in the Bank of Chenango, and, subsequently, a clergyman, of Springfield, Illinois; and the other the wife of the Rev. Mr. Payne of the same place.

Maurice Birdsall, the third son of the original Colonel Birdsall, was a farmer, and lived in the village of Greene, occupying the old family homestead. He had the reputation of a high-toned, upright man, and was universally respected and esteemed, up to the period of his death, at the age of seventy-eight years, in 1852. His widow, formerly Ann Purple of Greene, still, in 1872, survives him. He left eight children, viz.: 1. John Birdsall, graduate of one of the eastern Colleges, a student of law in the office of his uncle, James Birdsall, at Norwich, — partner in the law-office of Robert Monell, about the year 1817, and, subsequently, in the year 1823, at the age of twenty-five years, appointed from Chautauqua-county, his then residence, Circuit Judge of the Eighth Judicial Circuit, a position which he re-

signed, on account of his health, in 1829, after which, in 1831, he represented Chautauqua-county, in the Assembly, and was elected, in 1832, to the Senate, where he remained until 1835, when he resigned. In 1837, he emigrated to Texas, where he was received with open arms by the founders of the new Republic, became a law-partner of President Sam. Houston and Attorney-general, which office he continued to hold, until his death, in 1839. He was a man of rare and brilliant endowments, and highly attractive social qualities. 2. Ann, wife of the Hon. Alvah Hunt, then a partner in the flourishing mercantile establishment of Rathbone & Hatch, and who afterwards represented the Sixth Senate District, in the Legislature, from 1839 to 1843, and, subsequently, held the office of State Treasurer. Mr. Hunt died in New York, in 1859. Mrs. Hunt was a most amiable, attractive, and intelligent lady, and mingled, for many years, in the highest circles of the State Capital, an universal favorite. She is still living, (1872) in Greene, and though a great sufferer, from protracted physical disease, still retains those cheerful and agreeable characteristics for which she was formerly so distinguished. 3. Polly, who became the wife of the Hon. Thomas A. Johnson, of Steuben; and died, in 1865. 4. Benjamin, a farmer of Wisconsin and, more recently, of Iowa, with a numerous family to perpetuate the ancestral name. 5. Emeline, married to Robert O. Reynolds, District Attorney of Chenango-county, in 1842–'3, and '4, and who died in 1856. Mrs. Reynolds still resides in Greene. 6. Maurice, Junior, engaged during the past thirty years in mercantile and other business pursuits. 7. Louisa, who died, in 1859, wife of the late Judge Barnes, of Steuben. 8. James, a physician of Wisconsin.

James Birdsall, formerly of Norwich, fourth son of Colonel Benjamin Birdsall and brother of Benjamin, Junior, George, and Maurice, left the family homestead, at an early date, probably about 1808. A sketch of his progress and character has already been given in connection with Norwich. He subsequently removed to Michigan, where he died, a few years since. His eldest son, Henry Huntington, is an Attorney, at Addison, Steuben-county; Charles J., Benjamin, and Maurice, are merchants, at Fentonville, Michigan. Adelaide became the wife of William M. Fenton of Norwich, subsequently Lieutenant-governor of Michigan, and who was one of the founders of Fentonville. Sarah became the wife of Henry Dillaye, of Syracuse; and Elizabeth, Rizpah, and Catharine are residents of San Francisco, California.

Noah Ely, Esq., of New Berlin, who married one of the daughters of Benjamin Birdsall, Junior, was a native of Massachusetts, in the vicinity of Williamstown, and graduated at Williams-college. After leaving this institution, he entered his name, as a student, in the law-office of Counsellor Foote, of Albany, and, after the usual preliminary course, was admitted. About the year 1812, he removed to Chenango-county, and, after a brief law partnership with Peter B. Garnsey, established himself, in the following year, in the village of New Berlin, where he continued to reside, until his death, which occurred on the thirtieth of January, 1871, at the advanced age of eighty-six years.

Mr. Ely was a man of very superior intellectual acquirements and literary culture. With a heart ever "open as day, to melting charity," and social and domestic qualities of the highest order, he united great personal dignity, and all the graces and virtues of the Christian character. He represented the County, in the Legislature of 1832; and was universally respected and esteemed as a man of stern integrity, solid worth, in all the relations of life, a safe and judicious counsellor, a genial companion, and a trusty friend. Many and grievous domestic sorrows and afflictions encompassed his life and lacerated his heart; but, through them all, he was upborne and sustained by a firm reliance upon an overruling Providence, by the consolations of religion, and the sympathy of those by whom he was surrounded. His memory will long be cherished by those to whom he was best known amid the scenes and associations of his long and useful life.

Village of Greene.—About twelve miles, in a south-westerly direction from Oxford, following the course of the Chenango-river, and situated on the West side of that river, lies the beautiful and flourishing village of Greene, fifty years ago, a small cluster of neat white residences, with ample grounds, and surrounded by flowers, and trees, and pleasant walks; its two principal and only streets intersecting each other at right angles; and its one or two graceful churches rising high above the humbler tenements in their vicinity. Here resided Charles Cameron, the wealthy Agent of the "Hornby Tract," Benjamin Birdsall, Joseph Juliand, with his younger brothers, George and Frederick, Robert Monell, Alvah Hunt, Charles and Anthony Squires, merchants, William M. Patterson, Adam G. Ransom, Warren Gray, and Doctors Levi Farr and William D. Purple.

Personal Recollections.—Mr. Cameron was a large, portly, agreeable man, gentlemanly in his manners; and of attractive social qualities; the two Squires were prominent businessmen, and active politicians; Warren Gray and Doctor Purple also exerted great influence, in political circles. The former, for many years,

filled the position of Deputy Sheriff; and the latter, although somewhat eccentric and peculiar in his manners, possessed an active and energetic intellect, and, in addition to his professional pursuits, devoted a large portion of his time to the local antiquities of his own and the adjacent towns, and to the delivery of popular scientific and historical lectures. Robert Monell, at that period, was engaged in the practice of the law; stood high at the Bar; and was one of the most popular men in the County. He was, successively, elected to the Legislature, appointed District Attorney, and, subsequently, Circuit Judge of the District, on the promotion of Judge Samuel Nelson to the Bench of the Supreme Court of the State. Judge Monell was, indeed, one of nature's noblemen. Of fine personal appearance and fascinating manners; accessible, warm-hearted, benevolent, and a universal favorite with all classes, he uniformly commanded the respect and confidence of the community, generally. From the effects of a severe illness, his hair became of a silvery whiteness, at an early period of life. With him, was associated, as a law-partner, at about this time, William M. Patterson—a man who, without any of the personal graces, winning manners, or flowing courtesy of his associate—indeed, with a rather saturnine and repulsive exterior, by the mere force of his abilities and talents, worked his way to distinction at the Bar, and in the legislative councils of the State. A few years, subsequently, Robert B. Monell, a nephew of the Judge, became a partner in the law-office—afterwards removing to the city of Hudson, where, I believe, he still resides. Joseph, George, and Frederick Juliand, were, at this time, wealthy merchants, and among the most respected and esteemed citizens of the County—the former and latter having, subsequently, ably represented its interests in the State Legislature. Mr. Ransom was an industrious, plodding, and successful lawyer.

Any account of Greene would be imperfect which should fail to embrace that eccentric, but, occasionally, brilliant meteor, Doctor Charles Josslyn—once an honored and highly respected citizen, and occupying a seat on the Common Pleas Bench: but, even at the early period to which these sketches relate, a falling and wandering star, magnificent in ruin. The Doctor, in his lowest estate, possessed much native dignity; was proud of his personal appearance; and unforgetful of his antecedant glories.

Doctor Levi Farr was one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Greene, as well in his social as professional capacity. He was a brother of Bela Farr, of Norwich; enjoyed a wide reputation, as a physician; amassed quite a large fortune; and lived to a good old age, universally regarded and esteemed.

Alvah Hunt, then of the firm of Rathbone & Hunt, merchants, was a most estimable and agreeable man. He was a State Senator, in 1840, and, subsequently, for several years, State Treasurer; a man of whom any community might be proud—large-hearted, amiable, energetic, and able. His accomplished lady will long be remembered in the social circles, at home and abroad, as the impersonation of grace, beauty, and talent.

The first newspaper established in Greene was *The Chenango Patriot*, by Nathan Randall, in conjunction with Joseph M. Farr, in 1830. It remained in existence for a few years only; and was succeeded by the *Chenango American*.

Mr. Nathan Randall was a son of Deacon Charles Randall, of Norwich; and, after a brief residence in New York, in the employ of the *National Advocate* and *Herald* printing-establishments, he removed to Syracuse, where he accumulated a large property by railroad and other speculations; and died in 1872. His first wife was a daughter of Robert Monell, of Greene.

Mr. Farr was a son of Bela Farr, of Norwich; and, after spending a few years in the *Journal* office, at that place, removed, with Mr. Hatch, of New Berlin, to Norwalk, Ohio, as joint Editor of the *Experimentalist*. He was, afterwards, elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, and remained in that State until his death, a few years since.

X.—THE TOWN AND VILLAGE OF SHERBURNE—EARLY SETTLEMENTS—VILLAGE OF SHERBURNE—PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

Early Settlements.—Sherburne was formed from a part of Paris, Oneida-county, in 1795. The original "Certificate of Survey" of the lands included in this town and the adjoining town of Smyrna, on the West, was given to the purchaser from the State, William S. Smith, on the sixth of April, 1793, and the Patent issued on the sixteenth of April, 1794. The first settlement appears, from a statement of the venerable William Newton, now, if still living, in his eighty-eighth year, and published in the *Sherburne News*, in 1871, to have been made in the South-west quarter of the town, in 1793, by the grantees or assignees of Smith, twelve in number, viz.: Cornelius Clark, Josiah Lathrop, John Gray, Junior, Joel Northrup, Joel Hatch, Eleazer Lathrop, Newcomb Raymond, Nathaniel Gray, Abram Raymond, Elijah Gray, James Raymond, and Timothy Hatch, with their associates, John and Ezra Lathrop, John Hibbard, Amos Cole, Elijah Foster, Elisha Gray, John Gray, Senior, and David Perry.

These men were originally from Litchfield-county, Connecticut; and, after spending some two years at Duanesburgh, in Albany-county, whither they first immigrated, they finally effected permanent homes in the south-westerly portion of the present town of Sherburne. With the exception of Joel Hatch, they were all farmers; he being a manufacturer of *Spinning Wheels*, which appear to have been speedily introduced into the families of the settlers, and "upon which musical instruments" says Mr. Newton, "they gave lessons to their daughters, "who grew up strong and healthy." These ancient instruments, it is quite unnecessary to say, have, in the progress of the civilization of the nineteenth century, given place to the modern *pianos*, with far different results.

A few years later, on the East side of the river, were to be found Eli Marsh, Noah Robinson, James and Zacheus W. Elmore, Samuel Stebbins, Bela Scoville, Doctor Asa White, Mr. Paddleford and Mr. Bullock; and, on the West, Daniel and James Anderson, Joel Thompson, Jeremiah Purdy, Joseph Adams, Tilly Lynde, Demas Hubbard, Samuel Foote, Israel Foote, Doctor Israel Farrell, and Joseph Dixon, "a very prominent man," observes Mr. Newton. Israel Foote is still, we believe, living, at the age of eighty, at or near Sherburne Four Corners. His son, Isaac Foote, and a female relative, wife of John Mitchell, are residents of Norwich. On the South-hill, were the two Lyons; and, on the West-hill, now a part of Smyrna, were Demas Hubbard, Mr. Sanford, and Mr. Ferris, with many other families. I remember when a boy, in 1816 or '17, having been taken with my grandparents to the log cottage of a venerable couple, by the name of Snow, situated in a dense forest; and having been shown, from the summit of this West-hill, the village of Sherburne. I think Doctor Mead, of Smyrna, was the husband of one of the daughters of this family.

The Village of Sherburne.—In 1794, the Congregational church and society of Sherburne were formed—according to Mr. Newton the first church established in the County, as then existing, including Madison. The church-edifice, however, on the West side of the river, although commenced as early as 1793, seems not to have been completed until some eight or ten years later, in consequence of an irreconcilable difference of opinion as to its site. Another one was built, on the East side, at about the same time.

As early as 1806, there were, in the village of Sherburne, according to Mr. Newton, three stores owned and occupied by Zacheus W. [*or James*] Elmore, Bela Scoville, and Alfred Gray; two taverns, kept by Samuel Stebbins and Doctor Asa White, one lawyer of the name of Petit; one physician, Doctor White; and a distillery, owned by Gardner White. On the East road, were two taverns kept by Reuben Davis and a Mr. Harris, on the West-hill one kept by Samuel Foote, one at the old Four Corners; one East of the Quarter by a Mr. Pickett; one on the "Handsome Brook" road, kept by Jacob Reese; and, on the North road, two, by Abner Calkins and a Mr. Jeffers. From this multiplicity of hotel accommodations, one would infer either that the Sherburne roads were quite a thoroughfare, or the early inhabitants of a somewhat drouthy constitution—possibly a mixture of both.

In 1812, the first woolen factory was erected, by William Newton, on Handsome Brook, which was twice burned down and finally abandoned; Joshua Pratt had opened a store and built a distillery and ashery; and Joel Hatch a machine-shop; Elias Babcock had opened a store and built a distillery; Alfred Gray had sold his store to Blakesley & Hamlin, and this firm had also built a distillery, Gray having opened a store and tavern, in the vicinity now known as Earlville; John Gray, Junior, and Lauren Curtiss had opened two taverns, in the village; Doctors Guthrie, Knight, and Greene had recruited the stock of physicians; and Lyman S. Rexford and Willard Weldon that of Attorneys. Subsequently came Benjamin Rexford, Daniel Newton, Joseph Benedict, Timothy Hunt, William G. Fargo, Smith M. Purdy, Abram Dixon, John H. Lathrop, and others.

In 1803, the first newspaper published in the County, appears to have been published at Sherburne Four Corners, by Abraham Bosevyn, under the title of the *Western Oracle*—a small octavo sheet. This was succeeded, in 1806, by the *Olive Branch*, edited by Phinney & Fairchild, which was, subsequently, in 1812, transferred to John B. Johnson.

From a very interesting *resumé* of the history of the establishment and organization of the "West-Hill-church," recently communicated to the Editor of the *Chenango Telegraph*, and from the *History of the Town of Sherburne*, by Joel Hatch, Junior, we gather the following additional facts:

Smyrna then formed part of Sherburne, and all the inhabitants on the West side of the river insisted that the "meeting-house" should be at West-Hill, situated on the Great Western Turnpike midway between the two villages or settlements—to accommodate those living in the present town of Smyrna. Among them, were Judge Foote and his sons, Isaac, Amasa, and Hiram, with their families; Chester and George Hammond; Joseph Collins; the families of Joshua and Harvey Talcott; John Percival and

his sons; and many others. The opposition of the East side residents was so strong that a new church. "The Second Calvanistic Congrega-"tional Church in Sherburne" was founded, in October, 1803, and continued in existence for about thirty years, although, for ten years before its extinction, it had scarcely more than "a name to live"—its decay and absorption being caused by circumstances yet to be referred to. The East side church-edifice was, soon after, built, the location selected being on or near the present residence of Asa Foote, a mile and a half North of Sherburne village, where it remained, until 1810, when it was removed to its present location, about midway between the village and "The Quarter." In 1857, it was sold to the Catholic Society, and a new brick church erected, in the centre of the village.

Mr. Hatch relates that the old church remained without plastering, for ten years, and, during two Winters, the storms were permitted to beat into the window-openings, a fact which called out a sharp rebuke from a visiting clergyman. At the close of a service he said: "It is a shame for any people to let their "Minister stand in his pulpit, with the winds "blowing directly on him, while they are "secured from the storm, below. You ought, at "least, to do as much as to board up the "windows in the galleries." This was done before the next Sabbath. The fire-places of the neighbors were thronged, at noon, by the shivering congregation, and the "foot-stoves" replenished with coals, for the afternoon. In moving the church, the ladies bore a part; but, it is hinted that while they held the levers the men quietly and unobserved bore themselves to the burden, proving that gallantry and goodness may be combined in the same persons.

Personal Recollections.—But to return to West Hill. It is believed that a few persons settled there as early as 1792 or 1793; but who were the very first we have no means at hand of determining. Some of those recollected, as early residents on the "West-hill," were the following: Judge Tilly Lynde and his brother, Charles W. Lynde, were the first merchants. They had a large and profitable trade; and laid the foundation of their ample fortunes, in an old store which still stands, in a tolerable state of preservation. Judge Lynde was also prominent in political affairs. In 1818, 1826, and 1828, he was a member of Assembly from the County, and, in 1821–2, was a member of the State Senate, elected from the "Middle District." His last appearance in the political field was in 1832, as the Whig candidate for Congress, from the district, when he was defeated by the late Doctor Henry Mitchell, of Norwich. He, soon after, removed to Homer and, afterwards, to Brooklyn, where he died, some years since. He had several sons who removed to Wisconsin. Two of them were lost, on the sixteenth of June, 1838, by the burning of the steamer *George Washington*, off Silver-creek, Chautauqua-county. Their bodies were washed ashore and found by Mr. David Fairchild, an old Sherburne acquaintance of Judge Lynde. About fifty others perished in that disaster. The oldest son, Pitt Lynde, resides in Milwaukee; and, during Democratic ascendency, was prominent in politics and has held the office of United States District Attorney. Charles W. Lynde was elected to the State Senate, upon the Anti-Masonic ticket, in 1830, from the old Sixth District. He then resided in Cortland; but, subsequently, removed to Brooklyn, where he died. Until Smyrna village had Harvey Talcott and Russell Case as merchants, the western trade was largely drawn to West-Hill, it being a central position and competing with Sherburne, Earlville, Smyrna, and the "Four Corners," until the growth of some of these places diminished and finally absorbed its business.

Frederick Sexton kept a tavern and was known by all who traveled upon the turnpike. He was a good citizen, esteemed by all. While he kept an inviting hostlerie, company and general trainings were held on West-Hill, calling together all the Militia, the "troopers," boys, and ginger-bread peddlers, for many miles around. The writer of the article in question, remembers one of these musters of about fifty years ago, when a "sham fight" was looked upon with more awe than the disastrous Bull-Run battle excited, in 1861. Mr. Sexton died nearly three years since; but his descendants occupy the old homestead.

"Deacon Josiah Adams lived opposite the "old church; and his ancient dwelling re-"mains outwardly as when he left it to take "the journey from which none return. He "was an eminently religious man and trained "his household in the good old New England "ways, and in their case it has proved true—"'Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.'

"Deacon Adams was, we believe, the first "school-master of the place, and taught on the "Hill and at the Four Corners. His birth-place "was New Ipswich, New Hampshire; and he "died on West Hill, on the eleventh of October, "1849, aged eighty-three years. One of his sons, "Rev. Isaac F. Adams, resides in Auburn. The "house of Deacon Adams was a great resort "between the morning and afternoon services, "on the Sabbath, and his generous-hearted "wife always had a large baking, on Saturdays, "and no one was permitted to go away hungry.

"She died, on the second of February 1844, aged "seventy-five years. Her maiden-name was "Foote, a daughter of Judge Isaac Foote, and "sister of the late Isaac Foote, one of the early "Sheriffs of this County. Major Joseph Dixon, "although living a mile South of the Hill, was "numbered among its prominent men. He "owned the farm afterwards owned by Deacon "Isaac Smith, and now by his son, Levi N. "Smith. The latter years of his life were spent "in Smyrna. The Dixon brothers of that place "are his grand-sons. One of his sons, Honora- "ble Abram Dixon, has, for many years, resided "in Chautauqua-county, and, thirty years since, "was a member of the State Senate.

"Doctor Israel Farrel was a prominent phy- "sician, for many years, his practice reaching "into all the adjoining towns. Doctor Guthrie, "Demas Hubbard, Senior, Colonel James "Thompson, now of Akron, Ohio, the Sanfords, "Catlins, and others lived on the Hill, or in the "immediate vicinity, and East of the Hill; but "West of the river, were the Hatches, Ray- "monds, Lathrops, Pratt, Gardiner, and others. "Thus, within a radius of two or three miles, "there lived, soon after the beginning of the "present century, a large number who would "be esteemed, in any community, as men of "strong intellect, most of them of New Eng- "land origin, of the Puritan type in religion "and morals, and some of them prominent in "public affairs and wielding a large influence "throughout the entire circle of their acquaint- "ance, and even where they were not personally "known."

From the original records of *The Second Calvinistic Congregational Church in Sherburne, formed into Church Order, the —— day of October, A. D.* 1803, *under the superintendence of the Rev. Joshua Knapp, of Hamilton*, now in the possession of the author of the article referred to, it appears that the church, at its organization, consisted of the following named persons: John Chapman, Isaac Foote, Ebenezer Baker, Henry Finn, Elijah Sexton, Gambo Desset (colored, and, probably the only colored man then living in the town), Margaret Finn, Triphena Dixon, Sarah Talcott, Sedate Foote, and Elizabeth Merrill. Joshua Knight was, on the twenty-ninth of February 1804, ordained the first Pastor, and Abraham Raymond chosen as the first Deacon. During the ensuing twenty years, the number of communicants increased from eleven to three hundred and twenty-six; after which, it gradually diminished, owing to removals and internal dissensions. Great "revivals" took place in 1816, 1820, and 1821.

"As before intimated 'unruly members' gave "some trouble to the church, and one brother "was arraigned on charges of a violation of "the Sabbath; conduct which gave rise to a "'suspicion of a design to wrong a creditor' "for 'imposing pork upon a brother which is "'said to be not good,' for selling unwhole- "some meat, etc. The controversy was long, "and one of the pleas in justification of selling "meat 'not good' was that the price was very "low! This defence, however, was not satis- "factory, and he was expelled.

"The relations between Pastor and people "were harmonious and pleasant, for a period of "about twenty years; but, in 1823, a serious "difficulty arose. The wife of the Pastor had "died and he had married a widow, with a "daughter, then a child. The second wife died; "and, in 1823, Mr. Knight married his step- "daughter. The ceremony was performed by "a Justice of the Peace, also a member of the "church. The occurrence very naturally shocked "the church and community, and, on the eigh- "teenth of July, 1823, Mr. Knight so far yielded "to public opinion as to resign his place as "Moderator of the church-meetings. Mr. "Knight made a confession, as did his young "step-daughter wife, and it was voted to accept "them; but the scandal could not be thus "wiped out, and the case was sent to a Council, "for advisement. During a part of the time, "before a final decision, the late Rev. Lyman S. "Rexford occupied the pulpit. The record "does not give the result; but Mr. Knight was "deposed from the ministry and, we believe, "he removed to Herkimer-county. The Justice "who performed the marriage ceremony was "also expelled.

"The Rev. Samuel Manning was next called as "a Pastor. He proved an excellent choice, and "gave great satisfaction there, and, afterwards, "in Smyrna, to which place he removed, in 1827, "where most of the members of West Hill- "church, who resided in Smyrna, followed him. "He was a brother-in-law of the venerable "Benjamin Chapman, of Norwich village, and "died, we believe, at Chenango Forks. When "the request of Smyrna members was first pre- "sented for their dismission and recommen- "dation, in 1824, there was a good deal of feel- "ing and a renewal of the strife of 1808, when "the West Hill-church was formed; but the re- "quest was granted 'upon condition that they all "'pay such sums as are due from them, severe- "'ally, to settle with Mr. Knight, and such "'certain individual or individuals as have "'gone astray shall make satisfaction.'"

"Sabbath Schools were, about this time, be- "ginning to be established; and on the seventh of "May, 1824, one was formed, on West Hill, "with Mr. Manning as Moderator and the fol- "lowing District Managers, viz: 1st.—James "Thompson, James I. Gifford; 2d.—Alfred

"Raymond, William G. St. John; 3d.—Samuel "Clemens, Gardner Kenyon. Isaac Foote, Ju- "nior, Joseph Collins, and Israel Farrell were ap- "pointed 'Managers of the concerns of said "'Society,' and James Thompson 'to clean the "'Meeting House, for one year at $3.50'—rather "a low salary for a Church Sexton.

"For a period of three or four years, there "was a constant decrease in the membership, "and very few additions. Those living East of "the Hill and West of the river, went to Sher- "burne; those living West, going to Smyrna; "and, in 1831, the large families of Isaac, Amasa "and Hiram Foote, Joseph Collins, and others "took letters. In 1834, at a church-meeting, "it was decided to give letters to all the re- "maining members, numbering at that time only "seventeen, with leave to unite where God "might call them. Thus, with only a few more "members than when it was organized, in 1803, "the church on West Hill became extinct. For "a score of years, it was a light literally set up- "on a hill, and did not go out until others "rose to eclipse it. The affair of Mr. Knight "was doubtless a heavy blow to its prosperity; "and, not long after, the members began to "scatter and there were few accessions to fill "their places.

"The old Meeting-house was substantially "abandoned, before the church disbanded, but "was occasionally used for a funeral service, "when deceased persons were taken for inter- "ment by the side of friends, in the old ceme- "tery. It was, many years since, moved from "its original location and is used as a barn; and "is not a bad looking one. It had the old-fash- "ioned square pews, one of the sides having "seats which compelled the occupants to face "away from the minister. There were galleries; "but, when playful boys occupied them, the "eye of Mr. Knight was pretty often upon them; "and it never embarrassed him to 'speak "'out in meeting' to them. On more than one "'occasion, he called upon his own sons to 'come "'down and take a seat on the pulpit stairs!'"

Doctor Elial T. Foote, for many years, a resident of Sherburne Hill, and who, subsequently, emigrated to Chautauqua-county, where he long occupied the position of First Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of that County, and now a resident of New Haven, Connecticut, in a communication to the Editor of the *Chenango Telegraph*, corroborates, substantially, the preceding statement, and adds that, according to his recollections, Gerritt Y. Lansing, late of Albany, and who, at the time of his death, a few years since, held the office of Chancellor of the State University, was the first merchant of Sherburne Hill; and that Tilly Lynde was his successor. "Another Pioneer," however, informs the Editor of the *Telegraph*, that "Mr. Lansing's "store was at the 'Forks,' on the road from "Sherburne Hill to Earlville," where he occupied a log building, opposite the old tavern; that Tilly Lynde, then a young man, was his clerk; and, after remaining with Mr. Lansing, for some time, he opened a store on Sherburne Hill, in connection with an extensive Ashery, under the management of Joseph Plumb, a mile West of his store, where the turnpike crosses Pleasant Brook, and there laid the foundations of his future fortune. This store remained in existence, until a very recent period, on its original site; and has been removed to make way for a new building, erected by D. J. Fairchild of that neighborhood.

Personal Recollections.—Mr. Newton, in his *Reminiscences*, gives us a list of descendants from the early settlers of Sherburne and their successors, who had received a liberal education, specifying at what College or other Seminary, and their subsequent calling or profession; from which we abstract the following items:

Among the graduates from Yale-college, were the Rev. David Raymond Dixon, in 1807; Lyman S. Rexford, Esq. Attorney-at-Law, in 1808; Abram Dixon, Attorney, in 1813; Samuel Stebbins, teacher, in 1816; John H. Lathrop, College Professor and teacher, in 1818; Watts S. Lynde, Attorney, 1837; Rev. William Robinson, in 1842; Carolus R. Lynde, Attorney, in 1844; Carolus J. Lynde, Attorney, in 1838; William Pitt Lynde, Attorney, in 1838; Isaac L. Cushman, Attorney, in 1845; Isaac S. Newton, Attorney, in 1848; Hubert A. Newton, Teacher, in 1850; Doctor Homer G. Newton, in 1859. Of those graduated from Union-college, were Rev. E. Raymond, Benjamin F. Rexford, and Christopher Columbus Foster: from Hamilton-college, Rev. Eleazer Lathrop, Alvin Lathrop, Rev. Watson Adams, Rev. Homer Adams, Rev. Isaac F. Adams, Doctor Hiram Adams, Julius Hatch, Esqr., De Witt C. Rexford, Esqr., Caleb Johnson, Charles Pratt, John Babcock, Esq., Israel Foote, (a soldier by profession, and who died in the Army), Rev. S. Curtis, Rev. Lewis Foote, William Lathrop, and Hascal Hatch—the two latter, grandsons of two of the original settlers. From Oneida Institute, were graduated Z. W. Fox, Shubel Carver, Miles Carver, and Hiram Lee, all clergymen. Among those who completed only a partial course, at Hamilton-college, were Joseph Guthrie, Esqr., Rev. Blackledge B. Gray, Milton Lathrop, (who died while in college), Doctor Charles Babcock, and the Rev. Nathaniel Smith. Nathaniel Foote, Joseph and Oliver Benedict, Demas Hubbard, Junior, George P. Avery, Henry Davidson, A. N. Sheldon. Warren Newton, Julius H. Rose, William Hopkins, and David L. Follett, received an Academical education,

and entered the legal profession; Doctors Samuel Guthrie, Elial T. Foote, Devillo White, E. S. Lyman, Doctor Israel Farrell, Junior, Alfred, John and Patrick Gray, Scovill Lee, Ralph and William Lord, Doctor Castell, Erastus King, Thomas and George Avery, George Lawrence, Doctors Gritman and Bresee, John Knapp, Elbert Somers, Franklin Lyman, Lyman Rose, Doctor Rose, (a son of Joseph Rose), Spencer Blodgett, Henry Lyman, Henry Graves, and James Thompson, were respectively educated to the medical profession.

At a later period, Joseph Benedict, Junior, and his brother, Oliver, Milo Hunt, Roswell Judson, Eleazer Williams, Philander B. Prindle, Alvin Lathrop, Rufus S. Rose, Stephen Holden, Charles A. Fuller, Thomas Randall, D. L. Atkyns, M. E. Milliken, Rev. Samuel Miller, Rev. T. P. Halstead, Rev. J. L. Bennett, and many others became enrolled in the list of citizens, in various capacities, as lawyers, clergymen, physicians, editors, etc.

Joseph and Oliver Benedict, after a successful course of law-practice, at Sherburne, transferred themselves to Utica, where they distinguished themselves in their profession. The former represented the County of Oneida, in the Legislature of 1850. Milo Hunt represented Chenango-county, in the Legislature of 1834; was Deputy Sheriff of the County, for several years; a prominent member of the Board of Supervisors; and, in all respects, an estimable and enterprising citizen. Roswell Judson was an able and successful Attorney, and, in 1843, was promoted to the position of First Judge of the County Court and, *ex-officio*, Surrogate. Mr. Prindle has already been sketched in the reminiscences of Norwich. Rufus S. Rose served as Deputy Sheriff, for a long series of years; and sustained a high and reputable character as a citizen. Thomas Randall, Editor and Proprietor of the *Sherburne News*, was a highly intelligent and worthy colored man. His father, Amos Randall, a most estimable man, was a citizen of Norwich, and came thither, as a boy, attached to the family of Elder Jedediah Randall—assuming his surname.

Clark Burnham represented the County in the Legislature of 1842, and was, subsequently, appointed one of the State Canal Commissioners.

In 1872, six only of the settlers who succeeded the original twenty, remained in the South-west quarter of the town, on the places occupied by their forefathers; and nine only survived, on the old homesteads their fathers occupied, in 1812, in the remaining three-quarters of the town. All the pioneers, with the exception of three, were members of the Congregational-church, and all, without exception, attended upon its ministrations, and gave it their hearty support. All lived to be old men of from sixty five to ninety six years of age; and twelve of their number remained in the town until their death. They were, in all respects, pious, worthy, liberal minded, and benevolent men contributing generously, of their means to the exigencies and enterprises of the church, domestic and foreign—useful, honored and respected in their generation, and tenderly and kindly remembered by their successors on the theatre of active life.

Such was Sherburne, in its earliest days, at the close of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth century, as depicted by the venerable octogenarian who survives worthily to commemorate its annals. A pleasant picture of primitive simplicity, energy, piety and moral worth deserving of perpetuation and, as far as may be attainable in these modern days of progress, of imitation by their successors! To reclaim from the rapidly accumulating dust which gradually overspreads the past, these kindly mementos of a by gone age is surely a "labor of love" and cannot fail of appreciation by those whose footsteps, in the busy crowd of to-day, tread in those of eighty years since.

The Sherburne of fifty years ago presented a very different appearance from its flourishing successor of to-day. It was then a quiet, rambling, pleasant little hamlet, with its one solitary church-steeple, its two or three small stores, its public-house, and scattering dwellings and offices. Its wealthy men—land owners, money lenders, and holders of innumerable bonds and mortgages and other securities, were Tilly Lyndc and Elias Babcock; its merchants, Joshua Pratt and William G. Fargo; its Supervisor, Joseph Benedict, Senior; and its lawyers, Lyman S. Rexford and Smith M. Purdy.

Judge Lynde was a portly, grave, and dignified State Senator, and "walked gowned," with his eyes and ears ever open, with lynx-eyed vigilance, to the enhancement and preservation of wealth, in which pursuit, his rival, Babcock, contrived not to fall far behind. Messrs. Pratt and Fargo were estimable, enterprising and worthy men, and on the high-road to subsequent wealth and distinction, as merchants and financiers. Both the elder and younger Benedict were distinguished for strict integrity and great ability for business; and both possessed the entire confidence of the community. Lyman S. Rexford, as well in his capacity of lawyer, as, subsequently, of clergyman, was a shrewd, able, and humorous man; and possessed sterling traits of character. Smith M. Purdy was originally a student in the law-office of James Birdsall, of Norwich, whence he emigrated to Sherburne, where, at the period of which I speak, he was distinguished as a wise counsellor,

and a skillful advocate, and he subsequently transferred himself, again, to Norwich; entered into partnership with Abial Cook, Esq.: and became one of the leaders of the Chenango Bar. He was afterwards appointed First Judge and Surrogate; represented the district in Congress; and died, some two or three years since, at his residence in Norwich.

Philo Robinson, appointed, in 1841, an Associate Judge of the County-court, was also a resident of Sherburne.

V.—*THE ORIGINAL INVENTION OF THE ELECTRO-MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.*

DEPOSITION OF DOCTOR CHARLES T. JACKSON, OF BOSTON.

COMMUNICATED FOR PUBLICATION BY ITS AUTHOR.

[*Deposition of Dr. Charles T. Jackson concerning the original invention of the Electro-magnetic Telegraph.*

Case tried in Kentucky where the documents mentioned in this deposition are now on file & where corroborative evidence of Horatio Bigelow Esq., of Francis & Cyrus Alger are also filed in the Office of the Clerk of the Court. I do not know in which County.

The original draft of my letter to Professor B. Silliman Senr. & the book by Ampere &c are now in the Archives of the Kentucky Court & beyond my reach & I have no duplicate copies of them This I much regret as I ought not to have allowed them to have been taken from me as they are important documents in proving my just claim to the credit of devising the first Electro Magt Telegraph.

The case in trial was the Morse Company *vs* the proprietors of the Columbian telegraph. O'Reilly & others I believe—

This deposition I gave without asking for or taking any pay for my time. I gave it as information due to the public & to the cause of science & the truth.

CHARLES T. JACKSON.

This deposition was given before Commissioner George S. Hillard of Boston who gave me this copy at my request. C. T. J.]

DEPOSITION OF CHARLES T. JACKSON.

1 Please state your age, occupation and residence; and what opportunities, if any, you have enjoyed of becoming acquainted with Chemistry and Electro-magnetism? Please state fully your course of study and examination of these subjects, prior to the Fall of 1832?

Answer. I am forty-four years old. I was educated a physician and am engaged in scientific pursuits, Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology. I reside in Boston. I have been employed, as State Geologist, by the State of Maine; by the State of Massachusetts, for the the public lands in Maine; as State Geologist, by the States of New Hampshire and Rhode Island: and am now United States Geologist, for the mineral lands of the United States in Michigan. I was early interested, while a boy, in the study of Electricity. Between my thirteenth and sixteenth years, I had constructed electrical machines, and had performed most of the experiments described by Doctor Franklin. I engaged in the study of Chemistry, at the same time; and have pursued it, with ardor, ever since. Between 1823 and 1825, I became practically acquainted with the subject of Electro-magnetism, having read and repeated the experiments of Oersted and Soemmering, on Electro-magnetic coils. With the assistance of Elisha Develle, a mathematical instrument-maker of Boston, I constructed a number of pieces of apparatus and repeated the experiments described. I continued the study of Chemistry and Electro-magnetism, as I could find time, till I went to Europe. After I had received my degree, as Doctor of Medicine, in 1829, I went to Europe, for the purpose of improving myself in medicine and in the collateral branches of science. While there, I attended the lectures, in the School of Medicine, in the College of France, one of the courses in the Ecole Royale des Mines, and in the Academy of the Sorbonne; all in Paris. I became deeply interested in Pouillet's lectures on Electro-magnetism, at the Sorbonne. I was in the habit of frequenting the shops of instrument-makers, especially that of Pixii, where electro-magnetic instruments are manufactured, and of examining every new instrument produced. I purchased, of Pixii, an excellent electro-magnet and two small galvanic batteries, used in putting it in action: and brought them home with me, in the packet-ship *Sully*, which left Havre for New York, on the sixth of October, 1832.

2 Please state whether or not you are acquainted with Samuel F. B. Morse? If yea, when and where did you become acquainted with him? What communication or conversation, if any, did you have with him, or others in his presence, on the subject of Electro-magnetism and its application in the transmission of intelligence?

Answer. I am acquainted with Samuel F. B. Morse. The first time I ever saw him was on my voyage home, in the *Sully*, as above-mentioned, he being one of my fellow-passengers. While on the voyage, one day, at table, I introduced the subject of Electricity and Electro-magnetism, describing an experiment, by Pouillet, of sending Electricity a great many times around the Academy of the Sorbonne, without any perceptible loss of time. There being some expression of incredulity, I endeavored to enforce the fact, by alluding to Franklin's experiment of transmitting an electric spark to a great distance, using a wire and water as conductors. Mr. Morse asked in which

of Franklin's works it was contained; and said he had never read it. I stated I believed it was in his Autobiography. After some discussion, on this point, one of the passengers said, "It "would be well if we could send news in this "rapid manner." This was a casual remark, in allusion to our earnest desire to hear from home, as there was some apprehension of a War with France. Mr. Morse said "Why can't we?" I immediately replied "We can. There is no "difficulty about it;" and then proceeded to describe various methods by which I conceived that intelligence might be transmitted by Electricity and Electro-magnetism. *First*, I proposed to count the sparks in a disjoined wire circuit, counting the sparks in time—that is, counting or noting the sparks and the intervals between the sparks. *Second*, by producing colored marks upon prepared paper; the paper being saturated with an easily decomposable neutral salt and stained with turmeric or some other easily changed vegetable colors. *Third*, by saturating the paper with a solution of acetate of lead or carbonate of lead, the paper being moistened, while the electric current was passed through it or over its surface, between points of platinum wire. *Fourth*, I proposed to make use of the electro-magnet, which is formed by coiling copper wire, insulated by being wound with silk, around soft iron, bent in the form of the letter U., the iron being rendered temporarily magnetic, by the passage of a galvanic current through the copper wire, a keeper or armature of soft iron being placed across the poles, and attracted, firmly, against them during the time the galvanic current is passing. I proposed to connect with this keeper the short arm of a lever beam and to fix a point of steel in the long arm of the lever, so that, when the keeper was drawn to the electro-magnet, the point should perforate holes in paper. The paper was to be passed from one reel to another, by clock-work machinery, so that, in intervals of space, these holes might be punctured and telegraphic indications be produced thereby.

When I mentioned the word Electro-magnetism, in the presence of Mr. Morse, during this conversation, he asked me the meaning of the term, saying, "Electro-magnetism! How does that "differ from any other magnetism?" I explained it to him, making drawings of electro-magnets and a galvanic battery, for that purpose. He did not appear to be acquainted with the subject.

During a part of this conversation, Mr. Rives and Mr. Fisher were present, and two Messrs. Palmer, of New York, and Captain William Pell. They were present at the beginning of the conversation, and heard a considerable portion of it; and they all seemed to consider my project visionary. Mr. Morse, at that time, made no queries, and suggested difficulties, and seemed to regard the thing as impracticable. My earnestness increased in proportion to their apparent incredulity.

The next morning, Mr. Morse came to the breakfast table and said that he had not slept during the night, and had been thinking about what I had told him, about telegraphing, and he was satisfied it could be done. I said "I "be sure it can; there is no difficulty about it." We discussed the subject for some time, and during this conversation, I spoke of having an electro-magnet on board and two galvanic batteries, which were stowed away, between decks. I made drawings—rough sketches, as I do not profess to be a draughtsman—of the electro-magnet, which I gave to Mr. Morse, who copied them into his note book, in an artistic manner, asking of me explanations, as he made the drawings.

Either on this, or a subsequent, day, I also described to Mr. Morse a method of making signals for light-houses, by the sudden ignition of charcoal points, after the method discovered by Doctor Hare. I made drawings and showed them to Mr. Morse; but upon this method we had very little conversation, afterwards.

During the rest of the voyage, Mr. Morse appeared very much occupied with the idea of a magnetic telegraph, and followed me about the vessel, asking me questions, and taking notes in his memorandum-book. I grew tired of his questions, as they were purely elementary and had reference to the details of an instrument and process which I thought I had already sufficiently and clearly explained; and I may have occasionally manifested some indifference, when interrogated by him.

On one or two occasions, I manifested some impatience, when interrupted by Mr Morse with questions, while I was engaged in researches in regard to the circulatory organs of porpoises and fishes. These were the only times in which I was engaged in any researches in natural history, while on board the vessel; and to these, I was led, partly, by the request of the Captain, who wished to understand the structure of the heart and to see the valves. I told him, if he would catch a porpoise, I would show him; as the heart of a porpoise resembles closely the human heart.

Within a few days after my first conversation, above mentioned, I think the third day after, I had a conversation with Mr. Morse as to the practicability of devising a system of signs which could be readily interpreted. I proposed an arrangement of punctured points or dots, to represent the ten numerals. Mr. Morse proposed to reduce it to five numerals and a zero,

saying that all numbers could be represented, thereby. Mr. Morse took a dictionary, and numbered the words, and then tried our system of dots against it. We assigned to each word, selected for that purpose, a separate number; and the numbers were indicated by dots and spaces. We took our respective places at the opposite sides of a table. He would send me dispatches, written in numerals, which I would examine by the aid of the marked dictionary, which I held in my hand, and I found no great difficulty in reading them; and then we would change, he taking the dictionary, and I sending the words. Mr. Morse took the principal part in arranging the system of signs, and deserves the greatest credit for it. Mr. Morse made notes of the system of signs, so far as we had completed it, in his note-book, either fully or partially. We had absolutely concluded on no complete system before the termination of the voyage.

I saw Mr. Morse's note-book, in which he made his plans and observations, from his first entries in it, in regard to the telegraph, until the end of the voyage. He would often bring it and show it to me, and show me the notes and plans in it; but I never had it in my possession. I saw nothing in it which I had not explained and given him rough draughts of, except the system of signs, which was the result of our joint action, as before stated.

We gave the name of electro-magnetic telegraph to the instrument proposed and explained, as above; and this was the name by which it was known and called in our conversations.

After our arrival, in New York, Mr. Morse brought to me, in New York, a plate of copper and a plate of zinc, each about two inches square, connected by a strap of copper, more than a foot in length and about half an inch in width, and asked me if that would do for an elementary battery. I told him, "No"—that it would make no battery, at all; that the plates must be near each other, and not connected, for an elementary battery, which he proposed to make. His producing a contrivance like that showed that he was not acquainted with the subject of Galvanism; not even knowing how to construct a galvanic battery, which is essential to produce the electric current. I explained to him how it should be made.

In a few days after my arrival at New York, I returned to Boston. Afterwards, I went to Philadelphia, to attend the medical lectures; and, in the Spring of 1833, I commenced the practice of my profession, in Boston. Soon after, my circumstances became embarrassed, through the loss of my property, from the failure of my agent; and I was obliged to devote myself assiduously and almost exclusively to support of myself and my family, having been married in February, 1834; so that I gave little attention, comparatively, to the magnetic telegraph. In the Spring of 1833, soon after my return from Philadelphia, an article was shown to me, in the *Newark Railroad Journal*, wherein an account was given of a Caveat filed at our Patent-office for a magnetic telegraph, by an Englishman. This instrument resembling, in some of its details, that which I had described to Mr. Morse, I wrote to him, requesting him to ascertain who this Englishman was, and if he had got possession of our plan. I think Mr. Morse replied to this letter; but I cannot say, positively, as many of my letters were destroyed by a fire in my house, in 1845.

Subsequently, Mr. Morse visited me, in Boston, and told me he found this Englishman boarded at Bunker's Hotel, where Captain Pell also boarded; and that he had probably heard Captain Pell talk about it, at table. Up to this time, Mr. Morse had not set up any exclusive claim to the telegraph; but, in his conversations with me, he had always spoken as if he regarded me as the originator of the idea of transmitting intelligence by Electro-magnetism, and the contrivance, for that purpose, devised on board the *Sully*, as the fruit of our joint consultations. He claimed no share in anything which was not mechanical.

During this visit, Mr. Morse requested me to put up an experimental telegraph between Boston and Cambridge, for the purpose of testing its practicability. I declined, on account of the embarrassed state of my affairs, the expense being more than I could afford, and my time being very much occupied with medical business. I told him that the batteries required for the purpose would be very expensive; that several would be required, in order to maintain a steady current, no constant battery having been invented, at that time. Mr. Morse wished to know who had powerful galvanic batteries; and I referred him to Doctor Hare and Professor Silliman. We had a great deal of conversation about our invention of the telegraph; and I think I showed him the electro-magnet of Pixii, of which I had given him a description and a rough draft, on board the *Sully*.

He subsequently visited me, I think in 1836, or perhaps in 1837, sometime before he went to Europe; and we had much conversation upon the mode of conveying information by means of an electric telegraph. The most friendly relations subsisted between Mr. Morse and myself, at this time, and continued till he attempted to appropriate to himself the exclusive merit of having invented the telegraph, with the view of obtaining a patent. In all our investigations, I had not regarded it in the light of a commer-

cial enterprise, but as a matter of scientific interest. My object was, and I supposed Mr. Morse's was, up to the time I learned he was applying for a Patent, to establish a new application of science to the arts, of which I desired the community at large should have the benefit. I always expressed, among my acquaintances, my views, freely, upon the impropriety of scientific men's taking out Patents for their discoveries; but do not remember any particular conversation with Mr. Morse upon this subject, though I think he could hardly have been unacquainted with my sentiments upon this subject.

3 Please state whether or not, after your return from Europe, you constructed any telegraphic apparatus; and if any, what?

Answer. In 1834, I took the electro-magnet which I brought home in the *Sully*, which I have now before me, and fixed it firmly inside of a wooden box, having a hole sawed in the side, for the passage of a lever beam, the short arm of which was to be attached to the armature of the magnet; the fulcrum being an iron wire passing through the side of the box and the lever. A pin was inserted in the long arm of the lever, for the purpose of puncturing holes, in paper. A weight was placed under the armature, for the purpose of drawing the armature away from the magnet, when it ceased to be magnetised. The wires from the electro-magnet came through holes, in the side of the box, and were connected with long wires which traversed the apartment and communicated with a small galvanic battery, at the other end of the apartment. This was a rough and extempore contrivance, for the purpose of testing the practicability of working a lever beam by electro-magnetism, so as to produce, by the pin-point, attached to the end of it, punctures on paper, or other permanent markings or impressions. I proposed, at this time, not only to effect punctures for the purposes of telegraphic communication, but, also, to attach actual type to the lever, or double boxes made so as to contain a sponge dipped in ink, which would produce numbers or letters through a stencil plate, which formed the bottom of the box. In this case I proposed to use a number of electro-magnets corresponding to the numbers or letters employed. But this plan of printing, I never reduced to practice. I had not thought, at this time, of any other signs than those which are above referred to, namely chemical markings and punctures or impressions on paper, as above described; but the contrivance, as above detailed, which would give these signals, would, it is obvious, produce any desired signs, on any system, which might be devised or used by an operator.

4 Please state whether or not, after your return from Europe, you had any communications or conversations in regard to the electro magnetic telegraph with others, besides Mr Morse? If so, with whom, and what was it?

Answer. Immediately upon my arrival at New York, I spoke freely upon the subject, especially at Bunker's hotel, where I was staying, with such of the boarders as I knew, among others, with Horatio Bigelow, Esq. now of Boston. I wrote a letter to Professor Silliman, dated "New "York, December 25, 1832," announcing my return home and giving a brief account of my observations, abroad. I gave him an account of the most recent electro magnetic machine which had been invented in Paris, namely Pixii's magneto-electric machine, by which sparks were drawn from a magnet. I also described the experiments which I performed with this, at Pixii's. An extract from this letter was published in the *American Journal*, of January, 1833, I believe. I also referred to the invention of the electro-magnetic telegraph, as follows. "On my voyage home, I had the plea-"sure of becoming acquainted with Mr. S. F. "B. Morse, a distinguished American artist, "who is very ingenious in mechanical inven-"tions. We employed our weary hours, at sea, "in contriving various things, among which "we invented an electric telegraph, lighthouse, "etc. As we intend to make some experiments "before we say anything about these products "of our speculations, I forbear troubling you "with a description of the machinery, until "it shall be matured and proved, on a small "scale, by actual trial."

I have the letter from which this extract is made, before me, which is identified by my initials and those of the magistrate; and it is the rough draft of the letter which I sent, at that time, to Professor Silliman. It is injured by the fire already referred to.

After my return to Boston, I had repeated conversations with Cyrus Alger, Esq., of South Boston, and his son, Francis Alger, Esq., on the mode of telegraphing by Electro magnetism and the contrivances for that purpose, as herein before described. I showed Francis Alger, in 1834, the electro-magnet, with the lever beam attached, as heretofore described; and put it in action, in his presence. At the same time, I described to him Pixii's magneto electric machine, for drawing sparks from a magnet; but I had not this last machine before me. I constantly exhibited this electro-magnet in my lectures, both here and in the State of Maine; and spoke of it as applicable to the transmission of intelligence.

5 Please state, if you are able, by whom the idea of transmitting intelligence by Electro-

magnetism or by Electricity was first conceived; and what information or means of information you possessed, when on board the *Sully?*

Answer. So far as I know, the idea of transmitting intelligence by electro-magnetism was first suggested by Ampére of Paris, as appears in a work, entitled *Exposé des nouvelles découvertes sur l'électricité et le magnetisme, de Mm. Oersted, Arago, Ampére, H. Davy, Biot, Erman, Schweiger, de la Rive &c. par Mm. Ampére and Babinet,* published in Paris, in 1822. I had this book on board the *Sully;* but had not read it. At that time, from my own experiments and those of Pouillet, I had become perfectly familiar with all that could be done by Electro-magnetism, so far as then known. The telegraph was an application of well-ascertained principles; and my familiarity with the subject enabled me to suggest plans and details, at once, without premeditation, as soon as my attention was called to it.

The book above-mentioned is identified by my name and the initials of the magistrate on the cover.

6. Please state at what time Mr. Morse's claim to the exclusive invention of the electro-magnetic telegraph first came to your knowledge; and what steps, if any, you took in regard to that claim?

Answer. In 1837, in August, I first heard that Mr. Morse had set up a claim to the exclusive invention of the magnetic telegraph. It was in a letter to me, from him, dated twenty-eighth of August 1837, in which he spoke of it as *his* telegraph. Afterwards, I saw a short paragraph in a New York newspaper, stating that the credit of the invention was wholly due to their townsman, S. F. B. Morse. I wrote Mr. Morse a strong remonstrance; and claimed the invention as principally belonging to me. He replied, and I rejoined; and several letters passed between us. I heard that Mr. Morse had sent an article on the subject, to the *American Journal of Science and Arts;* and I wrote to Professor Silliman that I should make a reply, if it appeared; and I understood the article was withdrawn. I also wrote a letter to a member of the Academy of Sciences, Mons. Elie de Beaumont, denying Mr. Morse's exclusive claim, having heard that he had set it up, before that body. An article appeared, in 1839, in the *Boston Post,* from memoranda furnished by me, in defence of my claim. To this, Mr. Morse replied, in the same paper. I prepared a rejoinder; but the Editor dissuaded me from printing it, saying that the controversy would be long, and that, as I did not seek a Patent, I had no object to engage in it. He offered to publish the article, however, if I desired it; but I thought best to withdraw it. From the time I first heard of Mr. Morse's application for a Patent, up to the present time, I have constantly and publicly denied his right to it, upon the ground that he was not the original inventor.

7 Please state any other matters you may know material to either party to this suit, in relation to the invention of the telegraph?

Answer. At the time that these conversations took place, and for some years afterwards, I was aware that the electro-magnetic telegraph could not be rendered commercially valuable, for want of a sustaining battery, or one that would keep up a steady and uniform current of Electricity—no such battery being at that time known. Professor Daniels of London invented the first constant or sustaining battery, about 1839; and Grove's platinum constant battery, which is still better, was not invented until a year or more after that of Daniels. These or similar batteries are essential to the economical use of the electro-magnetic telegraph, so as to make it available for common purposes, although the practicability of such a telegraph could be and was demonstrated by the aid of the batteries previously in use. I would add, that I neither have nor have had any disposition to deny to Mr. Morse great credit for mechanical ingenuity and facility in applying the successive inventions in the arts, such as the batteries above-mentioned, to the purposes of the telegraph. He did mature and put into operation a telegraph, either by his own ingenuity or with the aid of others; and improved the system of characters or signs for an alphabet. I only mean, in this deposition, to assert that he is not the original and exclusive inventor.

I wish to add, that my experiments with Develle were not made with the iron electro-magnet, which was not then invented, but with copper helices and coils, rendered magnetic by a galvanic battery.

Mr. Morse, as an apology for not knowing anything about Electro-magnetism, said that he had paid no attention to the subject, being wholly occupied with Painting and the Fine Arts.

The following are the names of the passengers who were with me on board the *Sully*—William C. Rives and family; Mrs. Palmer and Miss Palmer; Mr. Charles Palmer, Mr. William Palmer; Mr. Frederic Palmer; Mr. S. F. B. Morse; Mr. and Mrs. Bargy and child; Doctor Hazlitt, U. S. N.; Mr. L. Rogers, of Virginia; Mr. J. F. Fisher, of Philadelphia; Mr. C. Post of New York; Mr. Constable, of New York; Mr. J. de la Lande; Mr. Chazal; and Mr. A. F. Scheidler.

8 Please state whether or not you are acquainted with the Columbian telegraph and

that patented by Mr. Morse? If you are, state whether any, and if any, what differences exist between them?

Answer. The instrument for which Mr. Morse holds a Patent is an iron electro-magnet, attracting by means of Electro-magnetism, produced by a galvanic battery attracting an iron keeper, which connects the poles of the electro-magnet; and the power which separates the keeper from the electro-magnet, when it is not rendered magnetic, is a steel spring, but was originally a weight.

In the Columbian telegraph, permanent magnets are employed as a power; and these permanent magnets are not dependent on Electro-magnetism produced by chemical means or by any galvanic battery; for the magnetic power may be derived directly from the earth's native magnetism, by induction, or be taken from native magnetic iron-ores. The only use made of Electro-magnetism, or Magnetism derived from a galvanic battery, in the action of this instrument, is in annulling or neutralizing the power of the native Magnetism of the steel permanent magnets upon the armature, while a steel spring draws it away. This description applies to the mutator of the Columbian. In the register, the electric currents of two local circuits are employed to change the polarities of the armature moving between the two opposite magnets, so as to enable them to work it and the marker by the alternate attraction and repulsion of permanent Magnetism. This instrument is, in its principles and construction, altogether different from that patented by Mr. Morse; and the power operating is permanent Magnetism and not Electro-magnetism. Electro-magnetism is employed as a check or opposing force to temporarily neutralize the permanent Magnetism of the steel magnets. This opinion I have derived from an examination of the drawings of the instruments laid before me, which are identified by my initials and those of the magistrate. I am informed that the Columbian telegraph is not so liable to be affected by atmospheric Electricity, as that patented by Mr. Morse. If such is the fact, then this is, on that account, superior to that of Mr. Morse.

CHARLES T. JACKSON.

—In a window in the Treadwell House, so-called, near Newmarket Junction, is a pane of glass on which is written with the point of a diamond, "*S. Treadwell*, 1617." Mrs. Newhall of Greenland, who is a daughter of the late Charles Treadwell, is of the opinion that the pane was brought from England to Portsmouth, and there kept in the family, until her grandfather, Nathaniel Treadwell, moved to Newmarket about sixty years ago.

VI.—*GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY.*[*]

The following matter of fact, relating to the disinterment of the remains of General Montgomery, is unquestionably authentic. In the year 1818, a request having been made to the Governor in-Chief, Sir John Sherbrooke, for leave to disinter the remains of General Montgomery, in order that they might be conveyed to New York, and there re-interred, His Excellency acceded to the request, which came to him, on the part of Mrs. Montgomery, the widow of the General. Mr. James Thompson, an old gentleman of respectability, serving in the Engineer Department, at Quebec, (a Sergeant under General Wolfe, at the conquest,) who bore arms, during the siege of the Winter of 1775-6, in defence of the city, and, on the morning after the attack, had found the body of the deceased General, and afterwards saw it interred in one of the bastions, near St. Lewis-gate, by order of the British Commander, was now ordered to explore the place of interment and dig up the remains. This he accordingly did, in the presence of one of His Excellency's Aides-de-camp, Captain Freer: and, although the spot where the body had been deposited was entirely altered in appearance, from the demolition of an old building or powder-magazine which was near it, and the subsequent construction of a range of barracks, he hit upon the foot of the coffin, which was much decayed, but of the identity whereof there could not be a doubt, no other body having been interred in its immediate neighborhood, except those of the General's two Aides, M'Pherson and Cheeseman, which were placed on each side of their master's body, in their clothes, and without coffins.

Mr. Thompson gave the following affidavit of the facts, in order to satisfy the surviving relations and friends of General Montgomery, that the remains which had been so disinterred, after the lapse of forty-two years, by the same hand that had interred them, were really those of the late General:

"I, James Thompson, of the City of Quebec, "in the Province of Lower Canada, do testify "and declare—that I served in the capacity of "an Assistant Engineer, during the siege of this "city, invested, during the years 1775 and 1776, "by the American forces, under the command

[*] The following papers were communicated by Doctor W. J. Anderson, the distinguished President of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society. They have been already published in that city; but, as they are not generally accessible in the original publications, we have copied them for the information of our readers.—EDITOR.

"of the late Major-general Richard Montgom-
"ery. That, in an attack made by the
"American troops, under the immediate com-
"mand of General Montgomery, in the night of
"the thirty-first of December, 1775, on a British
"post, at the southernmost extremity of the city,
"near *Près de-Ville*, the General received a mor-
"tal wound, and with him were killed his two
"Aides-de-camp, M'Pherson and Cheeseman,
"who were found, in the morning of the first
"of January, 1776, almost covered with snow.
"That Mrs. Prentice, who kept an hotel, at
"Quebec, and with whom General Montgomery
"had previously boarded, was brought to view
"the body, after it was placed in the Guard-
"room, and which she recognized, by a parti-
"cular mark which he had on the side of his
"head, to be the General's. That the body
"was then conveyed to a house, (Gobert's) *
"by order of Mr. Cramahé, who provided a
"genteel coffin for the General's body, which
"was lined inside with flannel, and outside of it
"with black cloth. That, in the night of the
"fourth of January, it was conveyed by me
"from Gobert's house, and was interred six feet
"in front of the gate, within a wall that sur-
"rounded a powder-magazine, near the ram-
"parts bounding on St. Lewis-gate. That the
"funeral service was performed, at the grave, by
"the Reverend Mr. de Montmolin, then Chap-
"lain of the garrison. That his two Aides-de-
"camp were buried in their clothes, without
"any coffins; and that no person was buried
"within twenty-five yards of the General. That
"I am positive, and can testify and declare, that
"the coffin of the late General Montgomery,
"taken up on the morning of the sixteenth of
"the present month of June, 1818, is the iden-
"tical coffin deposited by me on the day of his
"burial; and that the present coffin contains the
"remains of the late General. I do further tes-
"tify and declare that, subsequent to the find-
"ing of General Montgomery's body, I wore
"his sword, being lighter than my own; and
"on going to the Seminary, where the American
"officers were lodged, they recognized the
"sword, which affected them so much, that
"numbers of them wept, in consequence of
"which, I have never worn the sword since.

"Given under my hand, at the city of Quebec,
"Province of Lower Canada, on the nineteenth
"of June, 1818.

"JAMES THOMPSON."

The following, from the Journal of Mr. James Thompson, late of the Seventy-eighth Highlanders, as dictated to his son James, at Quebec, in 1828, further illustrates this subject:

"*CAPTAIN MONTGOMERY.*

"AFTERWARDS GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN
"SERVICE, 1759—1775.

"I knew Montgomery at the taking of
"Quebec, in 1759; he was then a Captain, and
"commanded a Fencible Corps, of which I do
"not recollect the name. He was posted just
"on the off-side of the Falls of Montmorency,
"and was sent, by General Wolfe, on some
"particular business, down towards Ange Gar-
"dien. As he advanced, some of the people
"turned out and fired upon his advanced party;
"and this brought on a more general action.
"Amongst the number that opposed him, in this
"way, was the Priest of the Parish, as command-
"ing officer. Montgomery defended himself,
"obstinately; and killed most of the Canadians,
"including the Priest himself.*

"This exasperated them so much, that they
"became frantic, and scarcely knew what they
"were about, and, from want of discipline and
"order, they exposed themselves to Montgom-
"ery's mercy.

"Montgomery knew how to take advantage
"of this; and his party killed every one who
"came in his way, without any mercy. He fell
"in with one of his Sergeants, having under his
"charge a young Canadian gentleman who had
"been placed with the Priest, for his education,
"and who, after having lost his teacher, had
"placed himself under the protection of this
"Sergeant, in order to save himself from the
"butchering work which he had witnessed.
"Montgomery, after finding out that he was a
"Canadian, had him shot that instant.

"General Wolfe was very much vexed at
"Montgomery's conduct. It afterwards appear-
"ed that the cause of his resentment towards
"the Canadians was, his having lost a brother
"who had been killed, and his body afterwards
"cruelly mangled by the *savages* in connection*
"*with the Canadians* that were in alliance with
"the savages.

"After the war, Montgomery's Corps was dis-
"banded, and he went back to New England,
"where he engaged in the Revolutionary War
"against Great Britain; and, from his previous

* Gobert's house was at the corner of St. Lewis and St. Ursule-streets, on the site of the house now numbered 42 St. Lewis-street.

* Notwithstanding the version of Mr. Thompson, I am inclined to believe, with Lieutenant Fraser, who was present at the St. Joachim butchery, that the officer in charge was not Lieutenant Richard Montgomery, of the Seventeenth Foot, but Captain Alexander Montgomery, of the Forty-third Foot.—*Vide Fraser's Journal*, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, page 13.

* The word "Canadians" is written above those words erased in manuscript.

"knowledge of Quebec, he was, no doubt, "considered the best qualified to head the army "that came to the attack of the place, in the "year 1775, on which occasion, he and many of "his army lost their lives, on the night of the "thirty-first of December. It was I who found "his body, in the snow, and afterwards had the "direction of burying it, privately, by order of "General Carleton. The remains were, about "the year 1820, taken to the States, by his "nephew, Mr. Lewis, who obtained the per-"mission of the Governor to that effect. He "was the only officer of that army who wore a "sword, that ever I discovered; and that self-"same sword is in my possession to this very "day. It is silver-mounted, but, altogether, "but a poor-looking thing. It has, however, "been the means of my receiving the visits of a "great number of American ladies and gentle-"men, who put so many questions to me, that "I am heartily tired of answering them, now "that old age has got the better of me."

The above was related by my father, in August, 1828, says Mr. James Thompson Junior.

"This sword," adds the latter gentleman, "is now (18th March, 1831,) in my possession, "at the Cedars; together with a detailed ac-"count of the manner in which Montgomery "met his death; the particulars of his burial and "of his disinterment, the whole certified by my "father's own signature."

The following, from Hawkins's *New Historical Picture of Quebec*, relates to the same subject:

"*GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY—HIS SWORD, ETC.*,

"AS RELATED BY MR. JAMES THOMPSON, OVER-"SEER OF WORKS FOR THE GARRISON OF QUEBEC, "WHO, FROM HIS PUBLIC SITUATION, HAD A "PARTICULAR KNOWLEDGE OF THE CIRCUM-"STANCES.

"General Montgomery was killed on the "occasion of his heading a Division of American "troops, while moving up to the assault of "Quebec, on the night of the thirty-first of De-"cember, 1775, or, rather, the morning of the first "of January, 1776, during a heavy snow-storm "from the North-east; under the favor of which, "as also to avoid the exposed situation to which "his men would have been subjected, had the "attack been made on the land side, where "there were lantern and composition-pots kept "burning, every night, during the absence of the "moon, he expected the better to carry his "point.

"The path leading round the bottom of the "rock on which the garrison stands, and called "*Près de-Ville*, was then quite narrow; so that

"the front of the line of march could present "only a few files of men. The Sergeant* who "had charge of the barrier-guard, at Hope "McQuarters,—where there was a gun kept "loaded with grape and musket-balls, and "levelled every evening in the direction of the "said foot path—had orders to be vigilant, and, "when assured of an approach by any body of "men, to fire the gun. It was Colonel Montgom-"ery's fate to be among the leading files of the "storming-party; and the precision with which "McQuarters acquitted himself of the orders "he had received, resulted in the death of the "General, two Aides-de-camp, and a Sergeant, "at least, these were all that could be found, "after the search made, at dawn of day, the "next morning. There was but one discharge "of the gun, from which the General had re-"ceived a grape-shot, in his chin, one in the "groin, and one through the thigh, which "shattered the bone. I never could ascertain "whether the defection of Montgomery's fol-"lowers was in consequence of the fall of their "leader, or whether owing to their being pani-"struck,—a consequence so peculiar to an un-"looked-for shock, in the dead of night, and "when almost on the point of coming into "action; added to which, the meeting with an "obstruction (in the barrier) where one was not "suspected to exist. Be that as it may, he or "rather, the cause in which he had engaged, was "deserted by his followers, at the instant that "their perseverance and intrepidity were the "most needed. I afterwards learnt that the "men's engagements were to terminate on "thirty-first of December, 1775.

"Considering the then weak state of the garri-"son of Quebec, it is hard to say how much "further the enterprise might have been carried "had Montgomery effected a junction with "Arnold, whose Division of the storming party, "then simultaneously approaching by the Sault "au-Matelot extremity, was left to carry on the "contest, alone, unaided, and which was left to "sustain the whole brunt of the battle. But "as I do not undertake to give a detailed his-"tory of the whole of the events, I return to "the *General* and the sword. Holding the situ-"ation of Overseer of Works in the Royal "Engineer Department, at Quebec, I had the "superintendence of the defences to be erected "throughout the place, which brought to my "notice almost every incident connected with "the military operations of the blockade of "1775; and, from the part I had performed in "the affair, generally, I considered that I had

* There were other Canadian worthies who could legitimately share the credit of this *fait d'armes*—Chabot Curé and the Captain of an English transport *Barnsfare*.

"some right to withhold the General's sword,
"particularly as it had been obtained on the
"battle-ground.

"On its having been ascertained that Mon-
"gomery's Division had withdrawn, a party
"went out to view the effects of the shot, when,
"as the snow had fallen, in the previous night,
"about knee deep, the only part of a body that
"appeared *above* the level of the snow was that
"of the General himself, whose hand and part
"of the left arm was in an erect position, but
"the body itself much distorted, the knees
"being drawn up towards the head; the other
"bodies that were found, at the moment, were
"those of his Aides-de-camp, Cheeseman and
"McPherson, and one Sergeant. The whole
"were hard frozen. Montgomery's sword (and
"he was the only officer of that army who wore
"a sword, that I ever perceived) was close by
"his side; and, as soon as it was discovered,
"which was first by a drummer-boy, who made
"a snatch at it, on the spur of the moment, and
"no doubt considered it as his lawful prize;
"but I immediately made him deliver it up to
"me, and, some time after, I made him a pres-
"ent of seven shillings and sixpence, by way
"of prize-money.

"The sword has been in my possession to the
"present day (16th Aug. 1828). It has a head
"at the top of the hilt, somewhat resembling
"a lion's or a bulldog's, with cropped ears, the
"edges indented, with a ring passing through
"the chin or under jaw, from which is suspended
"a double silver chain communicating with the
"front tip of the guard, by a second ring; at
"the lower end of the handle there is, on each
"side, the figure of a spread eagle. The whole
"of the metal part of the hilt is of silver.
"About half an inch of the back part of the
"guard was broken off, while in my possession.
"The handle itself is of ivory, and undulated
"obliquely, from top to bottom. The blade,
"which is twenty-two inches long, and fluted
"near the back, is single-edged, with a slight
"curve towards the point, about six inches of
"which, however, is sharp on both edges, and
"the word "HARVEY" is imprinted on it,
"five and a half inches from the top, in Roman
"capitals, in a direction upwards. The whole
"length of the blade is two feet four inches
"(when found it had no scabbard or sheath;
"but I soon had the present one made, and
"mounted in silver, to correspond). As it was
"lighter and shorter than my own sword, I
"adopted it and wore it, in lieu. Having some
"business at the "Seminaire," where there was
"a number of American officers, prisoners of
"war, of General Arnold's Division, I had oc-
"casion to be much vexed with myself for
"having it with me, for the instant they ob-
"served it, they knew it to have been their
"General's; and they were very much affected
"by the recollections that it seemed to bring
"back to their minds,—indeed, several of them
"wept, audibly! I took care, however, in
"mercy to the feelings of those ill-fated gentle-
"men, that, whenever I had to go to the
"Seminary, afterwards, to leave the sword be-
"hind me. To return to the General; the body
"on its being brought within the walls (the
"garrison) was identified by Mrs. Widow
"Prentice, who then kept the hotel known by
"the name of 'Free Mason's Hall,' by a scar on
"one of his cheeks, supposed to be a sabre-cut,
"and by the General having frequently lodged
"at her house, on previous occasions of his
"coming to Quebec, on business. General
"Carleton, the then Governor General, being
"satisfied as to his identity, ordered that the
"body should be decently buried, in the most
"private manner; and His Excellency entrusted
"the business to me. I accordingly had the body
"conveyed to a small log house, in St. Lewis-
"street, (opposite to the then residence of Judge
"Dunn,) the second from the corner of St.
"Ursule-street, owned by one Francois Gaubert,
"a cooper; and I ordered Henry Dunn, joiner,
"prepare a suitable coffin; this he complied with,
"in every respect becoming the rank of the de-
"ceased, having covered it with fine black cloth
"and lined it with flannel; after the job was
"completed there was nobody to indemnify six
"dollars that Dunn gave to the six men who
"bore the body to the grave; he wished to
"insist upon my paying his account, as
"the orders for the other work had been given
"and paid by me; but, as I could not have re-
"quired his men (having enough soldiers of my
"own) I contrived to put him off, from time to
"time, and I really believe it remains unpaid till
"to this day; however, Dunn is long since
"dead, and as he could well afford to be at the
"loss, it was, perhaps, after all, only compelling
"him to a generous action towards a fallen foe.
"He deserved, in some measure, to sustain the
"loss, for I gave him no directions about the
"six men, as I had a party of my own, in wait-
"ing, at the Chateau, to carry the corpse to the
"grave, at the moment that General Carleton
"conceived proper; and when I did ascertain
"his wishes to that effect, I proceeded to
"Gaubert's, where I was told that Mr. Dunn
"had just taken away the corpse; this was
"about the setting of the sun, on the fourth of
"January, 1776. I accordingly posted up to
"the place where I had ordered the grave to be
"dug, (just alongside of that of my first wife,
"within, and near, the surrounding wall of the
"powder-magazine, in the gorge of the St.
"Lewis-bastion,) and found, in addition to the

"six men and Dunn, the undertaker, that the "Rev. Mr. De Montmollin, the military Chaplain, "was in attendance, and the business thus "finished before I got there. On satisfying my- "self that the grave was properly covered up, "I went and reported the circumstances to "General Carleton, who expressed himself not "too well pleased with Dunn's officiousness. "It having afterwards been decided to demolish "the powder-magazine, and to erect a case- "mated barrack in its stead, I took care to mark "the spot where Montgomery was buried (not "so much, perhaps, on *his* account, as from the "interest I felt for it, on another score) by "having a small cut stone inserted in the pave- "ment, within the barrack square; and this "precaution enabled me, afterwards, to point "out the place to a nephew of the General, Mr. "Lewis, who, learning that the person who had "had the direction of the burial of his uncle's "corpse was still living, came to Quebec, about "the year 1818, for the laudable purpose of ob- "taining the permission of the military com- "mander, General Sherbrooke, to take away "the remains. I, of course, was called upon "for the purpose of pointing out the spot; "and, having repaired thither, with young Mr. "Lewis and several officers of the garrison, to- "gether with Chief-justice Sewell and some "friends of the deceased, I directed the work- "men, at once, where to dig, and they accord- "ingly took up the pavement exactly in the "direction of the grave. The skeleton was found "complete, and, when removed, a musket-ball "fell from the skull; the coffin nearly decayed. "No part of the black cloth of the outside nor "of the flannel of the inside were visible; a "leather thong, with which the hair had been "tied, was still in a state of preservation, after "a lapse of forty-three years; there is a spring "of water near the place, which may have had "the effect of hastening the decay of the con- "tents of the grave.

"The particulars attending the removal of "the remains, through the several towns of the "United States, to their ultimate place of de- "posit (Broadway, New York) were published "in all the public papers, in that line of com- "munication.

"JAMES THOMPSON,
"Overseer of Works.

"QUEBEC, 16th August, 1828."

The following in addition, was related on Friday evening, the nineteenth of December, 1828:

"While engaged in giving directions in re- "spect of the burial of the General's two Aids "(who were both put into the same grave, just "as they had been found, a little in advance of "the spot where the General was interred,) there "were sent seventeen dead soldiers of General "Arnold's Division, brought up from Sault au "Matelot, for the purpose of being buried; "these were all put into one pit, dug in the slope "of the rampart, just in the rear of the powder- "magazine, also without coffins, as is the prac- "tice on the battle-field, but no particular mark "was left to show the place. Many of the Amer- "ican soldiers that were killed in their attempt to "force the barrier at Sault au Matelot, were "buried on the beach, in front of the property "of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Racey, both known

"The foregoing particulars were committed "to writing in consequence of the frequent visits "of American ladies and gentlemen, to obtain a "view of Montgomery's sword and a recital of "the circumstances attending his death and bur- "ial; and in a view, also, of averting the fatigue "occasioned by the repeated recital, at my fa- "ther's very advanced age—ninety-five years.

"JAMES THOMPSON, JR.

"A Mr. Ford and a Mr. Gibson, two Ameri- "can gentlemen, the former a historian and the "latter a painter, called upon my father, in 1828, "to be permitted to participate in the infor- "mation which he possessed, in regard to the "American attack on Quebec; the particulars of "General Montgomery's death and burial; his "sword; etc., etc.; and Mr. Gibson begged to be "allowed to take my father's portrait, for the "purpose of being appended to an historical work "then in a state of progress, which being ac- "quiesced in, he (Mr. Gibson) continued some "time in contemplating the outlines of his fea- "tures, and expressed his ability to design a "portrait from the impression alone which he "had framed of his features, on inspection.

"JAMES THOMPSON, JR."

VII.—*GENERAL CHILDS, U. S. A.*

*EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FAMILY.**

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

[Without any intention to write a history of the Florida War it may be proper to notice its origin, and to give, from time to time, very briefly, such statements of current events as may be necessary to the comprehension of the letters.

In 1821, Florida was ceded by Spain to the United States. The Indians, who had maintained the most friendly relations with the Spaniards, were then in possession of the best portions of the country—their villages extending from St. Augustine, on the East, to the Appalachicola river, on the West. In 1823, by the Treaty of Fort Moultrie, they relinquished all claim to the

* Some years since, while we were engaged on another historical work, we received from the widow of General Childs a package of extracts from the correspondence of that excellent soldier with his wife and children, embracing all of that corres-

upper part of Florida, and bound themselves to live within certain southern and interior boundaries.

Difficulties arose and continued. The white man looked with a covetous eye and, sometimes, laid a depredating hand on the Indian "reserve"; while the red man too often came out of his limits to steal—sometimes to murder. Had the Indians lived in an open country, hemmed in by dense settlements of the whites, it would have been very easy to control them; and this fact would have given a feeling of security to their neighbors. But of all places on this continent, Florida stands foremost as a strong hold for the hostile savage.

It was soon perceived that Florida could never fully belong to the dominant race, so long as the wild man retained any footing in the country.

In 1832, the Indian Chiefs were induced to enter into another Treaty—that of Payne's Landing—by which they bound themselves to emigrate to the western border of Arkansas; but the people refused to ratify the acts of their Chiefs—they resolved not to emigrate: and the Chiefs, as the only means, probably, of retaining their power, denied their own acts and announced their fixed determination to live and die in the land of their forefathers.

All was done that could be done, by Indian Agents and military officers, in Florida, to induce the Chiefs to fulfil the Treaty. The latter, with the characteristic cunning of their race, pretended to yield to these persuasions until they had secured a large supply of ammunition and of all the implements of war used by them.

A few days before the period fixed for emigration, the Indians opened the drama by a terrible act; and the long Florida War began.

On the 28th of December, 1835, two Companies of Artillery, under Major Dade, on their way from Tampa Bay to Fort King, five miles East of the Wahoo-swamp, were ambushed and surrounded by a large body of Indians, and, all but two, killed on the spot. Two, desperately wounded, returned to Fort Brooke.

On the same day, a party of Indians, under the celebrated Oseola, murdered General Thompson, the Indian Agent, at Fort King, and Lieutenant Constantine Smith, who happened to be in his company. To punish this last act, General Clinch, then commanding the troops in Florida, advanced rapidly towards the Withlacoochie; crossed it, two days after the massacre; and, on the thirty-first of December, with two hundred Regulars, met and dispersed two hundred and fifty Indians, under Oseola and Alligator. The loss, however, of the Indians was small—three killed and five wounded; while the Americans had four killed and forty wounded. Self-preservation is a cardinal point of Indian tactics. He seldom stands his ground after the danger becomes imminent.

Nothing was known, that day, of the fate of Dade and his party; but terrible apprehensions were excited by occasional glimpses of savages decorated with parts of the American uniform and by the sound of the American *musket*, easily distinguished from that of the Indian *rifle*.

The news of this battle was received on the Atlantic sea-board before anything was known of "Dade's Massacre." The report of this last event, slowly communicated from Tampa Bay, after a long period of profound peace, acted like an electric shock upon the people of the United States. Orders were immediately issued by the War Department for the most vigorous prosecution of the War, then begun. Our small regular army, scattered along the western frontier and the sea-board, was required to take up the line of march for Florida. On the twenty-first of January, 1836, General Scott was ordered to repair to the seat of war, with power to call out the Militia of Florida and the neighboring States. General Gaines, without orders, hastened from New Orleans to Tampa Bay, with one thousand, one hundred men, Regulars—and Louisiana Volunteers; arrived at Fort Brooke, on the tenth of February; marched, with ten days provisions, to Fort King; reached that post, on the twenty-second of February; and, finding but a small quantity of provisions, began his return to Fort Brooke, by a new route; met the enemy, on the Withlachoochie, so strongly posted as to prevent his crossing that stream; began to fortify his position; and waited for reinforcements. General Clinch came to his relief, on the seventh of March. The Indians quietly retired, without giving battle.

General Scott hastened to the scene of action; and, with the best preparations that could be made, on so short a notice, took the field, on the twenty-second of February; and continued his operations, with great energy, until the thirtieth of May. The Indians played their part with great skill—finding large columns of twelve or fifteen hundred men, in the field, they separated into small bodies; and easily eluded pursuit.

The object of the war was not simply to defeat the enemy, but to catch him and carry him off to another country. In this, General Scott did not succeed; nor have his successors, to this day, accomplished that object. Indians still remain, all the more secure in consequence of their diminished numbers.* At the be-

pondence which was considered proper to be placed before the world, concerning the operations of the army in Florida, from 1836 to 1841; and we propose to publish them, for the benefit of those who shall desire to look into the hidden records of that remarkable war.

"General Childs was in the habit, when absent from his "family, of writing, daily, in familiar letters to his wife and "children, a narrative of passing events;" and, as will be seen, those letters sometimes assumed the form of diaries, in which, without noticing the merely *professional* characteristics of the operations of the army, he described very much of men and events, which was not officially referred to, in any Report and not generally known by those who were not actual eye-witnesses of the scenes referred to. The exact character of those letters will be evident to every reader. They were not written for the public eye; nor were they intended to promote the advancement of anybody's desires or interests. They merely "exhibit a Christian soldier, in places of considerable responsibility, in actual war, faithful to his country and his God, "jotting down a history of passing events, with the occasional "comments of a thoughtful, religious man," for the information of loved ones, at home; and the testimony of such a man, written under such circumstances, completes the record of events, which was left incomplete, by those who participated in those events, when they merely reported, officially, their official acts, to those, at the seat of government, to whom they were officially accountable for their doings. For this reason, we regard these letters as extremely important to students of the military history of the country and to all who are especially interested in the history of the war in Florida.—EDITOR.]

* This introduction was written, several years ago, when the papers were sent to us, by Major Childs's family. We believe the Indians no longer trouble the inhabitants of Florida.—EDITOR.

ginning of the Florida War, 1835, there were about two thousand warriors, including negroes, in Florida. Now, 1859, at the end of a Second War, there are about one hundred warriors still remaining. They have the extensive "Everglades" with its high grass and numerous islands, to hide in, when pursued, and cannot be removed by force.

General Scott was relieved of the command, in Florida, by Governor Call; but, during the Summer of 1836, no very active operations were undertaken. A few months later, General Jesup came into the country, and carried on operations, nearly two years, with great zeal and energy, but without accomplishing that impossible object, the removal of all the Indians from the country.

Without further explanations, we shall take up the letters; remarking that the Company of the Third Artillery, which the writer then commanded, left Eastport, Maine, early in July, 1836, for the seat of war.

It will be learned from these letters, that the Indians were then scattered over the country, destroying plantations, murdering women and children, wherever they could be found, waylaying small detachments, etc., etc., while the troops, prostrated by disease, were powerless.]

EXTRACTS.

July 24th 1836. At anchor at the mouth of Black-creek.* On the other bank of the river, a house is now smoking, which the Indians fired, last night, having killed the owner, a month since. They have burned and destroyed, in every direction. It is melancholy to see the splendid plantations in ruins, all around us. The people of Jacksonville are much alarmed, as they have burnt within ten miles of them.

In coming up, this afternoon, we have been busily engaged in planking up the bulwarks of the boat, as we expect to be fired upon, to-morrow, in Black-creek. The stream is very narrow; and the banks are high. I have planked the upper deck, and intend to conceal my men, by making them lie down, so that, if we are attacked, we may draw the enemy from their hiding-places and return their fire, with effect.

I understand that the communication between Fort Drane† and Micanopy‡ is now cut off; and, until more troops arrive, the sick and well, amounting to three hundred men, can not be removed from that post.

July 29th. GAREY'S FERRY.§ We arrived at this place, in safety, a few moments since, without being fired upon, as we expected. We saw the place where the Indians had made fires, last night, in order to watch us. I find, here, two Companies (one-hundred and fifty men) prepared for defense. My Company is in excellent health. The Indians are all through the country. A movement will probably be made, in ten or twelve days.

You have seen by the papers that a great deal of sickness prevails at this place—the truth is not half known. The people have come here for protection, from all quarters—in all, seven hundred or eight hundred. They left comfortable homes, to escape the Indians. Here, they have built shelters which keep out neither wind nor rain—at this season of the year it rains violently, every afternoon—and their subsistence is the ration of the soldier. The measles have broken out among them; and their insufficient shelters have given them colds.

To-day, I have been in the huts of many of these unfortunate people. My heart bleeds at the sufferings I have witnessed and the tales of woe I have heard.

In a hut, ten feet square, were three or four places for beds:—that is, four sticks would be driven into the sand, and poles laid across them, for boards to rest upon. On these, some had beds and others nothing but blankets. But, Oh! the emaciated objects that lay upon them—some with raging fevers;—others with diarrhœa,—others, again, having taken cold with the measles, were swollen, frightfully. Sometimes, father, mother, children, all lay, prostrate. In one instance, the father and mother died, leaving five children, all sick; and the oldest only thirteen years old. These poor little creatures were obliged to help each other, as well as they could. I found some that were religious, and left tracts with all. All appeared grateful; and many asked me to call again.

As to the Indians, they are in complete possession of the country. They have cut off all communication between this place and Micanopy and between Micanopy and Fort Drane; and we are not strong enough, at any of these places, to attempt to send supplies from one to the other. This is the great depot for supplying these posts. They are now living, at Micanopy, on corn and pork. At Fort Drane, it is very sickly.

I am now waiting for one hundred and fifty Florida horsemen. When they arrive, I shall, with my Company and Capt. G's,—together, one hundred and ten men,—take supplies to Micanopy: and then remove the garrison of Fort Drane.

It is very hot; the living coarse—pork, beans, and hard bread. I should like you to see us sitting under a bower, made in front of two log-houses; some on heads of barrels, some on chairs, some standing—eating, for breakfast, cold boiled pork, hard bread, with tea. We sleep in a log-house; and the worms in the wood make as much noise as a swarm of bees. When it rains, I look for a dry place in which I

* About twenty-five miles above Jacksonville, on the St. John's-river, Florida.

† An interior post, about sixty-five miles Southwest from the mouth of Black-creek.

‡ Ten miles from Fort Drane.

§ On Black-creek, twenty miles from its mouth.

may put my blankets; and think myself fortunate if I can find one.

GAREY'S FERRY, *July 30th* 1836.

Yesterday, at three o'clock, news came that a party of sixteen soldiers, who had come here from St. Augustine, to bring some horses, on their return, under Lieutenant H., stopped at the mouth of Black-creek, at a steam-mill, to look about. Immediately on landing, they were fired upon by forty Indians: the fire was returned, and kept up, an hour and a half. Lieut. H. having three men wounded, retreated; but, before the steamboat could get out of rifle-shot, two others were wounded,—one mortally.

On the arrival of this news, I volunteered, with my Company, to go down in the steamboat, Captain Galt, with his, to go on horses, by land, and try to surround them. When we reached the place, the mill and the boards were in a blaze, lighting up the water and the space around. I went ashore, in the first boat, with thirty men. We expected the Indians to fire upon us, every moment—our boat grounded—we jumped into the water, immediately formed in one rank; ascended the bank; and there awaited the arrival of the balance of the men, under Lieutenant P. with the Doctor. It was now dark; and, being entirely unacquainted with the ground, we could do nothing but form the Company, as Light Infantry, in open order; place the sentinels, ten feet apart, in front and on our flanks, having the river in the rear; and, there, wait until day-light. We had nothing on but our summer clothes. Wet up to our knees; dripping with perspiration; supperless; we lay down in the sand until day-light.

No Indians appearing, we commenced scouring a hammock, on our right, in open order. These hammocks are thick underbrush and woods, on rather higher ground than that which surrounds them. We then went through the country, about six miles, to a place where we expected to find the Indians. There we met Captain Galt, with his Company, mounted; but no Indians. After eating some meat and bread, and drinking some very warm and very bad water, we scoured some other parts of the woods and hammocks, under a broiling sun, until one o'clock; when we returned to the boat, completely exhausted. Captain Galt, with the assistance of citizens accustomed to hunt Indians, found a trail where they had passed with cattle, the night before, and followed it, fifteen miles. It is supposed the Indians left that part of the country, with their plunder, immediately after the fight of yesterday. We are safely back, having marched, on foot, fifteen or sixteen miles.

MICANOPY, *August* 6th 1836.

By the blessing of God, we have accomplished the march to this place in safety. To-morrow, at four o'clock, A. M., I leave with two hundred men, to bring off the sick and the public property from Fort Drane.

I am sorry to make this movement, on Sunday; but it is an act of mercy and necessity to get the troops from that place, as soon as possible. My prayer is for wisdom and guidance from above, to direct me.

August 9th. I returned, yesterday, from Fort Drane, with all the troops and public property. It was a beautiful and romantic sight—forty wagons, with from three to six horses each, winding through the pine-barrens.

When I arrived there, with my wagon-train, escorted by one hundred horsemen and eighty foot, I found every officer sick, with the exception of the Surgeon. Of eighty-three soldiers, only forty-two were fit for duty. The wagons were loaded, on Sunday evening; Monday morning, we started back; expecting a fight with the Indians, at every hammock, supposing they would make a desperate effort to cut off some of the train which reached more than half a mile.

You would probably like to know how we march through the Indian country so as to avoid surprise. [*Here we omit a sketch, representing a line of mounted flankers, on each side of the train.*]

MICANOPY, *August 18th* 1836.

We are living a wild, romantic, and singular life. I will tell you something of it. You know we are surrounded by pickets: outside of these, a wily, savage foe watches for the moment when we are off our guard to pounce upon us. We can not see him; but there is no doubt that he is, every night, within one hundred yards of us. The Sergeant of the Guard has orders to visit each sentinel once in fifteen minutes, and report if he hears any "signs," as it is called. About half past two, this morning I awoke. All was still. I felt uneasy. It is the time the Indians generally select for an attack. I got up (my clothes have been laid aside but two nights, since I have been in Florida) and went to one of the sentinels nearest the hammock to see, listen, and enquire for "signs." While standing there, I heard, through the stillness, the tramp of a horse which I knew to be the express from Garey's Ferry. They run through in the night, fifty-five miles. In a few minutes, I heard him sing out "Express—Ex-"press," to prevent his being fired on. We do not ask—"Who is there?" but the first salutation is a ball and three buck-shot. As I was saying, he sang out "Express, Express, In-

"dians, Indians in the hammock." As soon as Indians were mentioned, all the troops, in a moment, were at the loop-holes. The express came in, safe, and said he saw an Indian at the side of the road, within two hundred yards of the picket: he put spurs to his horse, and ran. The Indians having alarmed the garrison, we knew they would be off, immediately. So the troops were sent back to their quarters; and we sat down to our despatches. It was a curious sight—five or six officers, some in soldiers' clothes, some with morning gowns, others half-dressed, reading letters, at three o'clock in the morning, surrounded by Indians. We sleep but little at night. Some one is constantly on the look-out; and, as there are six of us, in one room, we appear like troubled spirits, going in and out.

I feel comforted by the assurance which your letter gives me, that so many Christian friends are interceding at a Throne of Grace for me and my companions-in-arms. My faith in prayer is constantly strengthened; and my Christian armor, I would fain hope, grows brighter and brighter; and why should it not, when I feel that God is around and about me—that my prayers, for my own health and safety and for my dear wife and children, appear to be answered so soon? I would not be a prayerless man for worlds. Pray for me that I may, by my walk and conversation, glorify my God and be instrumental in promoting the highest good of those around me.

[The following is an extract from a letter to Colonel Crane, in which he urgently recommends an attack upon Fort Drane; for the planning of which he was afterwards brevetted to the rank of Major.]

I am anxious to make an excursion, on the return of the train, with the horsemen that may accompany it, together with such men as I can mount on the wagon-horses, to several resorts of the Indians, within ten or twelve miles. I believe I can, with good guides, come upon them, suddenly, and drive from this vicinity those we cannot kill or take *** I am, therefore, the more anxious that you should send me the horses you have at St. Augustine. They will be of great service, as nothing can be done without them.

August 21st. The horses came and with them Major Pierce, who took command. We started at two o'clock in the morning, with one hundred mounted men and a howitzer. Half of the horsemen were my own men, most of whom had scarcely ever before felt the saddle. We rode along, an hour or two, in the darkness; and, as daylight discovered them, the figure they cut, as Dragoons, was ludicrous in the extreme. I saw one go over his horse's head and presently appear *under* instead of *over* him: another, having lost his cap, had made a bandanna supply its place; eight or ten, upon some unexpected movement of their horses, found themselves measuring their length upon the ground; and Shryack, whom you may remember as a very tall man, had fastened his stirrups close to the saddle, so that, from his knees, his head barely emerged to learn for itself the way his horse was going. To go on with my story.

Lieutenant Irwin, with his men, was to go to the right, I to the left, as we approached Fort Drane; and so surround it. Having heard by a spy that a fire had been burning there, the night before, as soon as we got in sight, we started on a run.

Lieutenant Irwin's command had to pass some negro-quarters, out of which ran two Indians, who were killed. We then discovered a large number of Indians coming through a corn-field. It is supposed they had got notice of our approach, and were coming down, to lay in ambush for us. We drove them back to the hammock, passing over the bodies of ten dead Indians. Here we encountered the entire Mickasukie tribe, with their negroes, women, and children. They formed a line of fire, on the edge of the hammock, half a mile in length. We maintained our fire, in half musket-shot of them, for forty minutes. We were not strong enough to charge them. Our ammunition was nearly gone. Not expecting such a fight, we had none, excepting what the men took in their boxes. So we mounted our horses; took our dead men and the wounded; and retired. Had the Indians known our weakness, they could have surrounded us, with ease, and cut us off. We had no idea of meeting more than forty or fifty, but they had came out of the swamp, with their whole tribe; and, although they number only two hundred and fifty warriors, attacking them, as we did, in their camp, the old men, boys, and negroes used rifles, and is supposed that from four to five hundred used arms, that day, with Oscola at their head; whose voice was recognized by "Jackson," a Wagon master, whom Major Pierce mentions in his report—he having lived a long time in this nation.

[The American loss in this battle, as reported by Major Pierce, was one killed and sixteen wounded.

It became necessary to abandon Micanopy, as there were not men enough to hold it, after detaching an escort with the sick to Garey's Ferry.]

GAREY'S FERRY, *Sept.* 8th 1836.

MY DEAR—

I thank you most kindly for your letter. I received it at the end of a four days' march, worn down with heat, fatigue, indisposition, and the responsibility of a command of three hundred men, with one hundred and fifty sick, the

dead and dying laying, side by side, in the same wagon. It recalled all the pleasures of the quiet enjoyment of my own dear home; and the contrast was so striking, I spurred my horse to the head of the column, that I might more freely indulge the kind of thought called up.

I have been most delightfully employed in reading the Memoir and Journal of the Rev. Henry Martyn. When I compare myself with that eminent Christian, I feel deeply sensible of my own deficiency in that *spiritual, earnest* longing after conformity to the Lord Jesus, which so highly characterized him. I feel that you are all so closely entwined about my heart that I think more about these earthly treasures than I ought; and am making you too much the idols of my affections,—that you too often usurp the place of my Saviour—that the religion that burns in my heart is but the merest spark compared to the blaze that shone forth in all his thoughts and actions—that my distance from the Saviour is immeasurable, compared with the near access he was enabled to attain, by a life of prayer, of holiness, and of faith. Still I am comforted by the fact that many of his hopes, his assurances, his doubts, and his fears, are not entire strangers to my bosom. Oh! my dear daughter, let not the world or its pleasures separate you from God and your Saviour. Good night, my beloved child, may angels guard you.

* * * * * * *

[If, indeed, earthly ties pressed too closely, God spoke in the voice of warning by removing from earth his youngest boy. His next letter is written on receiving, through a friend, the sad intelligence. He acknowledges the letter; and then says:]

What shall I say to you, my dear, my afflicted, wife? I can only say you must not, we need not, sorrow as those without hope; smile, though grief rend your bosom, that another has been translated to join our angel band. Bless and praise God, while your tears flow fastest, that he has been thus merciful in taking one who knew no sin, and sparing those of riper years.—Oh! let us not repine or accuse God, lest he visit us in wrath instead of mercy. Let us call to mind his goodness, during the past Summer; yes, during our entire lives, his mercy and goodness have followed us. * * *

How often have I recalled his little endearments and childish pranks, and how fondly have I anticipated the time when I should again hold him in my arms. I can hardly realize that he is in the cold and silent tomb, and that he, who required so much care and attention, to still his real and imaginary troubles, now lies quiet, and needs not the motion of the cradle to keep him asleep. It is even so, and I pray for grace to say, from the bottom of my heart—"It is "the Lord, let Him do as seemeth him good."

[This family sorrow called him home, where he remained a fortnight and then returned to the seat of war.

The operations of September, October, and November, 1836, did not lead to any important results. They were useful, however, in a negative way, as illustrating the folly of sending large bodies of troops into the Indian-country without carrying forward a base of operations—establishing military posts, depots of provisions, and other supplies.

On the eighth of December, 1836, Governor Call was relieved by General Jesup, who had under his command, according to Sprague, more than eight thousand troops, including the detachment of Marines and a Regiment of friendly Creek Indians, seven hundred and fifty men. We resume the correspondence.]

GRAY'S FERRY, *Dec.* 26, 1836.

I find here about eighty-five friendly Indians, some thirty of them sick. I have about one hundred and thirty soldiers, recruits.

In four days, I shall leave with all the soldiers I can collect, including the friendly Indians, and a small party of Florida mounted-men. My entire force will probably be about two hundred men. I shall first go to Fort Drane: my destination, then, will depend upon the information I receive of the movements of the army.

[On the second of January, 1837, he started, with his command, to join General Jesup; and, at Fort Armstrong, he received orders to await the return of troops then in pursuit of Powell.]

FORT ARMSTRONG
NEAR DADE'S BATTLE GROUND.

January 14, 1837.

I send, for your gratification, a sketch of the ground where the Indians ambushed Major Dade and the position of the officers, when found by General Gaines and his army. Captain Frazer had his leg tied to a tree, in the open pine-woods. The grass grows very high, along what is termed the marsh. There is a trench where a part of the Indians, it is supposed, were concealed.

It appears that the Indians, after the first attack, in which Dade, Frazer, Mudge, and the advanced guard were all killed, withdrew, for a short time. During this time our troops retreated to a spot where they formed a breastwork, by cutting down trees and piling them, three logs high.

The other officers and twenty-eight men are all that were found in the breastwork. Gardner, it is supposed, was wounded within the breastwork, but crawled out, as he was found just outside. On the second attack, the Indians entirely surrounded the work, as is indicated by the trees; some of them having five or six ball-holes, where our poor fellows were trying to hit their enemy behind them.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—*SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D., OF SALEM, MASS.*—CONTINUED FROM THE OCTOBER NUMBER.

FROM THE ORIGINALS, IN THE COLLECTION OF MISS MARY R. CROWNINSHIELD, OF CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

From Hon. B. W. Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy.

I.

WASHINGTON Ferbuary 4 1815.

REVD. SIR:

I send you the inclosed, as evidence of the joy we all feel here, on account of Genl. Jackson's victory.

Very respectfully

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

Revd. WM. BENTLEY

SALEM

II.

WASHINGTON April 1st 1815.

DEAR SIR:

Young Mr. Everett of Boston, brother to the Revd. Mr. Everett, & Sec'y. of Legation to Holland, may be the bearer of this; and whom I think an intelligent and amiable man, he has been polite enough to offer to take any package from me to my friends. I avail myself of this opportunity to send you a lengthy publication, written by a member of the Gov't. (Mr. Dallas,) as a State paper, which was to have been made public; but the Peace intervened, and as it was written in the war *temper*, it was thought best not to issue it, as coming from the Gov't, but it seems *Duane* found means to get a copy, I suppose from the Printer, and he has given it to the world. I now am at liberty to send you a copy, which I wanted to, before, but could not, from reasons of policy: it has this advantage that every thing there alleged is supported by public documents, and I think too, the merit of being well written; but you shall judge for yourself, as I am not qualified to turn reviewer.

I regret exceedingly, not being able to attend public worship, here, with so much pleasure, or profit, as I used to do when under your instruction; for there is not any man. of pulpit talents here either *methodist*, catholic, or otherwise.—

Our first squadron will sail from N. York, under Decatur, for Algiers; the second soon after from Boston; all we can perhaps hope to accomplish, by way of peace with those wretches, is, to get as good terms as are obtained by the great powers of Europe.—I am well, and hope to see you in the fall. My best wishes attend you, and believe me to be

respectfully

yr. obt. servt

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

Revd. Mr. BENTLEY, Salem.

III.

WASHINGTON, May 4 1815

DEAR SIR:

I return to you your letter enquiring about your brother John Bentley, with such information written upon it, as I could obtain from the offices in Washington: and if hereafter, I can be of any service to you in relation to the subject of it, I will do it most cheerfully.

What is to grow out of Bonyparte's present situation, are we to be again plunged in war? Or will France & England both respect us? England from fear of our joining our little Navy with France, and France from having trouble enough, without having our assistance? Ours will be a prudent course.

It has given us pleasure in this place to see Massachusetts returning somewhat to better principles.

Believe me to be, respectfully,

your obt. servt.

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD

Revd. Mr. BENTLEY, Salem.

IV.

WASHINGTON, May 25. 1815

DEAR SIR,

Knowing that you wish to possess documents of this kind, I take the liberty to send you the *Organisation of the military peace establishment of the United States*: hope it will be acceptable to you and find you in good health.

Commodore Mcdonough will be in Salem, in the course of a few days, ordered to Portsmouth, N. H. I mention him to you because he is brave, virtuous and modest, thinking at the same time you might wish to see him: it is possible he will call on my family.

I am very respectfully,

yr. friend &c.

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD

Revd. Wm. BENTLEY, Salem, Mass.

V.

WASHINGTON, June 7 1817.

DEAR SIR,

Give me leave to make you acquainted with my learned and revd. friend Dr. Wm. Bentley; my much respected minister.

Dr. Bentley has the honor of being the friend-

ly correspondent of Mr. Adams, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, late presidents of the U. S. and it will be a source of great pleasure to him to be made acquainted with you also; no person can give you more local and general information of that portion of our country than he, and it will gratify him to do so.

Permit me to say he has labored well in the republican vineyard.—With great consideration

I am your obt. servt.

B. W. Crowninshield.

From Hon. Jacob Crowninshield, M. C.

I.

Washington, Feby. 5. 1805.

Dear Sir,

Your very obliging favor of the 23d Jany. came yesterday; it was the more agreeable as I had almost given up the expectation of receiving a line from you during this Session of Congress. A few days before I received it I had written you a short letter which I hope will go safe.—You have really laid me under considerable obligation, and you have given me information more in detail than I usually receive it from my nearest relations.

At this distance from Salem every thing that takes place about you is highly interesting, and I feel most grateful for the communication, and hope you will still remember, that before the 4th of March comes around you will have time to lay me under new obligations.

I consulted Dr. Mitchell this morning, and enquired of him particularly when I could procure the seed, and medical books of which you speak, and I beg leave to enclose you a note I received from him on this subject. If the books are within my reach I shall endeavor to procure them. The Massachusetts publications it is probable you have already. You will observe what he says of the American roots & plants, and I doubt if I can procure you any of them, especially while I am so much confined to the House; but if I can collect any they shall be preserved for you.

I have the pleasure to inform you that our beloved President is in fine health & spirits. I dined with him last week and never saw him look better. He is extremely sociable in conversation, he is never reserved; you would feel yourself at home with him, the first moment you saw him and heard him speak. He is a tall elegant figure of a man, his manners are graceful, and perhaps he is, the first gentleman in the U. S. I mean really so in private life, and separate from his official character. His wishes lead him to domestic scenes; and I am sure, I say sure, because I have it from his own lips, that he will retire after the next four years. I told him his friends could not spare him, and I believed he would be almost obliged to gratify their expectations. His reply was, that it was impossible to think of it, that no injury could result; and hinted that if there was a division, which he trusted there would not be, as to a future candidate, it could only be among his friends, and one of two republicans would succeed, for no federal candidate could possibly succeed.

I see your friend Gallatin quite often, and some time since put him in mind of preserving documents for your use, and he made favorable promises. He is most indefatigable in his official duties, high in the confidence of the President, and esteemed by all the republican members of both houses of Congress. I presume he will remain at the head of the Treasury Department during the whole of the next Presidency.

We regretted Mr. Lincoln's resignation as we presumed an advantage might be attempted to be made in Mass.—I know the Presdt. wished to retain him for the next four years, but the Judge could not remain so long from his family, and he had staid longer than he at first proposed.

If his resignation is attacked by our political opponents, it cannot injure him; in calumny and detraction they are preëminent, but they will fail in assailing his character. No successor is yet appointed, and it is doubtful who will have the office.

Judge Chase's trial came on yesterday agreeably to appointment. The Judge appeared at 11 o'C attended by his Counsel, Messrs. Harper, Hopkinson, & Martin; the former gentleman read his defence all but the concluding part, which Judge Chase read himself, and a small part in the middle, which Mr. Hopkinson pronounced; for it was a lengthy production (upwards of 100 pages) and Hooper was obliged to take some rest, as he could not go thro' the whole at one standing. It was four hours in the delivery. It is called an able production; it is the work of a whole summer. The defense is the same in several particulars, and witnesses are on the spot to dispose many parts of his statements.

The Senate Chamber was crowded; an extra gallery was built to accommodate the spectators, and every part was full. The managers sat in front on the right of the Vice Presdt, & Chase & his Counsel on his left, and to the right of the Vice Presdt, and the Senators on each wing, of or side of the V. P. the members of the House of Reps. sat behind their managers, the spectators above in the galleries. The Court adjourned at 4 P. M. and did not sit to day, as our House was not furnished with a copy of Judge Chase's answer, but which will be received tomorrow. I expect the trial will take up fifteen

or twenty days at least. It is impossible to say how it will terminate. The Senate has all its members present (34) which is unusual, but it is expected that 2 representatives will fly the question; if they do, & two more vote with the federalists (who will to a man, *vote to acquit whither right or wrong,*) he will not be removed. Yet I presume the republican Senators (and there are 25) never deemed it a party question at all.

You have heard of the Baron Humboldt who travelled thro' So. America; as I know you wish to preserve the likenesses of great men, I send you his profile, taken by a lady of this city: it is said to be a good resemblance.—A treaty with the Indians in Georgia for the cession of about two million acres of valuable land for $200.000, 6 per cent stock, was a few days since disagreed to in the Senate. I do not recollect ever hearing of an Indian treaty being rejected before. It was the enormous price promised by Hawkins which alarmed the Senate; but indeed had it passed that body, I am confident our House would not have agreed to appropriate so much money. Congress holds the purse strings of the nation, and not the Senate alone; & the House of Representatives will always retain their constitutional rights.—Nothing is more settled than that the House has the power to withold its assent to treaties involving any commercial regulation or the payment of any sum of money whatever. I think the vote in the Senate was 19 in favor to 12 against, & not obtaining the necessary ⅔ the Treaty fell to the ground. It is now expected the Indians will lower their demands for the land. The idea of paying them in public stock was not agreeable.

During the whole of last week we had an unpleasant discussion on the Georgia claims. The debate was *tempestuous*. I regretted it very much. When the debates come to be published you will be surprised; they will reflect no honor on the Speaker. You will observe I use the singular number.

By the deed of cession from Georgia to the U. S. 5 millions of acres are reserved to quiet or compensate all claims upon the territory, and 50 miles in all were ceded to the U. S. for 1.250.000 $ to be paid out of the land. In 1795 Georgia sold the greater part of the same territory and rescinded her act in '96. You are acquainted I presume with the whole history. The question before us was to appropriate or rather to authorize Commissioners of our own choice to arbitrate between the claimants & the U. States for the quantity of land not exceeding the 5 millions of acres, agreed by Georgia herself, to be given them. The measure was violently opposed, and we were more divided upon it than upon any thing which has come before us since I have been in Congress. It was no party matter, but it was attempted to be made so. All the Eastern members (but Mr. Seaver) voted in favor of the reference. A bill is now before us on the subject. Inclined to order the resolution, but it is very doubtful how it will pass. The resolution was carried 61 to 58.

We are not pleased at what took place because our motives were questioned, but I must not let my pen run any further on this unpleasant subject. Besides it is full time to close this communication.

Wishing you health and every earthly blessing,

I am most sincerely & [illegible]

Jacob Crowninshield.

Revd. Wm. Bentley.

II.

[illegible] Feby. 1805.

Dear Sir,

The arguments in the trial of Judge Chase closed yesterday at 3. o'c. Randolph made an excellent speech. The Senate will pronounce judgment at 12. o'c. to morrow by assignment.

A bill under debate to day for the further providing for the government of Orleans, and the Post Office bill. I send the last document relative to the impressments.

Yours sincerely.

Jacob Crowninshield.

Revd. Mr. Bentley.

[To be Continued.]

IX.—*RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1812*

By a Contemporary.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In the lives of most men who, after having been engaged in public affairs, have reached a certain age [illegible] in which the memory turns back upon itself, retraces the scenes of earlier years, dwelling with more interest on their leading traits, and not unfrequently, most of all upon those on which it had barely bestowed a second thought at the time of their occurrence. In the depths of the night they flit before the mind with peculiar vividness, and in the solitary hours of the day they still haunt it.

This habit of recurring to memory and [illegible] among which fifty years ago the writer was not a spectator merely but in a subordinate capacity an actor, will serve to

Several years since the venerable Joseph Gales, the senior Editor of the *National Intelligencer* and, during the period referred to in this series of papers, the organ of Mr. Madison's Administration, was led to [illegible] his *Recollections of the Civil History of the War of 1812*, and to publish them, at fr

account for the appearance of the following sketches of the hitherto unwritten History of the Declaration of War between the United States and Great Britain, in the year 1812.

The main purpose of the writer, in presenting these papers to the Public is, whilst affording to the younger classes of readers a condensed and familiar view of certain portions of actual history, which may have escaped their attention, to put upon record, for the information of readers of all classes, a variety of facts and circumstances, occurring chiefly in the early years of Mr. Madison's Administration, some of which, essentially depending upon the memory of the writer or upon evidence which he alone has it in his power to produce, would, if not now committed to paper, in all probability never meet the public eyes.

I.—*THE KINDLING OF THE WAR.*

What first seriously suggested to the public mind the probability, or even the possibility, of the United States becoming engaged in hostilites with Great Britain, was an incident which developed a settled purpose, on the part of that Power, then claiming the sovereignty of the seas, to employ her naval strength, not only in conflict with her wonted and ancient European adversaries, but also in enforcing a systematic proscription of the freedom of the seas to all neutral flags, including, of course, that of the United States, and asserting the right of impressment from neutral vessels, as well national as private, of all seamen claimed to be of British birth. The incident alluded to was the unprovoked and altogether lawless and wanton assault, on the twenty-second of June, 1807, off the Capes of Virginia, by the British frigate *Leopard* on the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, by which a number of the seamen of the latter were killed and wounded, and several of the remainder forcibly taken from her decks, on the plea of their being Englishmen; after accomplishing which purpose the *Leopard* rejoined the squadron of heavy-armed British vessels lying at anchor, in Hampton Roads, from which she had the moment before parted.

The outrage thus perpetrated, within the waters of Virginia, was itself an act of War, and would have justified the instantaneous infliction of a signal retribution. Had Fulton's invention of the Torpedo—a projected means of submarine explosion, in which Mr. Jefferson, about that time, placed more faith than the issue of the experiment justified—been a success, instead of a failure, the occasion would certainly have warranted its employment. But, as far as regarded the condition of our few vessels-of-war for active service, it may be assumed that the entire effective naval force of the country, at that time, had it been concentrated in Hampton Roads, would not have been adequate to the task of expelling these hostile invaders from their defiant attitude within the waters of the United States.

The intense excitement and resentment which pervaded the minds of the people throughout the country, wherever the news of this encounter spread, may be readily comprehended. It was as much as the Administration and its friends could do, by the sage expedients it employed for the purpose, to calm down the spirit of the people, amongst whom, indeed, every thing like party feeling was merged in indignant and patriotic sentiment. "Nothing would "have been easier"—justly remarks the historian of Mr. Jefferson—"than for the President to 'improve the present occasion into a War with 'Great Britain, if he had been at all actuated 'by the motives ascribed to him by his oppo-'nents, or if it had not been his settled policy 'to preserve peace so long as it could be done 'without dishonor. He determined, therefore, 'to give Great Britain the opportunity of dis-'avowal and reparation, and to do nothing to 'pledge or commit the nation to War rather 'than to moderate measures of retaliation."

A stronger justification than this of the course of the President, in this emergency, is to be found in the fact that the systematic policy of his own Administration had left him no alternative. Buffeted between the heated partisans, in the Republican and Federal parties, the Navy had, when Mr. Jefferson attained the Presidency, already lost some portion of its popularity. One of the first duties of the new President was to carry into execution an Act, passed in the last days of the preceding Administration, directing the sale of the smaller vessels of the Navy and the dismantling of the larger half of the few frigates of which the Navy was then composed. Nothing loth, he promptly and diligently discharged this duty, having in his first Annual Message, less than a year after his coming into office, informed Congress that five of the seven frigates directed to be *laid up* had been brought and laid up here,

regular intervals, in the columns of his paper; and, inasmuch as they disclosed features in the history of that event which the world knew nothing of, and which, but for his favor, would have been lost to those who should come after, that series has been especially cherished by all unto whom its existence and peculiar merits have been known. We conceive that we can do no better service to those who care to read our country's history, in its original record, than by transferring the entire series to our pages, where it will be accessible to all who shall desire to read and study it.

In the current number, we find room for the first three of Mr. Gales's papers, embracing what he wrote concerning the policy and acts of Mr. Jefferson's Administration, bearing on the subsequent War with Britain: in our number for February, 1874, we shall continue the publication, embracing the beginning of what was written concerning the policy and acts of Mr. Madison's Administration.

We bespeak for these papers that careful perusal to which their importance entitles them.—EDITOR.

—at Washington—where, he added—facetiously, one would say, if he had been in the habit of jesting with serious things—"besides *the "safety of their position*, they are under the eye "of the Executive Administration as well as of "Congress," &c. Recurring to the subject in his second Annual Message, having discovered that vessels which lie in water and are exposed to its action are inevitably subject to rapid decay, he proposed to Congress to add to the Navy-yard, here, a *drydock*, "protected from the sun," to save them from their perishing condition—a proposition which, says his truthful biographer, was assailed by his political adversaries, in every form of ridicule and argument, with such effect that it seemed to the people, and was even conceded by the silence of his friends, to be an impracticable scheme.

The consequence to the Navy of such trifling as this, with that invaluable arm of the public service, was lamentably illustrated in the inability of the Government to make even an effort to expel the offending squadron from the waters of the Chesapeake. Nor was that other description of naval force, authorized by Congress, on the Executive recommendation, in any better plight than the Navy proper. The *Gun-boat* system would have been forgotten by this time, were it not for the witticisms and drolleries which it extorted. Whatever use the wags made of the system, it proved itself, in this emergency, to be worse than useless for any other purpose. In his Annual Message, in December, 1806, the President had informed Congress that the *Gun-boats* ordered at the preceding Session would be "ready for service in "the ensuing Spring." The vernal season had come and gone, when the President, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, concerning means for the common defence, after authorizing him to order upon immediate duty such portions of the Militia as he thought necessary for the defence of Norfolk, reported, as follows, the condition of the gun-boats for service: "We "have, moreover, four gun-boats *hauled up* at "Hampton, and four others *on the stocks* in "Matthews-county, which *we consider in dan-"ger;*" and the Governor was requested to order "such aids of Militia to their protection "as he might think adequate to their safety!" This is about the last we remember to have heard of the "gunboat-system."

It wanted only the last trait to complete the picture of the lamentable helplessness to which, for any purpose of maritime defence, the Administration had, not designedly, of course, but inevitably, reduced the country.

Under the actual circumstances in which the Government found itself, as we have briefly sketched them, the course pursued by the Executive was certainly the only one within its power.

On the second of July, accordingly, the President issued his Proclamation, in which, after reciting the outrage, he interdicted all armed vessels, bearing British commissions, from the harbors and waters of the United States, all officers, both civil and military, being called upon to aid in executing these orders. Besides the large body of the Militia, already detailed for the protection of Norfolk, one hundred thousand men in the several States were required to hold themselves in readiness, under the authority of a law passed at the preceding Session of Congress. An armed vessel was dispatched with instructions to the American Minister, in London, to ask of the British Government satisfaction for the injury received and security for the future. On the thirtieth of July—more than a month after the outrageous assault upon the *Chesapeake*—Congress was required to assemble on the twenty-sixth of October following, being three months from the date of the summons, and *four months* in all after the exciting cause of it.

These several measures, and the procrastination of the appeal, in this emergency, to the sentiment of the Representative Branch of the Government, must be regarded as conclusive proof that War, even in the distance, was not within the contemplation of the President or his official advisers. Nothing could be more unjust, to him, especially, than the imputations made by his political adversaries to the contrary.

The circumstance which left the premeditated onslaught on the American frigate without the possibility of justification, was the fact of its being perpetrated whilst the two nations were not only on terms of professed amity, but had been, for some time, engaged in negotiations having for their object the continuation and perpetuation of friendly relations between the two countries. How little the People or Government of the United States were calculating upon such an act of violence may be inferred from the language of the annual Executive Message to Congress at the opening of its Session on the third of December preceding. "I have the satisfaction "to inform you," said the President, "that the "negotiation between the United States and "the Government of Great Britain is proceeding "in a spirit of friendship and accommodation "which *promises a result of mutual advantage*," etc. The negotiations went on in the same spirit, until, notwithstanding the intervening death of Charles James Fox,—the Minister charged, with the negotiation, a Treaty was concluded, on the thirty-first of December, and forwarded to the United States so as to reach the President's hands on the day before the ad-

journment of Congress, on the third of March, 1807.

This Treaty, concluded after long and laborious exertions, on the part of Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, the American Ministers, and being as they assured the Executive, the most advantageous for the United States that could possibly be had, was most ungraciously received by the President, on its arrival at Washington. Though it reached this city in time to have been transmitted to the Senate, and acted upon by that body—(by prolonging, if necessary, the continuance of its sitting beyond the termination of the Legislative Session of Congress,)—the President took the responsibility of *declining to bring it to the notice of the Senate;* and so struck the Treaty dead!

Though that Convention, signed by the appointed negotiators of both parties, might have been, in some particulars, justly exceptionable, and especially in that it was accompanied by a note from the British Ministers, by which their Government reserved the right of releasing itself from the stipulations in favor of neutral rights, if the United States should submit to the Berlin decree of France or other invasions of these rights, by the Government of France; yet there is a way of doing almost all things, which, as it is in good taste or in bad, determines the character of the actions, as well of Governments as of men. In the instance before us, the reader will perhaps agree with us, it was due, as well to the dignity of our own country as to that courtesy which ought ever to distinguish international intercourse, if it was not also required by the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, that this Treaty should have been laid before the Senate, for its consideration, before being summarily rejected by the President. Being so submitted to that body, if by it disapproved, the fact might, without any sacrifice of principle, have been made known to the British Government, in a more respectful manner than it was.

For the attack upon the unwarned vessel of the United States, by the full-armed British frigate, in our own waters—after having lain in wait for her, for several days, with a squadron of other heavy-armed ships—we repeat, as we have already intimated, there could be neither excuse nor palliation. Yet, looking back upon the antecedents of that barbarous act, the mind is forced, involuntarily, to connect it with the angry feeling which may not improbably have been excited in the breasts of the British Ministers, if not in that of the aged King himself, by the contemptuous rejection of a Treaty which this Government had not only proposed, but which its Ministers to London—such men as James Monroe and William Pinkney—had, at the instance of this Government, prosecuted with the most assiduous zeal, for several months, until, in procuring the consent of the British Government to the measure, they achieved a success they had hardly hoped for.

Such, indeed, seems to have been the impression of the intelligent friend of President Jefferson, Professor Tucker, of Virginia, who, in his *Life of Jefferson*, thus alludes to the circumstance: "From the moment it was generally "understood that the President did not mean "to ratify the Treaty made by Messrs. Monroe "and Pinkney, commerce and shipping *were* "*made to feel the naval ascendency of Great Britain* "*more frequently and vexatiously than ever*, until, "at length, it was exhibited in an exertion of "power, (in the attack on the *Chesapeake*) which "electrified the country to its utmost extremities." Our Ministers in London, expecting the ratification of the Treaty, were almost as much wounded by the rejection of it as the Government of Great Britain is supposed to have been.

The objection considered insuperable by Mr. Jefferson against the Treaty—that it included no provision against Impressment—was not a sufficient reason for its peremptory rejection by this Government. It might, with propriety, have been submitted to the Senate, and also ratified by that body and by the President, leaving the desired provision against impressment to form the ground of future negotiation. The Senate might even have *amended* the Treaty, so as to conform it to their views, as they did on a late occasion, in regard to a Treaty with the same nation. Nothing worse could have resulted from such a course than has resulted in the case just referred to. The Treaty would probably have fallen through; and the negotiators would, in all likelihood, have set themselves to work to frame a new one.

Mr. Jefferson, however, not realizing the hazard to which he had, by repudiating the Treaty, exposed the commerce and even the peace of the country, instructed our Ministers at London to *renew the negotiation* with the new Ministry, in the view of obtaining a better Treaty than the one which he had refused to sanction. This, as the reader will readily believe, could not be a very promising undertaking, on their part.

During the time that the rejected Treaty was on its passage, to and fro, across the Atlantic, a change of the British Ministry had taken place; and Mr. Canning had become the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. That change was fatal to the idea of obtaining any better Treaty than the one which Mr. Jefferson had rejected. "In "the interviews which the American Ministers "had with Mr. Canning, after the President's

"rejection of the Treaty reached England," says Mr. Tucker, "it soon appeared that there was "little probability of more successful negotia- "tion; and from a view of the diplomatic "correspondence between the two nations, we "can hardly suppose their differences would "have been adjusted, if subsequent occurrences "had not presented new obstacles to such an "adjustment."

After these premonitions of the state of feeling existing in the British Government, it is more than remarkable— it is indeed marvellous —with what equanimity and placidity the Executive members of this Government awaited the course of events. One-half of the Cabinet Ministers were absent on journeys of business or recreation, when the news of the affair of the *Chesapeake* reached the Seat of Government; and the President appears to have had for his sole aid and counsel, in this emergency, the ever-faithful Madison. We may well imagine the astonishment with which the news was received. The President, himself, in his Message to the called Congress, introducing the event of the day, gives the best idea of the state of mind in which he and his Cabinet councillors received the tidings of it. We quote from it: "The question whether a Trea- "ty should be accepted in that form could have "admitted but one decision, even had no dec- "larations of the other party impaired our con- "fidence in it. Still, anxious not to close the "door against friendly adjustment, new modifi- "cations were framed," &c., "and our Minis- "ters were instructed to resume their negotia- "tions on these grounds. *On this new reference to "amicable discussion, we were* REPOSING, *in confi- "dence*, when, on the twenty-second day of "June last," etc., etc.

Obedient to the last instructions of their Government, the Ministers of the United States, at London, did address, on the twenty-fourth of July, to Mr. Canning, a note proposing a renewal of the negotiation, and stating the principles upon which, in that negotiation, they were required by their Government to insist; the first of which was in these terms: "With- "out a provision against impressments, sub- "stantially such as is contemplated in your "original instructions, no Treaty is to be con- "cluded."

To this note—the affair of the *Chesapeake* intervening—no reply was received until the twenty-second of October, when, in a note to the United States Ministers, Mr. Canning "pro- "tested, in behalf of his Government, against "a practice altogether unusual in the political "transactions of States, by which the American "Government assumes to itself the privilege of "revising and altering agreements concluded "and signed, on its behalf, by its agents duly "authorized for that purpose, of retaining so "much of those agreements as may be favora- "ble to its own views, and of rejecting such "stipulations, or such parts of stipulations, as "are conceived to be not sufficiently beneficial "to America." He therefore informed the Amer- "ican Ministers that the proposal for proceed- "ing to negotiate, anew, upon the basis of a "Treaty already solemnly concluded and sign- "ed, *is wholly inadmissible*."

However the Government of the United States may have regretted or even resented this determination on the part of the British Cabinet, it could hardly have controverted the principle of the protest upon which it was founded. Be that as it may, the note of the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs put an end, of course, to any further *negotiation* on the subject.

No material change took place in the position of things, within or without the borders of the United States, from the date of the President's first Proclamation up to the meeting of Congress, on the twenty-sixth of October following, the British squadron remaining, all the while, within the waters of the United States, in defiance of the authority of this Government.

II.—*THE MEETING OF CONGRESS, AT THE CALLED SESSION OF 1807.*

In pursuance of the Proclamation of the President, the two Houses of Congress convened at Washington on the Twenty-sixth of October, 1807; the Senate, representing then, only one-half of the present number of States,* assembling in its beautiful chamber in the North wing of the Capitol, and the House of Representatives in its splendid hall in the southern edifice, then for the first time occupied. The venerable George Clinton, Vice-president, took the chair of the Senate; and Joseph B. Varnum, of the Administration party, was chosen to be Speaker of the House of Representatives, on the first balloting, by a majority of one vote, the remaining votes of the Republican party, as it was termed, numbering in all thirty-nine, being distributed among various candidates from other States. The Federalists voted for rec'd, in all, nineteen votes; showing a large preponderance of the friends of the Administration in that body.

The Message of the President was, according to usage, transmitted to the two Houses on the second day of the Session. Its principal topic was, of course, the sad event which had led to the convocation of Congress, at a somewhat earlier day than its stated time of meeting, and a narrative of which was presented, something

* This paper was written in June 1807.—EDITOR.

more particular than that which is given in the first number of this series, but not materially differing from it. The President refrained, with obvious intention, from dilating upon the occurrence as narrated in the Message. He accompanied it, however, with the following additional information: "To former violations "of maritime rights, another is now added, of "very extensive effect. The Government of "that nation has issued an Order interdicting "all trade, by neutrals, between ports not in "amity with them. And being now at war "with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and "Mediterranean seas, our vessels are required "to sacrifice their cargoes, at the first port they "touch, or to return home, without the benefit "of going to any other market. Under this new "law of the ocean, our trade on the Mediter-"ranean has been swept away by seizures and "condemnations; and that in other seas is "threatened with the same fate."

The only passage in the Message which made any allusion to legislative action, in view of the actual state of things, is the following: whether "a regular Army is to be raised, and to what "extent, must depend on the information so "shortly expected. In the mean time, I have "called on the States for quotas of Militia, to be "in readiness for present defence: and have, "moreover, encouraged the acceptance of vol-"unteers, and I am happy to inform you that "these have offered themselves, with great "alacrity, in every part of the Union. They are "ordered to be organized and ready, at a "moment's warning, to proceed on any service to "which they may be called; and every prepar-"ation, within the Executive powers, has been "made to ensure us the benefit of early exertions."

This passage, it will be observed, is so oracular and indecisive in its terms that none but the writer himself could, with certainty, know in what was to apply it, our relations with the Government of Spain being spoken of in the Message as little less critical than those with Great Britain.

No recommendation of any particular measure was made, nor was *any particular course of policy* to be pursued, in regard to Great Britain or any other Power so much as hinted at in the Message. The reading of it left the members of both Houses at least as much in the dark as to the purposes of the President as they were when they left their homes to repair to Washington. Nor was any other "communication" made to Congress, till nearly *two months* afterwards.

Such an arbitrary silence as this would not be quietly submitted to by a Congress of the present day, from a Chief Magistrate who had, almost three months before, summoned the two Houses to Washington "to receive such communications "as might be made to them, and to consult and "determine on such measures as, in their wisdom "might be deemed meet, for the welfare of the "United States." For, not without some pride, be it said, if, within the last half century, some things have changed for the worse, within the walls of the Capitol, more independence of Executive influence is now manifested, in Congress, than in former times. Nor did the President then adventure to unbosom himself to Congress so freely and unreservedly as is done in these latter days.

The influence exerted by Mr. Jefferson, in Congress, was as much personal as political. Besides the overpowering force of his party in the House of Representatives, there were, among the members, at the time spoken of, several near relatives of the President and of Secretary Madison—his privy counsellor—and not a few who had been their associates in former Congresses, through whom the views of the Executive were ascertained, in familiar intercourse, and more or less generally diffused.* There were certain individuals, among the members, of the House of Representatives especially, so well known to be in the confidence of the President and possessed of his views, that if one of them rose to address the Speaker, were it but incidentally, upon any public question, the hum of the House was at once hushed into silence, lest a word of his brief but grave discourse might be lost; for, in all probability, he had that morning seen, and even talked with, the President!

* Among the Writings of Mr. Jefferson, purchased and published by authority of Congress, a few years ago, is extant a letter, addressed by that gentleman to Mr. Wilson Cary Nicholas, a distinguished citizen of Virginia and one of the oldest friends of Mr. Jefferson, which illustrates, so clearly, the tact of the latter in the management of popular bodies, that it is absolutely necessary for our readers to be put in possession of it, to enable them to comprehend the nature of the irresistible influence which Mr. Jefferson exercised in the House of Representatives:

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 28, 1807.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of January the 2d was received in "due time. But such has been the constant presure of business, "that it has been out of my power to answer it. Indeed, the "subject of it would be almost beyond the extent of a letter; "and, as I hope to see you, ere long, at Monticello, it can then "be more effectually done, verbally. Let me observe, however, "generally, that it is impossible for my frrends ever to render "me so acceptable a favor as by communicating to me, without "reserve, facts and opinions. I have none of that sort of self-"love which winces at it; indeed, both self-love and the desire "to do what is best strongly invite unreserved communciation. "There is one subject which will not admit a delay till I see "you. Mr. T. M. Randolph is, I believe, determined to retire "from Congress; and it is strongly his wish and that of all here "that you should take his place. Never did the calls of "patriotism more loudly assail you than at this moment. After

We have already had occasion to remark that whilst almost the whole country was up in arms for revenging the outrage of the British squadron, in our waters, the President had, from the beginning, harbored in his breast no thought of War, as necessarily the consequence of the affair of the *Chesapeake*. He resented it, no doubt, as deeply as the body of the people; but he and the Secretary of State were bent upon turning the incident to the advantage of a favorite policy, which they had become converts to, as far back as the year 1794; had been ruminating upon, ever since; and had, within the past three years, put in practice, as against the Government of Great Britain, in the form of sundry non-intercourse laws, with but indifferent success.* No one who had the reading of the *National Intelligencer*, then still in the hands of its respected founder, and faithfully reflecting the inmost thoughts of Mr. Jefferson, would fail to have discovered, within the first week after the distressing intelligence from Hampton Roads, that the mind of the President was made up, even at that early day, to avail himself of the occasion to test, upon a grand scale, the efficacy of his favorite theory of counteracting the edicts of the belligerents, against neutral trade, by cutting off, from them, entirely, the supplies drawn from the United States. We find, for example, in the journal referred to, as early as the third of July, an article, couched in a strain of indignant patriotism, invoking the whole people to resent the injury inflicted upon their country, and concluding with the following exhortation: "Let the whole nation, in one un- "broken column, present themselves to the "Government, ready, as the good of our coun- "try requires, to meet our enemy in the field of "combat; to *break up all intercourse with them*, or "refuse admission to their products, or in any "other mode that shall be deemed advisable, "make them aware that their injuries shall "not be suffered to go by with impunity."

The same journal of the tenth of the same month, in an article the object of which appeared to be to persuade the merchants, without waiting for the tardy action of the Government, to impose a *voluntary* embargo on their own exports, argued the matter thus: "But little "injury," said the article, "can accrue to the "merchant from a *suspension of his export* "*business*, for a few months. Were Congress "in session, it is extremely probable that their "first step would be the *imposition of an embargo*. "What *they* would do, were they sitting, it "is the interest and duty of the merchant to do, "himself."

A most reasonable proposition, surely!

It is now quite apparent that the delay of the President in "communicating" to Congress the purpose for which he had called them together—this long non-intercourse between the Legislature and the Executive—arose from no intentional disrespect, on the part of the President, but from the discovery that the tone of the Representatives, fresh from the People, was pitched to a higher key than that of the Administration. Delay had, therefore, become necessary to allow the friends of the President, in Congress, to take counsel with one another for bringing about the accord required to enable them to carry out the plans of the Executive. Several Members of Congress, moreover, had not yet taken their seats. Mr. Macon, of North Carolina, Mr. Wilson C. Nicholas, of Virginia, Mr. Jacob Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Joseph Clay, of Pennsylvania, did not reach the city until the third or fourth week of the Session. With them, consultation was advisable, if not indispensable, before the Administration could, with any degree of confidence, present its project to Congress. In this deliberateness and precaution, the attentive reader will perceive additional and conclusive evidence of the resolution of the President that the country should not be embarked in War, during his Administration, if he could prevent it.

The time, at length, came for the raising of the curtain. On the eighteenth of December, seven weeks after the day for the meeting of Congress, the following Message was transmitted to that body by the President: "The communi-

"excepting the Federalists, who will be twenty-seven, and the "little band of schismatics, who will be three or four, (all tongue,) "the residue of the House of Representatives, is as well disposed "a body of men as I ever saw collected. But there is no one "whose talents and standing, taken together, have weight enough "to give him the lead. The consequence is, that there is no one "who will undertake to do the public business; and it remains "undone. Were you here, the whole would rally round, you, "in an instant, and willingly cooperate in whatever is for the "public good. Nor would it require you to undertake drudgery "in the House. There are enough able and willing to do that. "A rallying point is all that is wanting. Let me beseech you, "then, to offer yourself. You never will have it so much in "your power again to render such eminent service.

"Accept my affectionate salutations and high esteem."

Mr. Nicholas yielded to the arguments and entreaties of Mr. Jefferson; became a candidate; and succeeded Mr. T. M. Randolph, at this very Session, as a member of the House of Representatives.

* The careful reader will perceive that the venerable writer of these papers, in this instance, has overlooked the fact that *non-intercourse* was the recognized remedy for violations of the new commercial policy which "the thirteen united States of America" had established in 1777 and which had been subsequently recognized by Great Britain herself. It was, therefore, no new doctrine, introduced by Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Monroe, on the occasion referred to.—EDITOR.

"cations now made,* showing the great and "increasing dangers with which our vessels, our "seamen, and merchandise are threatened, on "the high seas and elsewhere, from the belliger- "ent Powers of Europe, and it being of the great- "est importance to keep in safety these essential "resources, I deem it my duty to recommend "the subject to the consideration of Congress, "who will doubtless perceive all the advantages "which may be expected from an inhibition of "the departure of our vessels from the ports of "the United States.

"Their wisdom will also see the necessity of "making every preparation for whatever events "may grow out of the present crisis."

The above Message was immediately taken into consideration, in both Houses, with closed doors; and, after sharp discussion, a Bill was finally passed, in conformity to its intentions, as interpreted by members in the confidence of the Executive. The following is the Act referred to:

"AN ACT LAYING AN EMBARGO ON ALL SHIPS AND "VESSELS IN THE PORTS AND HARBORS OF THE "UNITED STATES.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of "Representatives, of the United States of America, "in Congress assembled*, That an embargo be and "hereby is laid on all ships and vessels, in the "ports and places within the limits or jurisdic- "tion of the United States, cleared or not "cleared, bound to any foreign port or place; "and that no clearance be furnished to any ship "or vessel bound to such foreign port or place, "except vessels under the immediate direction "of the President of the United States; and "that the President be authorized to give such "instructions to the officers of the Revenue, and "the Navy, and Revenue-cutters of the United "States, as shall appear best adapted for carry- "ing the same into full effect: *Provided*, That "nothing herein contained shall be construed "to prevent the departure of any foreign ship "or vessel, either in ballast or with the goods, "wares, and merchandise on board of such "foreign ship or vessel, when notified of this "Act.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further resolved*, That, "during the continuance of this Act, no regis- "tered or sea-letter vessel having on board goods, "wares, and merchandise shall be allowed to "depart from one port of the United States to "any other within the same, unless the Master, "Owner, Consignee, or Factor of such vessel "shall first give bond, with one or more sure- "ties, to the Collector of the District from "which she is bound to depart, in a sum of "double the value of the vessel and cargo, that "the said goods, wares, and merchandise shall "be relanded in some port of the United States, "dangers of the sea excepted, which bond, and "also a certificate from the Collector where the "same may be relanded, shall, by the Collector, "respectively, be transmitted to the Secretary "of the Treasury. All armed vessels possessing "public commissions from any foreign Power "are not to be considered as liable to the em- "bargo laid by this Act."

Approved, December 22, 1807.

The foregoing Act having been, in both Houses, discussed with closed doors, no trace remains of the debate which took place upon it. Simultaneously, however, with the publication of the Embargo Act, on the morning after its passage, [*December* 23, 1807,] appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, in conspicuous type, the subjoined article, the best, and, indeed, the only reliable, exposition that was ever made of that measure. The Act not having become a law until the afternoon of the twenty-second of December, of course the article must have been prepared in anticipation of its passage. To ensure to it from the reader all the attention which it deserves, and to secure it a place among the most valuable State Papers of the country, it is sufficient to state that this article was the production of the pen of James Madison.

"*EXPOSITION OF THE EMBARGO.*

"EMBARGO.—This is a strong measure, pro- "ceeding from the energy of the public councils, "appealing to the patriotism of their constitu- "ents, and is, of all measures, the one peculiar- "ly adapted to the crisis. The honest judgment "of all parties has anticipated and called for it.

"The measure could no longer, in fact, be "delayed without sacrificing the vital interests "of the nation.

"Great Britain, by interpolations into the "maritime code operating on her enemies "through the violated rights of neutrals, furnish- "ed an occasion, which was seized by the French "Government, for the Decree of November, "1806, interdicting commerce with Great "Britain, which was adopted by the allies of "France, particularly by Spain, in her Decree "of February, 1807.

"The Decree of November was followed by "the retaliating British Order of January, 1807, "making war on all neutral trade usually car-

* The "communications now made" consisted only of a letter from M. Champigny and a copy of an Order of the French Emperor, subjecting to confiscation all British property or products found on board of neutral vessels.

"ried on from the ports of one enemy to those "of another.

"France, again seconded by Spain and other "allies, is retaliating on this Order, by new con- "structions, extending their Decrees to all trade "from British territories or in British articles.

"And it is clear that, if not already done, "Great Britain meditates further retaliations, "most probably an interdict of all trade by this "country (now the only neutral one) with the "enemies of Great Britain, that is to say, with "the whole commercial world.

"To these destructive operations against our "commerce, is to be added the late Proclama- "tion of Great Britain, on the subject of sea- "men. This extraordinary instrument, instead "of relinquishing the pretension with respect "to alleged deserters on board national ships, "extends it to all British seamen on board; vary- "ing only the mode of process, from that used "by Berkely, to a redress to be obtained by "the Government itself. And with respect to "seamen on board merchant vessels, the Proc- "lamation has made it the duty of all her sea- "officers to search for and seize all such as they "may call British natives, whether wanted or "not for the service of their respective ships. "From the proportion of American citizens "herctofore taken under the name of British "seamen, may be calculated the number of "victims to be added by this formal sanction "to the claim of British officers, and the con- "version of that claim into a duty.

"Thus the ocean presents a field only where no "harvest is to be reaped but that of danger, "of spoliation, and of disgrace.

"Under such circumstances, the best to be "done is what has been done—a dignified re- "tirement within ourselves; a watchful pre- "servation of our resources; and a demonstra- "tion to the world that we possess a virtue and "a patriotism which can take any shape that "will best suit the occasion.

"It is singularly fortunate that an embargo, "whilst it guards our essential resources, will "have the collateral effect of making it the in- "terest of all nations to change the system "which has driven our commerce from the "ocean.

"Great Britain will feel it in her manufac- "tures, in the loss of naval-stores, and, above "all, in the supplies essential to her Colonies, "to the number of which she is adding by new "conquests.

"France will feel it in the loss of all those "colonial luxuries which she has hitherto re- "ceived through our neutral commerce; and "her Colonies will, at once, be cut off from the "sale of their productions and the source of "their supplies.

"Spain will feel it more, perhaps, than any "in the failure of imported food, not making "enough within herself, and in her populous "and important Colonies, which depend wholly "on us for the supply of their daily wants.

"It is a happy consideration also attending "this measure, that, although it will have those "effects, salutary it may be hoped, on the pol- "icy of the great contending nations, it affords "neither of them the slightest ground for com- "plaint. The embargo violates the rights of "none. Its object is to secure ourselves. It is "a measure of precaution, not of aggression. "It is resorted to, by all nations, when their "great interests require it. All of them have "made us, on different occasions, feel the "effects of such a resort on our commercial in- "terests. And it could be the less murmured "at by those who may be incidentally affected "by the present embargo, inasmuch as they "have forced us into the measure, by the direct "effect on us of measures founded in an alleged "regard for their own eventual safety and essen- "tial interests.

"But may not the embargo bring on war from "some of the nations affected by it? Certainly "not; if war be not predetermined on against "us. Being a measure of peace and precaution, "being universal, and therefore impartial, ex- "tending, in reality, as well as ostensibly to all "nations, there is not a shadow of pretext to "make it a cause of war. War, therefore, let "it be repeated, cannot be the result; unless it "be in pursuance of a predetermined plan of "hostility against this country.

"Will it not be an impediment to amicable "negotiations with nations with which we "have unsettled differences? Not more than any "other precaution; not more, certainly, than "military preparations, with which depending "negotiations are frequently accompanied and, "sometimes, professedly armed. The policy of "President Washington sent Mr. Jay into "negotiation with an embargo in his hand. "Would the Treaty he made have been the "worse if, the embargo had not been re- "cinded?

"Might not the embargo have been better "modified? Might not, particularly, the vessels "of the several foreign nations have been al- "lowed to carry on trade from our ports?

"The plausibility of such an exception van- "ishes, at once, when tested by its inevitable "and inadmissible consequences:

"1. It would have given so decided and ex- "clusive an advantage to one of the belligerent "parties that it would have been difficult to "justify it to the others. Great Britain, having "the command of the sea and the means of "conveyance, would have supplied her wants

"whilst her enemies, having neither, would be "left destitute.

"2. Having the monopoly of our market, her "agents would obtain supplies at half their "value.

"3. The competition to sell to them would "have made every purchase a favor, and conse- "quently a source of dreadful influence.

"4. Our mariners, thrown out of employment, "would have been easily enticed into foreign "service, never, probably, to be regained. Our "ships might, perhaps, be bought up, at the "same time, for half their value, and be lost to "the nation.

"5. In fine, the exception, thus operating in "favor of Great Britain, would have done what, "above all things, she would have wished. It "would have given her a monopoly of the trade "of the world; would have secured all her sup- "plies, on the best terms, whilst her enemies "and rival would go without, altogether; and, "to crown the whole, it would, without the "benefit of more than a very scanty market for "our produce, have given her the greatest pos- "sible interest in persevering in those regula- "tions and prolonging that state of things, "which forms the present afflicting crisis to "this country.

"The embargo, then, is the best expedient in "its best form. It has been recommended by "the President, who has the best means of know- "ing the policy of foreign Governments; and "it has been adopted by Congress, who are alone "able to provide, in such cases, for the secu- "rity of the public rights and interests; adopt- "ed, almost unanimously, by the Senate, and by "as large a majority in the House of Represen- "tatives as is to be expected in any case where "an honest difference of opinion may be added "to the habitual opposition of party spirit.

"All that remains, then, for a people confid- "ing in their Government, is to rally round the "measure which that Government has adopted "for their good, and to secure its just effect, "by patiently and proudly submitting to every "inconvenience which such a measure neces- "sarily carries with it."

III.—*CLOSE OF MR. JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.*

The Embargo system had now become the established policy of the Government, as being, not only a measure of safety to the merchant-ships of the United States, with their cargoes, but also a means of coercion to justice, on the part of the belligerents, by depriving them of the products of the United States. The question of War with either of the belligerent Powers was, to all appearances, indefinitely postponed.

Defeated in their opposition to the measure of remedy and redress for the wrongs of foreign Powers which the Administration had devised, and to which a large majority of Congress had given its sanction, the Federalists and Schismatics, as Mr. Jefferson characterized the Opposition, in Congress, to his Administration, —obliged also to abandon their charge against the President of a design to involve the country in War with Great Britain—now turned about, and planted themselves upon a ground of hostility to the Republican Administration yet more absurd than the other; the gist of which was that the Administration had, in laying the Embargo, acted under the dictation of the Emperor of France, or, at least, in collusion with him. This charge, which was first blurted out in one or more of the unscrupulous party papers in the city of New York, found utterance in the House of Representatives, in a debate on one of the several Bills which it became necessary to pass, for the purpose of enforcing the Embargo law.

In that debate, which took place on the twentieth of February, 1808, Mr. Gardenier, a talented young member from New York, ambitious of party distinction, either stimulated by this ruling passion or acting under the advice of associates older than himself, reiterated the charge referred to, in the following passages of a set speech made on the occasion: "Why we "passed the Embargo law itself, I have been "always unable to tell. Why we have passed "the subsequent laws for the purpose of ren- "dering the original evil more perfect and more "universal, God only knows. It does appear to "me, Sir, that *we are led on, step by step, but by an "unseen hand.* We are urged forward, *by a sort "of spell, to the ruin of our country.* Under the "name of an Embargo, we are, in truth and in "fact, passing non-intercourse laws."

"The more the original measure (of the "Embargo) develops itself, the more I am sat- "isfied that my first view of it was correct; that "it was a sly, cunning measure; that its real "object was not merely to prevent our vessels "from going out, but to effect a non-intercourse. "Are the nation prepared for this? If you "wish to try whether they are, tell them, at once, "what is your object; tell them what you mean; "tell them *you mean to take part with the Grand "Pacificator;* or else stop your present course. "Do not *go on forging chains to fasten us to the "car of the Imperial Conqueror.*"

"Wherever we can espy a hole, if it be no "bigger than a wheat-straw, at which the "industry and enterprise of our country can "find vent, all our powers are called into re- "quisition to stop it up. The people of this "country shall sell nothing but what they sell "to each other. All our surplus produce shall

"not on your hands. God knows what all this "means! I, Sir, cannot understand it. I am "astonished—[pause]. I am astonished and dis- "mayed. *I am glad*; but I can bring them to an "*issue*. Yes, Sir, I do fear that there is an un- "seen hand which is pushing us to the most dreadful "*darkness*—unseen, because it cannot endure the "light. Darkness and mystery overshadow this "House and this whole nation. We know "nothing; we are permitted to know nothing. "*We sit here*, as mere automata, as machines "without knowing—nay, Sir, without wishing "to know—why or wherefore. We are told "what we are to do; and the Council of Five "*Hundred* do it. We move, but why or "wherefore, no man knows; we are put in mo- "tion, but how, I for one cannot tell."

These broad assertions and groundless imputations upon the Administration could not, of course, pass by, unnoticed. Prompt replies to them followed from several members, of which the one that attracted most attention was the speech of Mr. G. W. Campbell, one of the Representatives from the State of Tennessee, who occupied the important station of Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and who had distinguished himself in debate, at the preceding Congress, in support of the measures of the Administration. On the present occasion, he addressed himself directly and somewhat personally to Mr. Gardenier, in a course of remark of which a few excerpts will serve to give the reader some idea: "For there is no medium in "this case: the accusers or the accused must be "guilty—must be enemies to their country—and "it is high time the nation, the people of "America, should know their friends from their "foes. The crisis calls for it; and the honor and "*dignity of this House demand that the guilty should* "*be exposed*. If the charges can be supported, "that any portion of the members of this House "are acting under foreign influence, let the "people know it: let them change their repre- "sentation: let them send men of integrity, "who are superior to the secret influence of a "foreign Power. But if, on the contrary, these "allegations are found to be false and unfound- "ed, then let the nation know this; and let the "*finger of scorn point at those who have published* "*such groundless falsehoods*, and render them the "objects of public contempt and detesta- "tion."

* * * * *

"No man of sense can suppose that France "would wish or dictate a measure that would "produce as great, if not greater, injury to "herself than to her enemy. Such a suppo- "sition would be next to madness. From "these considerations, it would be supposed "that no man who had made himself in any "degree acquainted with the situation of this "country in regard to the belligerent Powers, "and had considered the effects that this "measure would have on them, could, for a "moment, entertain the opinion so much boasted "of a conjecture, that it was adopted under the "influence of any foreign Power, much less "under that of France. The adoption of an "act, so inconsistent, it itself be doubtful "of the most confirmed by the most flagrant "of proof, that nothing but the most positive "knowledge could induce and compel a determina- "tion, and influence a vote; and yet, Sir," said Mr. Campbell, "it has been advanced, as "this day, founded in your part, by the "frantic efforts of a party faction, and in the "fantasies of a subject, always prejudiced to "wrong and extraordinary purposes. Before "it may be supposed from a presumption whether "to make an that occasion, in order a plea had "to show whether possible under the Government "and the Republican of the nation which were "entirely to accept and support the affairs of "certain persons. In speaking what was said, "by the member from New York, I beg to be "understood as not considering those state- "ments as carrying any sort of conviction or "importance from him who made them here. "It is not, on that account, that they ought to "receive the least notice. Those points can "only be considered as the more readily used "by those behind the curtain to employ them "as trumpeters, who gives an importance to "what he makes public, except what is derived "merely from the place he occupies in the "duties assigned him to perform."

After this interchange of compliments between these young parliamentary aspirants, it was no surprise to any body that a challenge, on the part of Mr. Gardenier, followed; that it was promptly accepted, by his opponent in the debate, and that a duel was forthwith fought, at Bladensburg, between these gentlemen, the result of which was that Mr. Gardenier was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life.

This incident put a stop, for the time, to those unseemly considerations and the private and other consequences which would inevitably have attended their repetition.

The Second Session of the Tenth Congress commenced on the seventh of November, 1808, and terminated with the existence of that Congress, on the third of March, 1809. This session was from its beginning to nearly its close, occupied with debates on the merits of the Embargo system, in which the numerous propositions,

to enforce it, to repeal it, to relax it, to modify it, gave rise. The Embargo was not repealed, nor modified; but it was enforced by stringent enactments, to the utmost tension of the powers of Congress. So strenuous was the conflict of debate, in the House of Representatives, on the day of the passage of the latest and strongest of the enforcement Acts, that it lasted until five o'clock of the morning of the next day, the seventh of January. Well must the scene of that morning be remembered by every one of the survivors of those who witnessed it. Snow had fallen, during the night, to more than a foot in depth. In those days, there were very few carriages in Washington; and such as there were, had, early in the night, sought shelter from the storm. The venerable men, of whom there were, at that day, a greater proportion in Congress than at present, staggered down the steps of the Capitol—many having more than a mile of snow to thread to reach their lodgings, suffering under every circumstance of exhaustion and fatigue, which were, indeed, so general that no attempt was made by Congress to meet at all, on the following day.

Yet, notwithstanding the stubbornness of determination thus manifested to sustain and enforce, to the utmost, the Embargo policy, a few weeks only had intervened, when, lo! without any previous warning or premonitory symptom, THE EMBARGO WAS REPEALED!

In Mr. Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, so succinct and candid an account is given of the circumstances under which this sudden and unexpected retreat was made from the restrictive policy, that the writer adopts it for the information of his readers rather than himself attempt to unfold them:

"In the meanwhile, the Embargo was press-
"ing, with increased severity, one very class of
"the community, whether producers or con-
"sumers; and this pressure, joined to the politi-
"cal opposition, in the Federal party, drove the
"people of New England, where that party
"was most numerous, and where the Embargo
"was most felt, to a point of disaffection which
"had never before been witnessed in the United
"States. Many, therefore, entertained strong
"hopes that some course would be taken, during
"the present Session, by which the industry and
"enterprise of the country would be again put
"into activity; its vessels be once more suffer-
"ed to venture on the ocean; and, perhaps, be
"permitted to arm in their own defence, if not
"to make reprisals. Indeed, there was no one
"who did not admit that War would be prefer-
"able to the continuance of the Embargo, be-
"yond a time not very distant; and every day
"was adding to the number of those who be-
"lieved that time already arrived. Among the
"many objections to it, there was one which
"operated strongly on its friends; and that was
"the frequency with which it was violated. * *
"There were also many cases in which the law
"was clandestinely evaded. The majority of
"Congress, who were willing to try it longer
"rather than resort to War, passed a law, during
"the Session, which armed the Executive with
"new powers for enforcing it; and these powers,
"so much at variance with the spirit of our insti-
"tutions and the general lenity of the laws, af-
"forded further materials for exciting popular
"odium against the Administration, which was
"then charged with being as ambitious of arbi-
"trary power, at home, as it was submissive to
"the will of Napoleon, abroad.

"The Administration and the majority who
"supported it were, before Congress rose, turned
"from their purpose of trying the Embargo a
"few months longer, from fear of the growing
"disaffection of the New England States, which,
"they had reason to believe, was producing con-
"sequences not only subversive of the authority
"of the laws, but dangerous to the continuance
"of the Union. It has appeared, by subsequent
"disclosures, that, in the month of February,
"Mr. John Quincy Adams, who had supported
"the Administration, in the Embargo and other
"measures of policy, ever since the affair of the
"*Chesapeake*, and who, finding his course was
"not approved by the Legislature of Massa-
"chusetts, had resigned his office of Senator,
"made to the President the following commu-
"nication: That, from information received by
"him, and which might be relied on, it was the
"determination of the ruling party, in Massa-
"chusetts, and even New England, if the Em-
"bargo was persisted in, no longer to submit to
"it, but to separate themselves from the Union,
"at least until the existing obstacles to foreign
"commerce were removed; that the plan was
"already digested; and that such was the pres-
"sure of the Embargo on the community, that
"they would be supported by the people. He
"further said, that a secret agent of Great
"Britain was then in New England, by whose
"intrigues every aid would be proffered by that
"Government, to carry a project into execution,
"which would, at once, render the restrictions
"on the commerce between the United States
"and Great Britain nugatory and all future op-
"position unavailing.

"The danger thus threatening the Union was
"deemed paramount to all other considerations;
"and the President, with his Cabinet, concluded
"that it would be better to modify their interdic-
"tion of commerce in such a way that, while em-
"ployment was afforded to American vessels,
"Great Britain and France should still feel the
"loss of American commerce. Congress accord-

"ingly passed a law for repealing the Embargo, "after the fourth of March, as to all nations except "France and Great Britain; and interdicting, "with them, all commercial intercourse what- "ever, whether by exporting or importing, "either directly or circuitously. This mea- "sure has always since gone under the name "of 'the non-intercourse law.' It passed on the "twenty-seventh of February, by eighty-one "votes to forty."

It is a singular coincidence that, as almost the last official act of President Jefferson was to "approve" and sign the death-warrant of the Embargo, to which he stood in the relation of a parent, this unnatural Act was even preceded by his signing and approving an Act "author- "izing the employment of an additional Naval "force," the provisions of which were that, "In addition to the frigates now employed, in "actual service, there be fitted out, officered, "and manned, as soon as may be, the four fol- "lowing frigates, to wit, the *United States, Essex, "John Adams*, and *President;*" and, moreover, the President of the United States was "author- "ized and empowered to equip, man, and em- "ploy, in actual service, so many of the pub- "lic armed vessels now laid up in ordinary as, "in his judgment, the public service may re- "quire; and to cause the frigates and other "armed vessels, when prepared for active "service, to be stationed at such ports and "places on the sea-coast as he may deem "most expedient, or to cruise on any part of the "coast of the United States;" and, further, in order to man these vessels, the President was "authorized and empowered, in addition to "the existing number of petty officers, and sea- "men, and boys, to appoint and cause to be "engaged and employed, as soon as may be, "*three hundred midshipmen, three thousand, six "hundred seamen and boys*," *etc., etc.*

Thus, in the last days of the existing Administration, was the *coup-de-grace* given to the two favorite systems of the President: first, that of laying-up, dry-docking, and otherwise ignoring the Navy; and, secondly, the substitution of Embargo and Commercial Restrictions, generally, as the most effective armor in all controversies, offensive and defensive, with foreign Powers.

An Epitaph upon the policy of Commercial Restrictions was pronounced, a year or two after the period above referred to—and, of course, after the repeal of the Embargo—in a debate in the House of Representatives, founded on a Bill for enforcing certain merchants' bonds, exacted under one or other of the several Embargo-laws. The elder readers of these *Recollections* will not be displeased to have this passage recalled to their memory; and the younger of them will, we trust, thank us for making them acquainted with it. We therefore reproduce it, as follows: "I never hear the word 'restriction' named in "the halls of Congress," said Mr. CHEVES, "without being alarmed. It is greatly to be "lamented, for the sake of the country, that "this subject is so frequently agitated. Now, "the farmer is threatened; then, the merchant. "The country had not yet recovered from the "alarm which was caused by the Resolution of "the honorable gentleman from New Hamp- "shire, to prohibit the exportation of the great "productions of the soil—a Resolution which, "like the comet that lately visited our region, "affrighted and dismayed the wondering people "but which, like it, had passed away, we hoped "not again to appear, in our time—when the "Resolutions of my honorable friend from Vir- "ginia, numbers one, two, three—I forget how "many—followed, in rapid succession, and, "like the tail of that great meteor, hung over "us, giving signs of dire and ominous portent. "These, to your farmers, are as pernicious as "the plagues of Egypt. To your cities, the "proposition on your table is more terrible than "the pestilence with which they were, not long "since, smitten by the judgment of God, in- "flicted in his wrath, but by his justice; which "made the dwelling, where health, and joy, "and gladness, and general prosperity had "blessed the inhabitants, a charnel-house; and "sent forth 'the frequent corpse' through the "deserted streets, accompanied by no living "creature, save the patient drudging animal "which bore it and the lone Sexton who com- "mitted the dust of the body to the repose of "the tomb. Yes, Sir, even this was a more "tolerable calamity to your cities than would "be that plague upon your table."

The whole country, East and West, North and South, was jubilant at the almost unlooked-for repeal of the Embargo. The farmers and planters, the merchants and shippers, and the land-locked seamen vied with one another in the promptitude with which they resumed their long-suspended right, to labor for their living. A gleam of reviving prosperity shone over the whole horizon. Before the change of policy, above referred to, the periodical election of President of the United States had taken place; and Mr. Madison had been designated as the successor of Mr. Jefferson. The influence of the approaching inauguration of a new President, already generally and favorably known, pierced through the gloom which had brooded over the country; and the expiration of this political year found the people more tranquil and hope- ful than they had been for the two years pre- ceding.

[To be Continued, in the February Number.]

X.—*FLOTSAM.*

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

THE REBEL FORCES. In the November numbers of the *Eclectic* and the *Land We Love*, 1869, an interesting and important correspondence was published between Dr. Joseph Jones, Secretary of the Historical Society, and General S. Cooper, ex-Adjutant General of the Confederate States. From that source, we glean the following facts for the benefit of those who are not so fortunate as to have preserved a file of the magazines. Such facts are startling even to those who participated in the Southern struggle.

1. The available forces of the Confederate army did not, during the war, exceed six hundred thousand men.

2. The Confederate States never had, in their defence, more than two hundred thousand men in the field, at one time.

3. From 1861 to 1865, the Confederate forces actively engaged were only six hundred thousand.

4. The total number of deaths during that time, were two hundred thousand.

5. Losses of prisoners, counted as total losses, on account of the United States policy of exchange, two hundred thousand.

6. The loss of the Confederate States Army, by discharge, disability, and desertion amounted to one hundred thousand.

7. At the close of the War, the force of the Confederate Army was less than one hundred thousand.

8. Out of six hundred thousand men, five hundred thousand were lost to the service.

These facts are taken from calculations made with great care by Doctor Joseph Jones, submitted to and approved by General S. Cooper, Adjutant-general of the Confederate Army.—*Mobile Register.*

THE FIRST STEP.—Forty years ago, in one of the Academies near Boston, a number of girls went along with a set of their schoolboy friends in the entire preparation for Harvard University. The girls knew Mathematics and Greek as well as the boys did; and formed a plan for going to the University with them. We cannot say whether the plan grew out of a keen zest for knowledge or out of an unwillingness to break off the very pleasant companionship—probably from both. The girls did not think there could be much objection to admitting them to the University; they thought the reason there were no girls at the Universities was that none had wanted to go or had been fitted to go. They proposed to live at home, so there would be no difficulty on the score of College-residence. However, as their request was new, it occurred to them that a little diplomacy might be required in presenting it, so they deputed the most prudent of the party to do the talking, and imposed strict silence upon the youngest and most impulsive one, from whom we have the story. The girls called upon old President Quincy; told him what they had done in their studies; that they had passed the examinations, with the boys; and wished to be admitted to the University. President Quincy listened to their story, and evinced so much admiration for their work and aims, that they at first felt sure of success. But he seemed slow in coming to the point. He talked of the newness and difficulties of the scheme, and proposed other opportunities of study for them, till, at length, this youngest one, forgetting, in her impatience, her promise to keep silent, said, "Well, President Quincy, you feel sure the "Trustees will let us come, don't you?" "Oh, "by no means," was the reply, "this is a place "only for men." The girl of sixteen burst into tears and exclaimed, with vehemence, "I wish "I could annihilate the women, and let the "men have everything to themselves." This, so far as we know, was the first effort made by women to get into an American University: but the incident was too trifling to make any impression, and we narrate it only as marking the beginning of the demand for university-advantages for women.—*Westminster Review* for October.

AN INTERESTING REMINISCENCE OF THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION OF 1860.—If Speaker Blaine of the United States House of Representatives insists upon his right to know what a member will do, when he gets the floor, before he will grant him the privilege of the same, then the only remedy will be to cheat and deceive him.

We know of a memorable instance in point, which has never yet been made public, but which, in its result, had a great effect upon the destiny of the country. It occurred at the Charleston Democratic Convention of 1860, which was the immediate forerunner of the threatened dissolution of the Union.

Caleb Cushing was President of that Convention. He was elected by, and was thoroughly in the interests of, the South and the extreme men of the North, who were opposed to the

nomination of Stephen A. Douglas, the popular choice for President of the United States. The fight against Douglas was made upon the slavery part of the platform, which was to be adopted before any presidential nomination was made. The Convention, though close, contained a small majority of Mr. Douglas's friends. They could adopt their platform if they could get a vote upon it. But how to do so was the point. Cushing would not give any man the floor whom he suspected of an intention to move the Previous Question. Thus the debate went on, altogether upon one side; and the Convention bid fair to last for weeks, if not for months. The funds of many northern men were giving out, western whiskey was exhausted, and there were reports of the yellow-fever having made its appearance.

Things looked desperate, when all was saved by the tact of a distinguished member of the Ohio delegation. He went to the late C. L. Vallandigham, also a member, and who was on the most intimate terms with Cushing. Said he: 'Val, can't you get the floor for my friend, "Governor King of Missouri, who has been "endeavoring, for a long time, to attract Cush-"ing's attentions to his seat?" "What does he "want with it?" says Mr. Vallandigham. "Why, they have, I believe, a little difficulty "in the delegation as to how the vote shall be "cast, and they want Mr. Cushing to settle it." This was true. "All right," says Val; "I will "see Cushing." See him he did; and when our friend saw Mr. Vallandigham nod his head, in assent, he proceeded to the Missouri seats and informed Governor King that, as soon as the man who then had the floor sat down, the President would recognize him; but he must be quick on his pins. Governor King arose; explained his difficulty; was answered by Cushing; when, lo! to the consternation of the South and their northern allies, he moved the Previous Question on the platform. The Delegates from the North-west rose in one mass and vociferously seconded the motion of the gentleman from Missouri. Cushing, one of the very best parliamentarians in the country, saw he was floored; and when the confusion subsided, he had to put the question, which the Douglas men carried, and the fight was over. Then came the secession of the southern Delegates, who left the Convention in the precise order they did the Union, after the election of Lincoln—South Carolina leading off, closely followed by Mississippi and the remainder of the cotton States.

But for this deception of Cushing, Mr. Douglas would not have been nominated, and there would have been a compromise candidate, who might have kept the Democratic party, North and South, intact, and defeated Lincoln, and so averted the war.—*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

A Cave of Dead Indians—Mammoth Remains.—A Virginia paper says: "The following information is given us by gentlemen of "the highest character and credit, who have seen "with their own eyes, touched and tested with "their own hands, the wonderful objects of "which they make report.

"The workmen engaged in opening a way "for the projected railroad between Weldon "and Garrysburg, struck, on Monday, about a "mile from the former place, in a bank beside "the river, a catacomb of skeletons, supposed "to be those of Indians of a remote age and a "lost and forgotten race. The bodies exhumed "were of a strange and remarkable formation. "The skulls were nearly an inch in thickness, "the teeth were filed sharp, as are those of "cannibals, the enamel perfectly preserved, "the bones were of wonderful length and "strength—the *femur* being as long as the leg "of an ordinary man, the stature of the body "being probably as great as eight or nine "feet. Near their heads, were sharp stone "arrows, some mortars, in which their corn "was brayed, and the bowls of pipes, appropri-"ly of soft soapstone. The teeth of the skele-"tons are said to be as large as those of a horse. "One of them was brought to the city and pre-"sented to the officers of the Pittsburgh Railroad.

"The bodies were found closely packed to-"gether, laid tier on tier, as it seemed. There "was no discernible ingress or egress to the "mound. The mystery is, who these giants "were, to what race they belonged, to what "era, and how they came to be buried there. "To these inquiries, no answer has yet been "made; and, meantime, the ruthless spade con-"tinues to cleave skull and body asunder, "throwing up, in mangled masses, the bones of "this heroic tribe. We hope some effort will "be made to preserve authentic and accurate "accounts of these discoveries, and to throw "some light, if possible, on the lost tribe whose "bones are thus rudely disturbed from their "sleep, in earth's bosom."

Letter From G. B. Lamar, on Secession.

Bank of the Republic,
New York, April 15, 1861.

Hon. C. G. Memminger, Montgomery Ala.

Sir:

I have yours, 11th inst., received this morning. The National Bank Note Company will forward to-day 1,000 impressions of $50 and $100 Treasury notes, and they will print and send you hereafter any more you require at their

own risk and hazard. Hence I have told them to keep the plates here.

The American Bank Note Company has sent you three books: Nos. 1C. 750 50s; 3 do. No. 1C, 750 $100; 1 book No. 1C. 250 500s.; 4 books 1C. 1,000 of 1,000s, and will forward to-day 1 book 751C. 1,000 of 50s, and 2 books No. 251C. 750 of 500s, certificates. They will send what 1,000s they have printed, and print no more of that denomination, but will fill up the number originally ordered (3,000) in a larger number of 100s. I think I wrote you that both companies took the hazard of delivery of all, including the plates in Montgomery. The latter company will forward the plates of the certificates to their present branch in New Orleans as soon as the order is filled.

Yours, G. B. Lamar.

No check received as stated in your letter.

The fall of Fort Sumter has excited the strongest animosity of the Republicans with whom all the corrupt Democracy have united to make war on the South. Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers will be responded to by more than twice that number, but very few of them will ever go South as far as Charleston.

The expedition against Fort Sumter exhibits the greatest folly ever committed by men in power. A Lieut. Fox, who had been spying out in Charleston and around, instigated it and planned it, and Capt. Porter said he would go into Fort Sumter or to hell. Hence he got the command of the naval forces, putting Capt. Mercer aside without cause or explanation—all this against the advice of Gens. Scott and Potter. And the fleet remained inactive spectators in sight of the bombardment for thirty hours!!!

Providentially no lives were lost, and but for the madness of the Republicans, a recognition would be made. But they are to propitiate the anti-slavery and abolition feeling of the North by a campaign against the South. I hope this excited feeling will subside into more sober counsels, and a reaction may result and war be restrained.

Two telegrams, one from Richmond and one from Lynchburg, say *Virginia will secede*, and that if the Convention do not, a revolution will be initiated in Richmond, to that end. I suggest most respectfully that *a strictly defensive policy will be the best for the South.* Let all aggressions be avoided, and if they invade the South, it will be to such great disadvantage that an easy victory will be the consequence. I venture to assure all the rampant warriors that they shall have a *quantum suffice* of fight if they will but go South to get it, and I hope you will keep a full supply on hand ready for them.

Allow me to say that my nephew and namesake, G. B. Lamar, Jr., of Augusta, now acting Adjutant at the Arsenal at Augusta, has an application on file for a commission in the service of the Confederacy. Anything, from First Lieutenant, up, will be gratefully acknowledged by me. He is as fine-looking and as able as any man in the service, and will make a first-rate officer—strong and healthy. If you can aid him please do so. I have directed all letters and prints for you to be addressed to H. W. Carter, Esq., Cashier, to avoid difficulty, and this will go to the same address. I think you had better send your despatches to some one else besides myself, on the exterior envelope—say to R. H. Lowry, Cashier—and they will not be suspected by the Post Office Department.

I think Congress should proclaim free trade, and levy a tax of one per cent. on all property, to pay expenses and interest on the loan.

It would discommode New York effectually, and either bring her into the Southern Confederacy or make her decided in her enmity, which cannot be much worse than it is now.

Very respectfully, G. B. Lamar.

A Poetical Relic—The Battle of New Orleans.—Mr. I. S. Lyon, of Boonton, New Jersey, contributes to the *Newark Register*, a lively song, entitled "The Retreat of the Eng-"lish," written after the battle of New Orleans, in January, 1815, by Captain Abram Redwood Ellery, and never before published.

Mr. Lyon says Captain Ellery was a son of the distinguished patriot, William Ellery, of Rhode Island, and removed to New Orleans, early in the present century, and settled there. At the breaking out of the War of 1812, he was Captain of a Company of New Orleans Militia. He served, with distinction, under Jackson, in the several battles that took place in the vicinity of that city, in 1815.

The song, several stanzas of which are given below, was written by Captain Ellery under the inspiration of the moment, merely for the entertainment of his friends, and not intended for publication.

The Retreat of the English.

A Yankee Song.

The English mustered mighty strong,
And bro't their choicest troops along,
And thought it but a little song,
To take the town of Orleans.

From Plymouth and the Chesapeake—
From Portsmouth, too, and Cork so sleek—

All came, to take a Christmas freak,
In our gay town of Orleans.

They entered Bayou Bienvenu,
Where there were traitors* not a few,'
To help them on and bring them thro,'
To this, our town of Orleans.

They to the levee quickly come,
And made as tho' they were at home;
Indeed, they were but eight miles from
The very town of Orleans.

The news at last to Jackson came;
His mighty soul was in a flame;
He swore an oath, I dare not name,
He'd save the town of Orleans.

The town was in a mighty rout;
He ordered all the forces out;
His troops so steady and so stout;
To fight and bleed for Orleans.

Away went Jackson at their head,
And many a gallant man he led;
All swore they'd fight till they were dead,
To save the town of Orleans.

The English camp he's soon among;
And found them near five thousand strong—
From swamp to river, stretched along,
Against the town of Orleans.

Repulsed!—on New Year's next they came,
But on that day, were served the same,
And met a loss they dare not name,
From those who fought for Orleans.

But 'twas the Eighth they tried their might,
And brought their army all in sight,
And swore our men would, at the sight,
All fly toward New Orleans.

That morning's sun did rise in blood,
For all our men right valiant stood,
As every honest Yankee ever should,
Against the foes of Orleans.

The muskets and the cannons roar;
Our men most deadly vollies pour
A rolling fire, unknown before,
Upon the foes of Orleans.

Sir Edward led the eager crew,
And pointing to the town in view,
Gave them to sack and pillage too,
If they would get to Orleans.

But see! His threatening spirit's fled;
And Gibbs, too, lies among the dead,
With many more who, boasting said,
They'd dine, that day, at Orleans.

* Alluding to the fishermen who piloted in the English boats

Such carnage ne'er was known before,
More than three thousand stain our shore,
And some assert a thousand more,
Of the proud foes of Orleans.

Soldiers! you've had no vulgar game!
Wellington's troops here yield their fame;
Invincibles! was once their name,
But this they've lost near Orleans.

A bloodless victory, on our side
May well increase our General's pride;
For, see! the field is only dyed
With English blood, near Orleans.

The proud, but disappointed foe,
Is now well taught our worth to know;
And all they ask is but to go
Far—far away from Orleans.

See how these heroes scour the plain!
Their boats can scarce their haste restrain,
So anxious now their fleet to gain,
And get away from Orleans.

On board! and sick of Yankee sport,
They're dressing up a long Report,
To suit their gracious Sovereign's Court,
Of their great feats at Orleans.

Now, here's to the Eighth! a brilliant day!
'Tis fame enough to have been in the affray,
That drove these Englishmen away,
From this our town of Orleans.

Here's to the gallant General! who
Has saved our town and country too;
A braver man the world ne'er knew,
Than he who fought for Orleans.

Brave sons of Tennessee!—a toast!
Of you, your country well may boast,
She cannot find a braver host,
'Mong those who fought at Orleans!

NEW ORLEANS, January, 1815.

SCRAPS—The famous sayings of great men are, one by one, dropping from sight. The last to suffer is the "Millions for defence, but not one "cent for tribute." Nearly eighty years ago, General Pinckney, then Minister to France, was informed that the payment of a certain sum might settle the diplomatic dispute between the two countries; and history says that General Pinckney indignantly replied: "Millions for "defence, but not a cent for tribute." And now comes a respectable citizen of Charleston, S. C., and shows, by indisputable authority, that, at a meeting of the Cossack-club, of which General Pinckney was a member, the latter was

asked by another member whether he ever made such remark, and replied: "No: my "answer was not a flourish like that, but "simply, 'Not a penny, not a penny.'"

—A Philadelphian of the last century presented a box of maple sugar to General Washington, who returned thanks as follows:—

"New York, June, 1790.

"Sir:—Mr. Morris has presented me, in your "name, with a box of the maple sugar, which "I am pleased to find of so good a quality. I "request you to accept my thanks for this "mark of attention; and being persuaded that "considerable benefit may be derived to our "country from a due prosecution of this prom-"ising object of industry, I wish every success "to its cultivation which the persons con-"cerned in it can themselves desire.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"G. Washington."

—The *Carthage Republican*, in a statistical article, prints the following scrap of history. If the epizootic had raged at the time mentioned, Monsieur Bossout would have been obliged to leave a larger sum in Utica, in exchange for four oxen, a yoke, and a wagon. The record runs:

"John Baptiste Bossout, who died at Cham-"pion, at the age of ninety-three years, was "with Pharoux and Des Jardines, *Commissaire* "*overland*, in 1794, from Utica to High (Lyons) "Falls. One hundred and thirty-nine dollars "and fifty cents had been paid at Utica, for "four oxen, a yoke, and a wagon. In two days, "they reached Baron Steuben's. Hence, on the "nineteenth of June, 1794, the expedition was "twenty-two in number, for High Falls, "twenty-four miles distant, Des Jardines and "Bossout being with the four ox-team. The "French road, then cut, is still so called.

"On the twenty-third of June, the French "agency house was built at High Falls. Car-"thage (ancient 'Long Falls') was founded by "Pharoux, 1794. A mill was erected, in 1795, "by Geoffrey Des Jardines and Pharoux, who "both came down from High (Lyons) Falls, "where the Castorland (or Chassim's) Company "had, from 1794-96, its trading house, with "Simon Des Jardines for chief *Commissaire*. "The Company's lands were in Jefferson and "Lewis-counties, on which the city (Castorville) "was laid out, in '96, by Des Jardines, on Beaver-"river, East of the Black-river, at Castorland-"station, and another, 'Niaure,' on Black-river-"bay. Ure farm, now D. A. Stewart's residence, "New Bremen, was one of the cultivated farms "of the Company."

XI.—*BOOKS.*

1.—*PRIVATE PUBLICATIONS.*

1.—*School Histories and Some Errors in Them.* By Samuel A. Green, M. D. Boston: For private distribution. 1872. Octavo, pp. 7.

In *The American Educational Monthly*, for June, 1872, Doctor Green fearlessly and intelligently exposed some of the errors which our school-book-makers, in their superlative ignorance, too often repeat, like parrots, in edition after edition and version after version of their so-called "Histories," for the use of our children, in the schools throughout the United States—Worcester's, Swinton's, and Anderson's volumes, especially, falling under his admirable criticism.

The work which Doctor Green has thus commenced, so well, may be continued, and it should be continued, until every one of these school-histories, shall have been examined; and we hope that, since the Doctor has put his hand to the plow and turned the first furrow, he will not look back and seek to cease from his labors.

The tract—a very handsome one—was printed only for private circulation; and we thank our friend, the Doctor, for the copy of it which is before us.

2.—*Early History of Georgia, embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming to the country of the Cherokees, in the Year* 1730. With a Map of the Cherokee Country, from a Draft made by the Indians. A paper read in substance before the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society, February, 1872, by Samuel G. Drake, M.A. Re-printed, with additions, from the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for July, 1872. Boston: 1872. Small quarto, pp. 20.

Whatever bears the name of Samuel G. Drake, as its author, always commands our respectful attention and highest respect; and we have consequently received and examined this handsome tract, with much pleasure, not only because it relates to the early history of a State which has not yet seemed to care, very much, for that history, but because it tells, of that hidden subject, what we are pleased to learn and in a manner which we are pleased to enjoy.

In this tract, as preliminary to the main subject, Mr. Drake notices, successively, the aboriginal occupants of Georgia; the colonization of the territory, by Oglethorpe; the policy, concerning their lands, of the Indians; and the origin of the Cherokees, as stated by Mr. Adair and disbelieved by Mr. Drake; and these are followed with a description of the Cherokee-country; and notices of the outrages inflicted on the Cherokees, by the white settlers in Georgia and by the United States authorities, and of the successive historians of Georgia, in their dealings with this subject, from Montgomery to Simms. The principal object of the paper is, however, to

detail an embassy to the Cherokees, in 1730, by Sir Alexander Cuming, Bart., in behalf the British Government and as a kind of a counter-movement to those, in the North and North-west, which France was then engaged in, in extending the area of her empire.

The record of this mission is not altogether complete; but Mr. Drake recently secured an ancient manuscript descriptive of what occurred after the arrival of the embassy at Charleston; and he has made excellent use of the information which he thus secured, in minutely describing the movements of Sir Alexander and his party, from their departure from "Charles Town" in March, 1730, until his return to that city, some six weeks afterwards, and subsequently, to Europe; and in his description of the result of that mission—the confirmation of the British authority over the Cherokees of Georgia.

It will be seen that this is, indeed, a very important contribution to the early history of Georgia and South Carolina; and as such, it will be welcomed both by students of that history and collectors.

3.—*Occasional Paper of the Russo-Greek Committee. New Series, No.* 1. *Report of the Joint Committee on communication with the Russo-Greek Church.* Presented to the General Convention, Baltimore, October, 1871. Privately printed. Sine loco: 1872. Octavo, pp. 25.

——*New Series, No.* 2. *A List of all the Sees and Bishops of the Holy Orthodox Church of the East.* Translated and compiled from Russian Official Documents. By the Rev. Charles R. Hale, M. A. Privately Printed. Sine loco: 1872. Octavo, pp. 16.

There is a Committee of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopalian Convention on "Communication with the Russo-Greek "Church," whose duty it has been, among other matters, to take steps for the acquisition and communication of such information as may be mutually important and interesting to both the Churches referred to; and the first of these two tracts is the Report of the Secretary, presented to the General Convention, at its last Session, and the second, a list of the Sees and Bishops of the Greek Church—both of them privately printed, by the Secretary, for private distribution.

The *Report* presents, in detail, a narrative of the action, in both Europe and America, tending to a closer union of the Eastern and the Anglican Churches; and to all who are interested in that subject, it will be exceedingly interesting, inasmuch as it is very minute in its narrative and abundantly supported by documents, printed at length.

The second tract contains a list of all the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Bishops of the Greek Church, throughout the world, with their respective Sees, drawn from official sources, furnished to the Committee by the Prince Sergius Ouroussoff, Secretary of State of Russia—certainly a very interesting list to every one who cares anything for the ecclesiastical history of that venerable Church.

These tracts have been printed at the expense of the Secretary of the Committee, and privately circulated—rather an expensive amusement, by the way, for a country Pastor—and as specimens of handsome printing they are entitled to high praise.

4.—*Our English Ancestors.* By Thomas C. Amory. Boston: David Clapp & Son. 1872. Octavo, pp. 45.

In June, 1872, Mr. Amory read a paper before The New-England Historic, Genealogical Society of Boston, which was published, with some slight changes, in the October number of the *Historical and Genealogical Register*; and "a few copies" were subsequently printed, in separate form, for private distribution by the Author. The kind some pamphlet now before us is a copy of that private, amended edition of Mr. Amory's paper; and we have examined it with great pleasure.

"Our *English* ancestors" is a subject which appealed to the sympathies of a wider circle, in Boston, than it could possibly have found in New York; and, consequently, Mr. Amory's paper is better adapted to the latitude of the former than to that of the latter city. Nevertheless, some portion of every section of the country has had "*English* ancestors," even if they have, also, descended, more or less, from the Dutch or the Palatines; and the well-written paper before us, therefore, will be welcomed, generally, both within and without New England.

Mr. Amory considers England, "for most of "us, in America, the father land," to which "most of us" are and must continue to be affectionately bound by ties, which "time can neither "weaken nor political differences disturb." He compares that stock—"the Anglo Saxon"—with other stocks; seems to consider New England, because of the assumed superiority of its *English* ancestry, as more peculiarly favored and more conspicuously pure than others are; glances at "the interest which is taken by our "people in their progenitors," when they know who those progenitors were, and gives what he supposes to be the reasons for it; analyses the character of "our British ancestors"—which are not necessarily *English*—and compares it, very often, with that of their European descendants; reviews the immigration from England of "our fathers;" alludes to the character and occupation of those who thus abandoned their old homes, prior to 1700; discusses the subject of "social distinctions," in England and America; refers to the growing taste for genealogi-

cal research, among Americans; offers some useful suggestions concerning the sources of genealogical research; and promises to return to the latter portion of his subject, at some future day.

From this brief description of Mr. Amory's argument, our readers will perceive the character of this paper; but the skill with which he handled his subject and the elegance of his style can be understood only by those who read it. It is the work of a close observer and careful writer; and as it was written by a New-Englander, for a New-English audience, and printed, mainly, for New-English perusal, the peculiarities to which we have alluded are reasonable and excusable.

5.—*Paul Lunt's Diary. May—December*, 1775, Edited by Samuel A. Green, M. D. Boston: For private distribution. 1872, Octavo, pp. 19.

Paul Lunt was a Lieutenant in the Massachusetts Line of the Revolutionary Army; and this is the *Diary* which he kept, while in the service, before Boston. It covers the period between the tenth of May and the twenty-third of December, 1775,—during the whole of which period, as we have said, the Lieutenant was before Boston; and he was not, as seems to have been Doctor Green's opinion, a portion of that time elsewhere—in fact, the *Diary* itself clearly indicates that he was *not* with the party which crossed the wilderness of Maine, under General Arnold, against Quebec, notwithstanding Doctor Green, on page 4, singularly states that, "as an officer, "Paul Lunt joined Arnold's famous expedition "for the siege of Quebec, which sailed from "Newburyport, in September, 1775, for the Ken- "nebec," as the Editor might have seen had he compared the entries on the thirteenth of September, with those made subsequently.

We do not perceive anything in this Diary of special importance, although all such papers are very useful to the student of the history of that period: we regret that Doctor Green has modernized its spelling and punctuation and made changes in the arrangement of some of the dates—changes which, we think, no mere Editor ought to have made, in any case.

The typography of the tract is very handsome; and, as the title-page indicates, the work was printed for private circulation only.

6.—*The Story of a Famous Book*: An Account of Dr. Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*. By Samuel A. Green, M.D. Boston: For private distribution. 1871. Octavo, pp. 14.

Doctor Green prepared for the *Atlantic Monthly*, and published in the number for February, 1871, a paper narrating the history of Franklin's *Autobiography*, and describing the various editions of the work, in French and English, which have been given to the world. He, evidently, had not looked into the subject as carefully as he generally looks into such matters; and, while he unduly belittled the version of the *Autobiography* which William Temple Franklin published, in London, in 1818, he quite as unduly extolled the version which Mr. Bigelow published, in 1868—an exactly opposite result from that which we produced, on a careful examination of both. As our opinion and the reasons for it are before the public (HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for May, 1868.—III., 314–316) we need not repeat the story.

The author will accept our thanks, notwithstanding, for his kindness in sending a copy of the work to us.

B.—PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

7.—*Œuvres de Champlain publiées sous le patronage de l'Université Laval* Par l'Abbé C.—H. Laverdière, M. A., Professeur d'Histoire a la Faculté des Arts et Bibliothécaire de l'Université Second Edition Quebec Imprimé au Séminaire par Geo.—E. Desbarats, 1870. Quarto, I. [*Preface, Biographical Notice of Champlain*] lxxvj, [*Brief Discovrs des choscs plvs remarqvables qve Sammvel Champlain de Brovage a reconneues aux Indes Occidentalles*] 48; II. [*Introductory Note*, iv.; *Des Savvages; ov Voyage de Samvel Champlain de Brovage, fait en la France Novvelle, l'an mil six cens trois*] viii, 63; III. [*Introductory Note*] iii; [*Les Voyages dv Sievr de Champlain xaintongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy, en la marine. Divisez en devx livres*] xvj, 327; IV. [*Prefatory Note*] iii, [*Voyages et Descovvertvres faites en la Novvelle France, depuis l'année* 1615, *iusques à la fin de l'année* 1618.] viij, 143; V. [*Prefatory Note*] viij, [*Les Voyages de la Novvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr de Champlain Xainctongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, & toutes les Descouurertes qu'il a faites en ce païs depuis l'an* 1603. *iusques en l'an* 1629. *la premier Partie*] 328; VI.—[*The same, Seconde Partie,*] 343, [*Traitté la Marine et dv devoir d'vn bon Marinier*] 55, [*Table povr cognoistre les lievx remarqvables en ceste carte*] 8, *Doctrine Chrestienne dv R. P. Ledesme de la Compaignie de Jesvs. Traduicte en Langage Canadois, autre que celuy des Montagnars, pour la Conversion des habitans dudit pays.*] 20; [*Pièces Justificatives*] 36; [*Table des Matières contenues dans les Œuvres de Champlain*] 30; [*noms des principaux ouvriers qui ont travaillé a cette seconde edition des Œuvres de Champlain*] 1.

Although not exactly a "recent publication," *The Works of Champlain*, a copy of which was sent to us by our lamented friend, Abbé Laverdière, only a few days before his death, are entitled to notice in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, both for their own sake and for that of their learned editor.

Of the great importance of the writings of Samuel Champlain, descriptive of his explorations, in Canada, and of the aborigines, natural history, and geography of that country, our readers are already well-informed; and all who have attempted to find those writings, in the

original published editions of them, know, too, how difficult it is to find them and just how expensive they are, when found. To afford an opportunity for scholars possessing ordinary fortunes to enjoy the benefit of these rare volumes, Abbé Laverdière—who was, also, Professor of History and Librarian of the Université Laval, at Quebec—undertook, under the auspices of that University, to re-produce them; and he had the pleasure of seeing his great work completed and the volumes on the eve of publication, when a fire swept the entire edition, with, we believe, the exception of a single copy, into utter ruin. With that patient resolution which distinguished him, however, the Professor, in addition to his two-fold duties in the University, resumed the editorial labors which he had just before supposed were ended, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the disaster to remedy some defects which had crept into the volumes which had been destroyed, and to make some improvements therein which his experience suggested, and safely conducted, through the press, again, the only complete collection, extant, of Champlain's Works,—a series of volumes which are, at once, a God-send to all students of American Colonial history and a fit memorial to the patient industry, the ripe scholarship, and the unusual good taste of our excellent friend.

The first volume opens with a Biographical Notice of Champlain, occupying seventy-six pages; and that is followed by a faithful copy, in the original French, of the hitherto unpublished *Brief Discourse of the most remarkable events which Samuel Champlain experienced in the West Indies*, during the years 1599–1602, by Champlain, himself. As this Discourse has been so sturdily withheld from the public, these many years, by those who have owned the manuscript, and now sees daylight, the first time, it is peculiarly welcome and will be received by students of the early history of America, with great pleasure.

The second volume contains a reprint of *The Savages, or Voyage of Samuel Champlain of Brouage, made to New France, in* 1603, which was originally published, in the same year, in Paris, by Claude de Monstroeil, and is now the rarest of any of the published works of this distinguished explorer. It contains descriptions of the manners and customs of the Canadian Indians; of the discoveries, made by Champlain, in the interior of the Continent; of the natural history of the country; and of the mines with which it was said to abound.

The third volume contains a re-print of *The Voyages of the Sieur de Champlain of Saintonge, a Captain in the Marine Service of the King*, which originally appeared in Paris, in 1613—including the journals of the second, third, and fourth voyages of the author, in respectively, 1604–5, 1607–9, and 1610–11, and minute descriptions of the country, with copies of the many maps and plates with which the original edition was illustrated.

The fourth volume embraces a re print of the *Voyages and Discoveries made in New France, from the year* 1615 *until the close of the year* 1618, which was originally published by Claude Collet, in Paris, in 1619. It forms a continuation of *The Voyages*, published in 1613, and last referred to, and contains, besides, the narrative of the author's later explorations, in America, a repetition of his descriptions of the country and of its inhabitants, productions, etc. Like *The Voyages*, it is carefully illustrated with copies of the original plates.

The fifth volume is divided into two Parts, the first of which contains a narrative of all the voyages and discoveries, in New France or Canada, by Captain Champlain, from 1603 until 1629,—those already described, in the preceding volumes as well as those which are first noticed in this volume—and the second, a description of the map of the country, which it contains, together with Father Ledesme's *Catechism of the Doctrines of Christianity*, translated from the original into the Canadian language: an index to the five volumes; and a list of the names of those principal workmen who, as editors and artisans, executed the elegant volumes forming the work now before us.

As we have said, the writings of Samuel Champlain necessarily possess unusual interest to all who desire to learn American history from the original authorities; and the great care with which this edition of them has been conducted through the press, the completeness of the collection of Champlain's writings, which it contains, and the beauty of its typography, all serve to increase the attractions which have hitherto clustered around the less comely original volumes.

We have pleasure, therefore, in commending the work to the attention of our readers, hoping that it will receive at their hands that generous support to which it is so eminently entitled.

8.—*Then and now.* A Discourse delivered in Christ Church, Philadelphia, December 23rd, 1870, on the Centennial Anniversary of the Ordination to the Diaconate of Rt. Rev. Wm. White, D. D., the First Bishop of Pennsylvania. And on the Occasion of the Removal of his Remains to the Chancel of Christ Church, by Wm. Bacon Stevens, D. D. LL. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1871. Octavo, pp. 36, xii.

The distinguished Prelate, who, in the dis-

course before us, commemorated the life and times of the venerated William White—the latter of whom, thirty-four years before, had occupied the same office, in the same Diocese—discharged the duty to which he was invited, on that occasion, with excellent taste and marked ability.

Opening with references to, respectively, the occasion which called forth the Discourse, and that, a hundred years before, which was also to be, then, commemorated, the learned author introduces young William White, only twenty-two years of age, a candidate for Orders; carries him to England, for ordination; returns him, vested with priestly authority, to Philadelphia; and seats him, in pastoral office, as Assistant Minister of the United Churches of Christ and St. Peter's, incidentally referring, while doing so, to the entire absence, *then*, of all Theological Seminaries for the education of students designed for the ministry; to the necessary resort, in such cases, *then*, to private tutors; to the text-books which were, *then*, used, in such studies, compared with those which are, *now*, used, in such cases; to the master-minds of those days and their teachings; to the effect, on the Church, in America, of the absence of a Bishop; to the opposition which had been raised to the creation of an American Bishop, in the days of the Colonies; to the unhealthy condition of the Mother Church, in England, when young White went to that country, for ordination; and contrasts 1770 with 1870, in the Philadelphia of *then* and *now*, the Pennsylvania of *then* and *now*, and the Republic, *now*, compared with the Colony, *then*. He contrasts the facilities of travelling, a hundred years since, with those of 1870. He contrasts the school-books, bibles, and newspapers of America, then, with those of 1870. He compares the Church, too, in 1770, with the Church, in 1870; and he contrasts the thirteen Colonies, *then*, as dependent on the British Crown, with the United States, *now*, as a Republic. In conclusion, he shows, briefly, but clearly, what the young Deacon, of 1770, subsequently did for the Church in America, tracing his progress, through life, and describing the leading part taken by him in the establishment, in the ecclesiastical law of America, of the entire independence of the Church from secular control; of the introduction of the laity, as joint councillors and the legislators, with the Clergy, in all Conventions; the right of Dioceses to elect their own Bishops—the laity and the clergy jointly acting in the election; and the independence of each branch of the Church to organize itself and its forms of worship and discipline agreeably to its own judgment. He also describes Bishop White's opinions, on various leading subjects bearing on doctrines and practices among Churchmen of our own times; and he illustrates this portion of his subject by describing just what Bishop White did and what he did not do, in different portions of the church-service, clearly indicating the absence of all sympathy, both in Bishop White and in Bishop Stevens, with those strange practises which are serving, very often, to make the services in modern Episcopalian churches unintelligible to those who, half a century since, worshipped with Episcopalians.

We have read this admirable *Discourse* with great satisfaction; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to its many excellences, both as a biography and as a history.

It is a very handsome specimen of typography, as far as the mere *taste* of the compositor and the skill of the pressman were concerned; but we have seldom seen a back country newspaper, pretending to be respectable, which can compare with this beautiful tract in faulty proof-reading.

9.—*An historical Discourse, delivered in St. John's Church, Providence, R. I., on St. Barnabas's Day, June* 11, 1872, *in commemoration of the One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Parish.* By the Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D. D., LL.D., Bishop of Rhode Island. Published, with an Appendix, at the request of the Vestry, with a photograph of the old parsonage. The Church Press. Hartford. 1872. Octavo, pp. 52.

This is an admirable paper, illustrative not only of the history of the particular Church of St. John's Parish, but of the origin and progress of Episcopacy, in Providence and Rhode Island, without that surplusage of meaningless words, in irrelevant sentences, which such papers are too often encumbered with; and the good Bishop is entitled to the thanks of not only every Rhode-Islander but every other reader of Rhode Island history, for so useful and so elegant an addition to Rhode Island's historical literature.

The Appendix, extending over nearly one-half the volume, also contains a mass of historical material, the value of which will be evident to every reader.

The volume is a beautiful specimen of typography, from the Church Press, at Hartford, whose good taste and skill, as workmen, are so well known.

10.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College,* with a Statement of the Course of Instruction in the various Departments. 1873-74. New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse, & Taylor. 1873. Octavo, pp. 90.

The annual Catalogue of Yale, with her nine hundred and fifty-five students and eighty-two instructors, and presenting the inducements which she offers to those who incline to resort to her for instruction.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. THIRD SERIES.] DECEMBER, 1873. [No. 6

I.—*THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.*

"THE FREE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE, OF THE "CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK."

[It has often been said, in our hearing, that the political organization which has been so widely known as "THE REPUBLICAN PARTY," originated in this and that city, among this and that class of political agitators; and more than one distinguished politician have floated into authority and acquired fame and wealth on capital derived from one or other of those assumed "origins of the "Republican Party."

As a contribution to the political history of the country, and in order to draw out whatever hidden material there may be, from which history may be accurately written, we submit the following, *knowing it to be perfectly accurate, in every respect.*

The scattered remains of the Free Soil Democracy—few and far between, when such men as Benjamin F. Butler and Salmon P. Chase faltered—united with some of the more radical anti-slavery men of the city; and, on the seventeenth of September, 1853, they held a "First Pre-"liminary Meeting," avowedly "for the purpose of form-"ing a Free Democratic League," at the office of John Jay, in the building known as No. 20 Nassau-street, in the city of New York.

Among those who were then present, were D. D. T. Marshall—now President of the Homœpathic Life Insurance Company; John Jay—now United States Minister to Austria; Minthorne Tompkins—iately a Senator in the State Legislature; John P. Hale—lately Senator of the United States from New Hampshire; George W. Rose, Lauriston Hall, Monroe B. Bryant, William Mc Dermott, E. A. Stansbury, William E. Whiting, Doctor Thomas Ritter, Samuel Leeds, and Henry B. Dawson, all well-known in the city of their residence and none of them tainted with any bad associations, either as politiclans or as men.

Of this meeting, Mr. Marshall was made the Chairman and Mr. Rose the Secretary; and Mr. Jay stated the object of those who had assembled, moving, in conclusion, the appointment of a Committee "to report a plan for the "organization of the Party," which was agreed to; and Messrs. Jay, Dawson, and Hall were appointed such Committee.

A public meeting was ordered to be held to take action on the State Ticket which had been nominated at Syracuse, on the thirty-first of the preceding month, by the 'Free Democrac;" yand the requisite Committees for carrying that Resolution into effect, were appointed—Mr Stansbury being at the head of the Committee of Arrangements, Mr. Jay at the head of that of Finance; and Mr. Hale at the head of that for preparing an Address to the Electors and Resolutions, appropriate to the occasion.

Two days later, [*September 9th*] the "Second Preliminary Meeting" was held, also at Mr. Jay's office, that gentleman being in the Chair and Monroe B. Bryant acting as Secretary; but the only formal action taken was the appropriation of one hundred dollars "to compensate 'General Henry Wilson" [*now Vice-president of the United States*] "for One week's service in this city," and the instruction of the Committee of Arrangements "to "procure a room for the daily use of the Party."

The "Third Preliminary Meeting" was held "at the "new head-quarters, room No. 15, Stuyvesant Institute," on the thirtieth of September, Mr. Stansbury being in the Chair and Mr. Bryant acting as Secretary.

General Henry Wilson and Doctor Stearns, of Boston, were present, and addressed the meeting; the eleventh of October was designated as the date on which to hold the public meeting, authorized by the first of these "preli-"inary meetings;" and Messrs. Hale, Waters, and Dawson were appointed "a Committee to endeavour to pro-"cure the use of one or more columns of the *Tribune* or "*Evening Post*, for the use of the Free Democracy."

On the fifth of October, 1853, "the fourth preliminary "meeting" was held at the Head-quarters of the party, in Stuyvesant Institute; Mr. Stansbury being in the Chair and Mr. Bryant acting as Secretary.

At this meeting, as the minutes state, "Mr Dawson, "from the Committee on plan of organization, reported a "Preamble and Constitution for the 'Free Democratic "'League of the City and County of New York.' The "general plan of organization was approved, and the "whole matter re-committed to the Committee, for final "completion."

Two days later, [*October 7th*] "the fifth preliminary "meeting" was held at the Head-quarters of the party; Mr. Stansbury being in the Chair and William S. King, Junior, acting as Secretary.

At this meeting, "the Committee to report a Constitu-"tion for the government of 'The Free Democratic "'League, reported'" a form, "which was adopted, unan-"imously. The Preamble was read and referred back for "alteration."

On the fourteenth of October, "the sixth preliminary "meeting" was held at the Head-quarters of the Party, Mr. King occupying the Chair and Mr. Bryant acting as Secretary.

Mr. Jay, "of the Committee on organization, reported" a "Preamble to the Constitution, which was unanimously "adopted." The Preamble thus adopted was, in its general features, similar to the following; but, in some of its xpressions, it was, subsequently, regarded as open to objection, because of its seeming disregard of the constitutional rights of the slave-holding States.

Having thus completed the plan of organization of the Party, a Committee was appointed "to report a list of "officers, for the Government of the League," on whose Report the following were duly elected:

President.....JOHN JAY,
First Vice-president.....E. A. STANSBURY,
Second Vice-president.....HIRAM BARNEY,
Third Vice-president.....ISAAC H. BAILEY,
Recording Secretary.....WILLIAM S. KING, Jr.,
Corresponding Secretary.....MONROE B. BRYANT,
Financial Secretary.....LAURISTON HALL,
Treasurer.....ANDREW LESTER,
Executive Committee.....JOHN P. HALE,
D. D. T. MARSHALL,
WILLIAM A. HALL,
DR. ALONZO S. BALL,
THOMAS S. BERRY,
Financial Committee.....WILLIAM E. WHITING,
GEORGE W. ROSE,
DAVID MARSH,
WILLIAM I. DAWLEY,
ANDREW LESTER,
Corresponding Committee.....HENRY B. DAWSON,
WILLIAM MC DERMOTT,
J. E. HAMBLIN,
J. G. HAVILAND,
MONROE B. BRYANT.

Having thus perfected its organization, the League was, then, a full-fledged institution; and its first regular meeting was held on the eighteenth of October, with President Jay in the Chair.

The "history of the Wilkesbarre Case, before Judge "Grier, of the United States Court, at Philadelphia," was laid before the League; and, on motion of Mr. Dawson, it was referred to Messrs. John P. Hale, Hiram Barney, and Henry B. Dawson "to take it into consideration and ad- "vise the League what should be its measures, concerning "the decision" relative to the matter involved.

Mr. Barney failing to concur in the publicity which the League gave to its principles and its action, declined to serve as Vice-president; and, for reasons connected with his business, Mr. Lester declined to accept the Treasurership. Both these matters were referred to a Special Committee, of which Mr. King was the Chairman.

A Committee was also appointed to nominate County and City officers, to be submitted to the Electors, at the ensuing election.

On the twenty-first of October, the second regular meeting was holden at the Head-quarters of the Party, the First Vice-president in the Chair; when, "on motion of "Mr. Dawson, the vote on the adoption of the Preamble "was re-considered; and, on motion of Mr. Hale, the "following Clause was stricken out: 'to seek, by all con- "'stitutional and proper means, for their'" [*Slavery and the Slave-trade*] "'abolition, in every State and Territory, "'as a system that has no valid sanction in human legis- "'lation.'"

On motion of Mr. Hale, the whole of the Preamble and Constitution were "re-committed to the Committee who "prepared it"—Messrs. Jay, Dawson, and Hall—evidently for the purpose of still further freeing it from the obnoxious doctrines of the old "abolitionists," which, notwithstanding its general adherence to *constitutional* requirements, seemed to lurk in some of its provisions.

At the same meeting, the Government of the League was perfected by the election of the following members to its vacant officers:

Second Vice-president.....HENRY B. DAWSON,
Treasurer.....MONROE B. BRYANT,
Corresponding Secretary.....JAMES F. BOWMAN.

On the twenty-fifth of October, the League held its third regular meeting, President Jay in the Chair, when an elaborate Report was made on the Wilkesbarre Fugitive Slave Case; and a series of Resolutions adopted.

On the twenty-eighth of October, the League held its fourth regular meeting, President Jay in the Chair, when "the Committee on Preamble and Constitution submitted "a clause to be inserted in the Preamble, also a Clause to "be inserted in the Sixth Article of the Constitution;" but no action was taken thereon by the League.

On the thirty-first of October, the League held its fifth regular meeting, President Jay in the Chair, when, "on "motion of Mr. Dawson, the following words were adopt- "ed to be inserted in the Preamble, in place of the part "stricken out, at a previous meeting: 'expressly dis- "'claiming, however, the existence of any authority, in "'the Congress, to abolish or modify the same'" [*Slavery and the Slave-trade*] "'within the several States, "'that power being reserved to the States, respectively.' "Also changing the word 'National' to 'Federal,' "wherever it occurs in the Preamble or Constitution."

No further changes were made in the Preamble and Constitution of the League; and, in its perfected form, it was copied into a book appropriated thereto and signed by the greater number of the members.

It is the only platform with which we are acquainted which was consistently "States'-rights" in its fundamental principles—it insisted that Slavery was a *State* institution; that the Congress possessed no authority whatever "to abolish or modify the same within the "several *States* that power being 'reserved to the *States* "respectively;" that slave-catching was not, constitutionally, a Federal, but a *State*, duty; and that an adjudication of that subject should be had, on constitutiona and moral grounds. On this platform, the League resisted the Kansas and Nebraska Bills and organized that powerful auxiliary Committee of Citizens, of which General Avezzana, the distinguished Italian republican refugee, was the Chairman; and we have the original correspondence, in which Mr. Chase and other great leaders awarded to the League the distinction of having originated and organized the wide-spread opposition to the Kansas and Nebraska Bills, from which opposition—the League and the "Anti-Nebraska Committee" having acted in concert and through the same agency—subsequently arose what was and is known as "the Republican Party."

It is interesting, in this connection, to know that, of this League, its President is an Ambassador to a foreign Court;

its Second Vice-president, Mr. Barney, was, subsequently, made the Collector of the Port of New York; its Third Vice-president, Mr. Bailey, was, subsequently, made a Collector of Internal Revenue, and is a favored one, among the dispensers of fat offices; the Chairman of its Executive Committee, Mr. Hale, was, subsequently, a Senator of the United States and Ambassador to a foreign Court; the second member of the same Committee, Mr. Marshall, was, subsequently, Naval Store-keeper, in the Brooklyn Navy-yard; the third member of the same Committee, Mr. Hall, was, subsequently, a favored contractor for the supply of shoes and boots for the Army. Samuel Leeds, was, subsequently, in the Custom-house; Minthorne Tompkins was, subsequently, a Port-warden of the Port of New York; William E. Whiting was connected, subsequently, with the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau; General Henry Wilson, one of its employees, was, subsequently, a Senator of the United States, and is, now, Vice-president of the United States; Salmon P. Chase, one of its guests and co-laborers, was, subsequently, Senator of the United States, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and its Second Vice-president, Mr. Dawson—appointed to fill the seat which Mr. Barney preferred not to fill, *when he could be seen in it, by the wide world*—is the well-abused, ill-paid Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—who shall say, hereafter, that "Republics are ungrateful?"

The perfected Constitution of this League, with the signatures of the members, is in our collection of materials for history; and we imagine it will not be an unwelcome addition to the literature of the history of political parties, within the United States.—EDITOR.]

FREEDOM NATIONAL. SLAVERY SECTIONAL.

CONSTITUTION
of the
FREE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF THE CITY & COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

Whereas "the People of the United States" have solemnly declared to the world that "all "men are created free and equal," and entitled to the blessings of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and did ordain the Federal Constitution with the express intent "to establish "justice, to insure domestic tranquility, to pro- "vide for the common defense, to promote the "general welfare, and to secure the blessings of "Liberty;" *and whereas* the slave-power of the South has obtained the control of the Federal Government, and devoted its powers to extend, nationalize, and encourage Slavery, in derogation of the claims of humanity, the sovereignty of the States, the principles of the Common Law, and the dignity and good faith of this Republic; *and whereas*, the two great political parties of this country have aided and abetted the slave-power, in its encroachments upon the rights of the people,

The undersigned, citizens of the State, and residents of the city of New York, remembering the example and the precepts of their fathers and the duty they owe to God and their country, repudiating alike the platforms of the Whig and Democratic parties, and forgetting past political differences in a common resolve to rescue the Federal Government from the control of Slavery, and to restore it to its original and rightful position before the world, *do hereby* associate themselves together, not for a sectional warfare on any part of their common country, but for the advancement of the interest of the whole, in the attainment of the following objects:

To procure the practical recognition by the Federal and State Governments of the truth that "FREEDOM IS NATIONAL AND SLAVERY SECTIONAL;" to prevent the existance or continuance of Slavery and the Slave trade, wherever Congress has constitutional power to legislate on the subject; expressly disclaiming, however, the existance of any authority in the Congress to abolish or modify the same within the several States, that power being "reserved to the States," respectively; to demand the instant repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act as altogether unconstitutional and wicked; and to procure, when occasion shall admit, an adjudication upon its validity, and also upon the whole relation of the Federal Government to slavery,—not upon the authority of precedent but upon the original and fundamental principles of natural and constitutional law,—and thus to place our country in a position where it may consistently, as duty shall require, exert, by her voice and her example, a powerful influence in encouraging freedom and in rebuking oppression in every quarter of the globe.

To promote, among other objects of general interest, the construction of the *Pacific Railroad* in such manner and by such a route as may best benefit the country at large, and not a geographical section.

To promote the establishment of *cheap ocean postage;* and thorough *reform in the Post Office Department.*

To procure the abolition of unnecessary offices and privileges under the Federal Government, and the reduction of the Federal patronage.

To encourage emigration from abroad and to provide homes for the homeless, by free grants, to actual settlers, in the public domain at the West.

To encourage the diffusion of general education, and the establishment of equal rights among all classes of our fellow citizens.

To promote the interests of agricultural science.

To hasten the development of the resources of the State by a wise and prudent system of internal improvements, in strict accordance with Constitutional requirements.

To reduce Taxation and Crime by proper and stringent legislation against the causes of taxation and crime.

To attach to the soil of the State, those who may be born upon it by recognizing, in all its policy, the high destiny to which a gracious Providence has manifestly invited it, by becoming the first among the States of the earth.

And, generally, to extend the principles and advocate the policy declared by "THE FREE DEMOCRACY" of the United States, in Convention assembled, at Buffalo, in 1848, and at Pittsburg, in 1852, adopting, for the better accomplishment of these purposes, the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This association shall be known as "THE FREE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK."

II. The object of this association shall be the support and promulgation of the political principles referred to in the preamble of the Constitution, by the circulation of tracts and documents relating thereto, by the public discussion of their merits, before assemblages of the people, and by the nomination and support of candidates for office in the State and Federal Governments who are known to be firm friends of those principles and who are openly and entirely pledged to use all just means to secure their adoption and a faithful discharge of their requirements.

III. Any citizen, without regard to color or condition of life, may become a member of this association, by election, after he has complied with the By-Laws regulating the admission of members, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership: *Provided, however*, the League may suspend or expel any member who may have violated or failed to comply with its laws or orders.

Honorary members may be appointed from among the friends of the cause residing in other Counties of this State, or in other States of the Confederacy.

IV. Every member shall pay such monthly dues as he may specify on his admission to membership, and all necessary By-Laws may be adopted to secure their regular collection.

It shall be the duty of every member, as far as his circumstances in life will permit, to devote a portion of his time and personal attention to the distribution of tracts, tickets, and other printed matter; to the organization of public meetings; or to other services in promoting the objects of the League, when called for by its officers or a vote of its members.

V. Meetings for the transaction of business shall be held, monthly, as the By-Laws may direct, on the last Monday in each month; and meetings for the discussion of the objects of the League may be held wherever and whenever the League, by a vote of its members, may direct.

VI. The officers of the League shall be a President; three Vice Presidents; Recording, Financial, and Corresponding Secretaries; a Treasurer; an "Executive Committee" of Five members; a "Finance Committee" of five members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one; and a "Committee on Correspondence" of five members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one, all of whom shall be elected annually at the regular meeting in November. The President and Vice Presidents shall be members of all Committees, standing and special, *ex officio*.

VII. Auxiliary societies to this association may be formed in the several wards of this city, and, on being recognized by this body, the Presidents of such auxiliary societies shall become members of the Executive Committee of this association, *ex officio*.

In case similar bodies to this are organized in other Counties of the State, delegates may be appointed from this body, at any time, to meet similar delegations from them, for the purpose of securing concert of action and greater efficiency in the work.

VIII. This Constitution, except the preamble, may be amended at any "regular" meeting by the vote of two-thirds of the members present: *Provided*, two months notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given

JOHN JAY, Fifth-avenue, above Thirty-fifth-st.
E. A. STANSBURY, 9 Amity Place.
WILLIAM S. KING, JR., 473 Eighth-avenue.
MONROE B. BRYANT, 13 Cottage Place.
LAURISTON HALL, 184 Twelfth-street.
JOHN P. HALE, St. Nicholas Hotel.
D. D. T. MARSHALL, 218 Thirty-first-street.
WM A. HALL, 144 Fifth-avenue.
ALONZO S. BALL, 43 West Eleventh-street.
W. E. WHITING, 124 Pearl-street.
DAVID MARSH, 640 Hudson-street.
HENRY B. DAWSON, 397 Sixth-avenue.
J. G. HAVILAND, 71 McDougal-street.
W. MC DERMOT, 175 West Seventeenth-street.
S. BRONSON, 84 King-street.
D. M. GRAHAM, 215 Varick-street.
JOHN S. MERRICK, 200 Mulberry-street.
JAMES F. BOWMAN, 20 Varick Place.
WILLIAM JAY,* 32 West Twenty-third-street.
DAVID GRIFFITHS, 361 Sixth-avenue.

* When the venerable Judge William Jay signed this instrument, we stood by the chair on which he sat; and, after he had completed the signature and the address he said to us, as he arose from the chair, "Mr. Dawson, these "are strange doctrines for *a Jay* to sign."

When the ultra States'-rights doctrines set forth in the Preamble shall have been compared with either the declared opinions of Chief-justice John Jay, concerning the relative constitutional rights of the States and of the United States, or the equally open declarations of Judge William Jay, concerning the status of Slavery and the

S. T. Russell, 102 West Thirteenth-street.
J. A. Shields, 186 Wooster-street.
John Pullman, 49 East Twenty-fourth-street.
James Allison, 47 East Twenty seventh-street.
Thomas Hamilton, 279 Hudson-street.
Charles B. Ray, 153 Orange-street.
J. Mortimer Hall, 184 Twelfth-street.
C. R. Ford, 15 Laight-street.
R. F. Hibbard, 93 John-street.
Richard Martin, 321 West Twenty-third-st.
Wm. G. West, 34 Beach-street.
Saml. Leeds, 11 Great Jones-street.
C. B. Hackley, West Twenty-third-street.
H. N. Bent, 163 East Twenty-fifth-street.
William Cronon, 29 Clark-street.
Luther Lobdell, 50 Vestry-street.
C. Vanderbilt, Jr., St. James Hotel.
Thomas Ritter, 104 Cherry-street.
Nathan Parkhurst, 108 Essex-street.
Augustus Norris, 48 Hudson-street.
N. S. Bentley, 1 Bridge-street.
Charles Scholey, 122 Barrow-street.
J. E. Snodgrass, 15 Laight-street.
James A. Johnston, 105 East Twenty-second.
John Mac Mullen.
Charles R. Miller, 195 Broadway.
Luman Sherwood, 146 West Twenty-fifth-st.
Wm. Erving, 59 Jane-street.
Julius C. Oberbauer, 1014 Broadway.
W. W. Linfield, Collins Hotel, Canal-street.
Saml. M. Cole, Collins Hotel, Canal-street.
C. B. Le Baron, 167 Broadway.

II. — *HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO COUNTY, NEW YORK.*—Continued from the November Number.

By S. S. Randall, LL.D., late Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of New York.

XI.—*WESTERN TOWNS: PLYMOUTH, PRESTON, MCDONOUGH, SMITHVILLE, OTSELIC, PHARSALIA, PITCHER, LINCKLAEN, AND GERMAN.*

Plymouth.—Directly South of Smyrna, and West of North Norwich, lies Plymouth; formed from Norwich, in 1806. Its first settlement, according to Mr. Child, was made as early as 1794, while a part of Norwich, by several French families, among whom were John Raynor, G. D. Jeffrey, James Bamford, and René D. Dellay. The present village of Plymouth was then, and for several years afterward, known first as the "French "Settlement," and, afterwards, as "Franklin "ville." Soon afterwards, and prior to 1806, Nathaniel Wales, John Miller, Benjamin Prentiss, James Prentiss, Thomas Brooks, James German, Judah Bement, Robert Gallup, Deacon Tower, a Mr. Taylor, Colonel William Munroe, (afterwards Sheriff) Silas Holmes, James Purdy, Charles Babcock, (the first inn-keeper,) Nathaniel Prentiss, John Thorp, and the Rev. Mr. White, Pastor of the first Methodist church, organized in 1806, removed to the town.

Among the first deaths which occurred in the town, was that of Elizabeth Bowdish. Clarissa Brooks taught the first school, in 1801; and John Raynor opened the first store. Nathaniel Prentiss built the first mill; and John Thorp the first woolen-factory.

The village of Plymouth is situated a little North of the centre of the town, in a pleasant valley formed by the intersection of two hilly uplands; and contains three churches, several mills, shops, and stores, and about one hundred inhabitants.

South Plymouth is a small hamlet, with about a dozen houses, in the South-east part of the town. The Canassawacta-creek, with its East and West branches, flows south-easterly, through deep and narrow valleys and ravines; and, in the South-west, Plymouth and Reservoir Ponds cover an area of about a hundred acres each.

Silas Holmes, René D. Dellay, Judah Bement, Thomas Brooks, Colonel Munroe, and Levi Dimmick were the principal representative men of the town, fifty years since: men of sterling integrity, and moral and social worth, and enjoying the full confidence and extended regard of their fellow-citizens.

Silas Holmes was the owner and occupant of a large farm, which, during the greater part of a long life, afforded an ample support for himself and a large family. He represented the County, in the Legislature of 1823; and filled, at different periods, reputably and faithfully, various of the most important town offices.

René D. Dellay was an emigrant from France, of polished manners, excellent intellectual abilities, and unexceptionable morals. Prior to his arrival in this County, he had accumulated considerable wealth, which, as a merchant and landed proprietor, he was enabled rapidly to augment.

Judah Bement was also an extensive farmer and merchant, as well as an inn-keeper: stern and puritanical in his demeanor and religious observances; but exerting a great and deserved influence on the community.

To Thomas Brooks and Colonel William Munroe we have already referred, in the sketch

Slave-trade, the force of that exceedingly significant remark will be fully understood.

Judge Jay never receded from the political platform to which, notwithstanding its peculiarity, *he then, formally, assented*,—Editor.

of Norwich. Mr. Brooks specially prided himself on the classical nomenclature of his large family of sons—Cassius, Caius, Brutus, Marcus, Antony, Socrates, etc. Colonel Munroe represented the County in the Legislature of 1816; and was, for many years, Sheriff.

In Plymouth also resided Captain Zadock Adams, who, for many years subsequently to 1820, was distinguished as the veteran and skilful commander of the Preston and Norwich Rifle Company. The Semi-annual and Annual parade of this favorite Company was looked forward to with intense interest; and its evolutions, under the direction of its experienced Captain, were greeted with the liveliest pleasure. The Company was subsequently attached to the Rifle Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-general Peter Sken Smith, and contributed, essentially, to the brilliancy of its appearance and its high discipline. Captain Adams, in the intervals of his military services, cultivated a small farm and taught a private school, in the neighborhood. Peace to his memory! He was a genuine soldier; thoroughly versed in the science of military tactics; and, had he lived to confront the Mexicans on the the plains of Churubusco, Chapultepec, or Molino-del-Rey, or the Confederate Battalions of the late Civil War, on the Potomac and the James, he would have emulated the fame of Worth, Shields, Sheridan, and "Stonewall" Jackson!

Preston.—South of Plymouth and West of Norwich, lies Preston, the central town of the County, also formed from Norwich, in 1806. Its surface is a high rolling upland, divided into two distinct ridges, rising to the height of from two hundred to eight hundred feet above the adjacent valley of the Chenango. Its principal streams are Fly Meadow-creek, Mill-brook, and Turner-brook, flowing South into the Chenango-river. According to the *Gazetteer*, the first settlement was made on Fly Meadow-creek, in 1787, by James Glover. In 1795, David Fairchild, with his two sons, John and Amos, settled at Preston Corners; in 1796, Randall Billings and Silas Champlin, from Connecticut, at the Centre; and, in 1799, Jonas Marsh, from Massachusetts, and Colonel Gurdon Hewitt and Dudley Hewitt. Among the other early settlers, were Samuel Lewis, Clark Lewis, Rev. Hazard Burdick, David Eccleston, William Packer, Abraham Avery, William Wadsworth, Captain Lyon, George Crary, and Elder Hascall, the first Minister of the Baptist-church, formed in 1806, Doctor William Mason, John Noyes, Solomon Wait, and Major Benjamin Ray.

The first birth, was that of Fanny Billings, in 1796; the first marriage, that of Captain Lyon and Widow Crandall, in 1798; and the first death that of an infant child of George Crary. The first school was taught by William Mc Alpine, who surveyed the Livingston tract, in 1798, and, subsequently, the Morris tract. Jonas Marsh kept the first inn, in 1800; and James Glover the first store and grist-mill, in 1788–9. The population of the entire town does not exceed one thousand.

Preston-village, situated in the northern part, contains three churches—Baptist, Methodist, and Universalist—a school-house, tannery, blacksmith-shop, shoe-shop, some twenty dwellings, and about one hundred inhabitants.

In this quiet and secluded little village, on the Preston-hills, resided Doctor William Mason, a man of sterling intellectual and moral qualities; of great dignity of deportment; honored, esteemed, and respected, wherever he was known. He, at one time, in 1820, filled the office of County-clerk, and was, subsequently, in the ensuing year, elected, with John Tracy and Edmund G. Per Lee, a member of the Legislature—the strongest ticket ever nominated in Chenango-county—at least, one combining the strongest elements of personal popularity. In 1822, the same ticket was re-elected; and, in 1835, he was elected a Representative in Congress.

Colonel Wells Wait was also an honored and highly respected citizen; and represented the County in the Legislature of 1834.

Colonel Benjamin Ray was a soldier and officer in the Revolutionary War and an active participant in the Battle of Monmouth. He lived to a good old age—never failing to report himself on every celebration of the "glorious "Fourth" and every military parade within his reach.

At a later period, Daniel Noyes, a son of Judge John Noyes, who was originally a citizen of Preston, removed from Norwich to this town; and, in 1844, was elected to the Assembly from the County.

Eber Dimmick, in 1841, also represented the County in the Legislature. Levi Dimmick, a member of the same family, was an active, enterprising, intelligent, and influential citizen, and reputably filled several stations of local importance.

The County Poor House was located in this town, about the year 1820.

John Noyes, Senior, while a resident of Preston, represented the County in the Assemblies of 1810 and 1814; and, in 1815, was made an Associate-judge of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace.

Mc Donough.—South of Pharsalia and West of Preston, lies the pleasant little town of Mc Donough, taken from Preston, in 1816. Its general surface is hilly, agreeably diversified by the Geneganselet-lake, on the West, and the waters of the Geneganselet and Bowman's-creeks.

and their tributaries, in the interior. This portion of the original town of Norwich was first settled, in 1795, by Nathaniel Locke, Loring Willard, Emery Willard, Henry Ludlow, and others. Sylvanus Moore built the first inn, in 1799; and Edward Colburn, Benjamin Ketchum, Benjamin Kenyon, Ephraim Fish, John Anderson, Nehemiah Dunbar, Jonah Moore, Joseph Cook, Ransom Cook, William Mead, William Norton, Daniel Wainwright, Adam Oysterbank, and M. Turner effected settlements prior to 1808. The first marriage was that of Sylvanus Moore, in 1799 or 1800; and the first death that of Mrs. Benjamin Ketchum. Captain Joshua A. Burke taught the first school; and Henry Ludlow built the first saw-mill, at the outlet of Geneganselet-lake, in 1798, and opened the first store, in 1802. Gates Wilcox built the first grist-mill, in 1808, which has subsequently been replaced by a stone one, owned and built by him.

The village of Mc Donough is situated in the western part of the town, on Geneganselet-creek, and contains two churches—Baptist and Methodist—four stores, a hotel, school-house, several shops, a flouring-mill, a foundry and manufactory of edge tools and agricultural implements, two tanneries, and some sixty dwellings, with a population, in 1865, of about three hundred. The first dwelling was erected by Micah Coville, in 1818. He was still living in 1869, in his eighty-seventh year. The first frame-house was built by Messrs. Sloan & Fanning. The first child born in the village, was Le Roy Coville, son of Micah Coville, in 1818. The first religious society—Methodist—was organized, in 1798. The Congregational-church was organized, in 1814, by the Rev. John Truair; and, subsequently, in 1826, it united with the Presbytery of Chenango, at Norwich.

Eliakim L. Corbin and John F. Hill were prominent citizens of this town; and the latter, a merchant, in 1837, represented the County in the State Assembly.

SMITHVILLE.—The town of Smithville, situated North of Greene and West of Oxford, was formed from part of Greene, in 1808; and is watered by the Geneganselet and Ludlow-creeks and their tributaries, with several streams, flowing into the Chenango. The first settlement, says Mr. Child, was made in the valley of the Geneganselet, in 1797, by Robert Lytle, from Ireland, who erected a log-house, which, together with his improvements, was sold, early in the ensuing year, to Joseph Agard and Epaphras Sheldon, from Litchfield, Connecticut, who removed their families thither, and became, for the time being, the sole residents of the town. They were, however, joined, during the year and in 1799, by Edward Loomis (who settled on Ludlow-creek), Simeon Neal, Robert Williams, Asa Straight, Daniel Phillips, Captain Samuel A. Skeele, John Young, and Daniel Palmer. The first child born in the town, was Jane Loomis, in May, 1800; the first marriage that of Jason Smith, to Hannah Rorapaugh, in 1807; and the first death that of a son of George Shaddock, in 1790. Captain John Palmer kept the first inn and store; Timothy Scoville built the first saw-mill, in 1805, and Nicholas Powell the first grist-mill, in 1809. The first church was formed, in 1895, by Elder Gray.

John Young, according to a statement made to Mr. Child, by his son, Harry Young, of Triangle, Broome-county, came from Vermont, and purchased one hundred acres of land of Elisha Smith, of Greene, at five dollars per acre. At this time, there were only two families within five miles of his residence. His store of provisions, consisting of corn, potatoes, rye, and the milk from two cows, frequently ran short, and were supplemented by deer and other game, from the surrounding forests, and fish, from the various streams. The tallow of the deer furnished candles; and, in the absence of that source, "fat pine" was brought into requisition. They pounded their corn for bread, or *hurled* it, until a mill was erected at Oxford, twelve miles distant, when, placing their bags on horseback, and leading the animal over the hills, they accomplished the journey and back in the course of three or four days—there being then no wagon-roads, and they had no wagons if there were. "The children at home were sometimes put upon "so short an allowance as to cry for food. The "wolves were always within hearing of the "traveler, and rendered night hideous by their "howls. A few Indians still lingered in the "region, and were accustomed to camp along the "streams, hunt, fish, make baskets, brooms, etc."

Smithville Flats, situated in the South-west part of the town, on Geneganselet-creek, now contains four churchs, two hotels, a grist mill, two saw-mills, a sash and blind factory, several stores and shops, and about three hundred inhabitants.

East Smithville, on Ludlow-creek, contains two churches, a foundry and machine shop, several stores, and some twenty dwellings.

The entire population of the town is about seventeen hundred. It originally formed a part of the tract known as the "Chenango Triangle," granted by the State, at an early period, to William Hornby, of Great Britain. This tract, subsequently, became the property of John Hornby, and was placed under the agency of Charles Cameron, of Greene.

William Knowlton represented the County in the Legislature of 1836; and Uriah Rorapaugh was elected Sheriff, in 1870.

Otselic.—West of Smyrna, in the northern tier of towns, lies Otselic, formed from the original town of German, in 1817. Otselic-creek flows South-west, through its central portion, fed by several small tributary streams. Its settlement, according to Mr. Child, was commenced in 1800, by Ebenezer Hill, who erected a log-house, and, subsequently, in 1810, opened a tavern. He was followed, in the ensuing year, by David Stoddard and, soon after, by Reuben Buckingham, William Fish, Jonah Wolcott, William Cross, William Hurlburt, and William Smith, in the North part of the town; and, in the South, by Elias Benjamin, Buell Warner, and his sons, Oliver, Abner, and Buell; Benoni Parce, Lewis Cook, Eneas Thompson, John and James Warner, Abraham Fairchild, and William Greene. The first school was taught by Hannah Warner; the first grist-mill was built, in 1820, by Ebenezer Hill; the first store was opened, in 1812, by George Coles; the first saw-mill was built by James Rush; and the first preacher was Stephen C. Nichols. The Rev. Luther Clark labored as a Missionary in this region, from 1809 to 1814, under the patronage of the Home Missionary Society.

The village of Otselic is situated in the North-east part of the town, on Otselic-creek, and contains a church, hotel, store, and about one hundred inhabitants.

South Otselic contains two churches—Methodist and Baptist—two hotels, three stores, a grist and saw-mill, and about two hundred inhabitants. The entire population of the town is about fifteen hundred.

Isaac Stokes represented the County in the Legislature of 1837, and was, for many years, a member of the Board of Supervisors of the County.

The Otselic-river, famous, in the annals of the County, for its excellent fishing, takes its rise in the northern part of this town, flowing, in a south-westerly direction, through the north-western portion of Pharsalia, the south-eastern of Pitcher, and the north-eastern of German, into the Mc Donough - lake. Annual pilgrimages were accustomed to be made, in the Summer and Fall, to this secluded and delightful region, by the sportsmen of Smyrna, Norwich, Oxford, Greene, Sherburne, and Bainbridge, accompanied by many convivial meetings in the neighborhood, where the "feast of reason" was apt to be far less predominant than the "flow of soul," diluted by "Old Rye" and sparkling Cogniac.

Pharsalia.—Immediately South of Otselic, lies Pharsalia, which was, originally, also formed from Norwich, under the name of "Stonington," in 1806. The name was—for what reason it is impossible to say—changed to Pharsalia, in 1808. The original settlers, in 1797, came from Stonington, Connecticut, and were the following persons: John Randall—afterwards the purchaser of the Randall farm, South of Norwich village—Joseph Breed, Sanford Morgan, Daniel Denison, Lodowick Weaver, Joshua Weaver, and David Davison. Deacon Charles Randall, who recently died, in Norwich, son of Captain John Randall, was in the eighteenth year of his age when he removed to his father's residence, in 1798, the year after the original settlement; and was, consequently, at the time of his death, in the ninety-third year of his age. They occupied a log-cabin on the site of the more recent residence of Denison Randall.

Mr. Child gives us an account of a thrilling adventure, with wolves, by Charles Randall, at Plymouth, on his return from Norwich, where he had been, to procure lumber and provisions, in 1799.

Captain John Randall erected the first framed house in Pharsalia; Sanford Morgan kept the first store and tavern; ["but not the last," quoth the grim and stalwart shade of Joel Crain] and Asa Weaver erected the first mill, on the Canasawacta-creek. The first child born, was Denison R. Weaver; the first marriage, Jabish and Keturah Brown; and the first death, that of Mrs. Nehemiah Lewis. Anna Wait taught the first school. The first Congregational-church was organized, in 1814, by the Rev. Oliver Hitchcock, of Truxton, and Rev. Abner Benedict, of Paris, with ten members. The Rev. John Peck was the first settled Minister.

During the Winter of 1817–18, when a boy of eight or nine years of age, I was taken, with my grand-father and grand-mother Edmunds and my younger sister, to Pharsalia, in a lumber-sleigh, driven by my uncle, Denison Randall, then the owner and occupant of the frame-dwelling, built in 1798, by his father, Captain John Randall. The house—a large, two-story, double one, unpainted, with a square or octagonal roof, was, even at that period, quite dilapidated—having been occupied, for many years, by a large family of twelve or fourteen boisterous children.

Captain John Randall, who died in 1816, left surviving him, eight sons and three daughters: John, Denison, Charles, Perez, Samuel, Paul, Roswell, and Jedediah; Martha, or Patty, as she was called, wife of James W. Gazlay, who afterwards removed to Ohio, and was elected to Congress over General William H. Harrison; Esther, wife of Charles York, of Norwich; and Hannah, who died unmarried, at the residence of Mr. Gazlay, in Ohio. With the possible exception of Paul and Jedediah, the youngest of the brothers, the former of whom removed to Ohio at an early period—prior to 1820—and the latter to Indiana, a few years later, all are now dead—

Mrs. York, the last of the survivors, having died, at the age of eighty, during the present year.

Centrally situated in Pharsalia, was the region, well-known, fifty years since, as the "Hook"—the "Eldorado" of all good fellowship—hunting, fishing, music, and dancing, and the central head-quarters of the numerous excursionists from the valley of the Chenango to the Otselic fishing-grounds. Joel Crain, the burly and jolly landlord of the "Hook," with his amiable and worthy helpmate, his stalwart sons, and his beautiful deaf and dumb daughter—the latter afterwards the wife of Charles Collins York, of Norwich—rendered this rural resort, among the Pharsalia hills and dales, particularly pleasant and agreeable.

There, "in the season of the year," were to be found the irrepressible John C. Clark, that mad wag, Simon Gager Throop, P. Sken Smith, with John Clapp, General O. G. Rundell, Squire Smith, Jo. Chapel, George L. Rider, and sundry other "good fellows," from the regions round about; and there, with hearty welcomes, were the "natives," Wolcott Soper, Moon, and Nogar, with their harlequin pranks—Sam. Kenyon, Lodowick Weaver, Jerod Chapel, Denison and Roswell Randall, and other jovial, mirth-loving patriots of the "hill country." The hunting and fishing over, the spacious ball-room was brilliantly illuminated; Moon and Nogar instituted into the orchestra, with violin and tambourine; and "there *was* a sound of revelry by "night." Alas! alas! "the morning sometimes "saw a sadder sight"—huge strips of plastering covering the floor; window-panes fearfully destitute of glass; crockery and glass-ware demolished; mirrors hopelessly defaced; and grim desolation, everywhere. Damages assessed by the kindly hostess at *eighteen cents* per capita—arrangements fortunately having previously been made for re-plastering and re-furnishing the grand assembly-room, and no great harm done, after all—as they were saved the trouble and expense of taking the old plaster from off the walls!

Such were the magnificent hospitalities, fun, and frolic, "high-jinks" and festivities, of the Pharsalia of the olden times, in the intervals of fishing the fertile depths of the Otselic, and gathering in the abundant game of the untrodden western woods.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting in this place, apropos of Moon and Nogar, the following extract of a letter from my old friend, John Clapp, of Binghamton, himself a resident of Pharsalia, at the period referred to: "When "you touch on the giants who resided in Pharsalia, do not forget those children of Apollo, "Moon and Nogar. They lived on music, and "could have taught Ole Bull how to draw out "strains causing youth and beauty to 'chase the "'glowing hours with flying feet,' and the very "walls of Joel's vast Hotel tremble to their "deep foundations. Who of the *Black Crook* "could touch the tambourine like Nogar?"

An anecdote told of Moon, evinces his enthusiastic love and devotion to his favorite violin. He had lost the wife of his youth. She was lying dead in the house; and Moon and Nogar mourned. A BALL was, however, pending, at the Hook; and, without their indispensable presence, the ball *could not go on*. A delegation was, accordingly, sent to the house of mourning, craving their immediate attendance—"all "business and excuses being laid aside." Moon gently, but firmly, demurred—alleging the presence of his wife's dead body in the house, and the manifest impropriety of his playing *so soon*. The delegation, however, strongly combated this view of the subject; and, after long and anxious deliberation and reflection, Moon was finally induced to cut the Gordian knot of ethical controversy, by adopting Nogar's profound suggestion, that, after all, the dear deceased "*was only* "*related to him by marriage;*" and the Committee triumphantly carried off the two eminent musicians.

The Rev. Luke Babcock was the chief, if not the only, "stated preacher" in the vicinity; and his ministrations were confined to the narrow limits of the log school-house. Occasional Missionaries, of the Universalist persuasion, prominent among who was the Rev. Samuel Finch, made their appearance, and were heard gladly by the benighted natives, until the "hat" was sent around for such contributions as might speed the harbinger of glad-tidings on his way; when visible indications of uneasiness were manifest; and, after a hasty deposit of the mammon of unrighteousness, the audience sought the door. A careful and pains-taking inspection of the hat having developed the presence only of a bountiful supply of exhausted *quids* of plug and pig tail, the indignant Evangelist, Sam, strode, forthwith, to the door, and roared, at the top of his lungs, "Friends and brethren! I have been preaching "to you that there is no *hell;* but by —— *there* "*ought to be one*, for such scamps as you!"

Denison Randall, the second son of John Randall, Senior, was, at this time, one of the most prominent residents of Pharsalia, and, in 1812, represented the County in the State Legislature. He was the father of a large family of boys—one of whom, Elias H. Randall, I believe, still resides in the town. Hezekiah Read, afterwards Judge of the County, was also a resident in the vicinity.

Joel Crain, as has been stated, was the father of a very interesting and beautiful deaf and dumb girl, who, at this early period, attracted great attention and admiration. She was afterwards ed-

ucated at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, in New York, and, subsequently, became the wife of Charles Collins York, son of Judge York, with whom she became acquainted, during his residence in Pharsalia, as a clerk in his uncle's store. Hendrick Crain, eldest son of "mine host of the "Hook," opened a store, in conjunction with his brother, Luther, a few years prior to 1830; was, soon afterwards, promoted to the Brigadier-general-ship of the Militia of the County, in which capacity he continued to act for several years; and, in 1835, he represented the County in the State Legislature. He was a very worthy, enterprising man, and a good and useful citizen.

Benson H. Wheeler, who, I believe, succeeded to the ownership of the old Denison Randall farm, in 1840 or thereabouts, represented the County in the Assembly of 1841.

Fifty years ago, Pharsalia was in a very anomalous and primitive condition—almost entirely destitute of churches, and with a very meagre supply of schools; with a sparse population, remote from market facilities; an abnormal class of "originals," subsisting, many of them, upon the simplest and rudest fare—living "by their "wits" and their native untutored genius—seldom wandering beyond the immediate vicinity of their residence; but, withal, quiet, happy, harmless, and contented; convivial in their habits; fond of fun, jollity, and sport of every kind; kind-hearted and genial. Some of the happiest hours of my early life were spent among this primitive and simple people; and I retain a kindly recollection of the families of my kinsmen, Denison, Roswell, and Elias Randall, Lodowick and Joshua Weaver, Joseph Breed, S. B. Kenyon, Joel Crain, Jabish Brown, and others, all of whom were worthy and intelligent men and industrious, amiable women. Great improvements have, I am told, been made in the general tone of society and the march of civilization, in all its departments, in this region, during the past half century; but, with all the advancement of modern progress, "my mind, "untravelled, fondly turns," with kindly and affectionate remembrance, to the "Pharsalia of "the olden time!"

Pitcher.—Forty-three years ago—a few years only subsequent to the period referred to in the preceeding sketches—the little town of Pitcher, eight miles square and formed from parts of German, on the South, and Lincklaen, on the North, as recently as 1827, and separated from Pharsalia, only four miles to the West, presented a striking contrast, in almost every respect, with that ancient town. Already, two large and flourishing churches—a Congregational and a Baptist—stood facing each other, on the village-square; a spacious and quiet hotel, on the West, was confronted with an extensive and well-filled dry-goods-store, on the East; a lawyer's-office—my own—had been erected and occupied, opposite the Post-office, centrally located, some quarter of a mile North of the heart of the village—now, undoubtedly, within its bounds; large and flourishing farms surrounded it, on every hand; and, two miles to the North-east, deep embosomed in the primitive forest, stood a magnificent hotel, with its neighboring cottages, recently erected for the accommodation of visitors to a delightful and flourishing water-place, known as "Syl-"van Springs." Here, during the "long, long, "Summer-days," visitors and invalids from the regions round about, in Cortland and Chenango, formed a numerous and most agreeable society. On Sundays, the churches were crowded; a temperance association, embracing most of the inhabitants of the town, was in active operation; lectures and addresses were delivered; and, scattered in all directions, over the town, were attractive households, occupied by orderly, energetic, and intelligent citizens.

The town derived its name from Lieutenant-governor Nathaniel Pitcher, who, at the time of its formation, in 1827, had become Acting Governor of the State, in consequence of the death of Governor De Witt Clinton. Among its earliest settlers, in 1794, '95, and '96, while yet forming a part of the town of German—which also then included Lincklaen and Otselic—were Ebenezer Wakeley, John Wilson, Benjamin Fairchild, Jonathan Chandler, George Taylor, Silas Beebe, Jonas Hinman, Abijah Rhines, Solomon Ensign, Captain John Sterling, Elijah and Reuben Fenton, and Reuben Root; subsequently, in 1804, the Rev. Seth Williston, under whose ministration was organized, at that early period, the Union Congregational-church; and, in 1805, Elder P. Root, who organized the Baptist-church, and Elder John Lawton, who was his successor in the ministry.

The present spacious church-edifices were erected in 1829 and 1830, respectively; and the venerable and partriarchal Elder Lawton was succeeded by his colleague, the Rev. Samuel R. Clark, in 1831.

The first child born within the limits of the present town, was a son of Silas Beebe, in 1796; and the first marriage, that of John Wilson to Polly Hinman, in 1799. Ebenezer Wakeley taught the first school; Benjamin Fairchild kept the first inn, on the site of the one occupied, in 1831, by his son, Daniel; and Reuben Root established the first store, probably on the site occupied by Zalmon Fairchild, in 1831. The first mill was built under the direction of John Lincklaen, of Cazenovia, the first great land-agent of the region, acting as the Attorney of Walrave Van Henkelom, Pieter Van Eeghen, Jan Van Bokkelen, and other Burgomasters of

Holland, who were its original patentees. Mr. Lincklaen was afterwards succeeded in the agency of this vast estate, by Major-general John D. Ledyard, also of Cazenovia, whose death has but recently been announced.

Ebenezer Wakeley was one of the pillars of the Baptist-church; a man of great native powers, supplemented by an excellent education; of unexceptionable moral and religious character; reserved and dignified in his deportment; and exerting a powerful influence in the primitive community of that early period. He represented the County in the Legislature of 1810; and, in 1811, was promoted to the Bench of the County Court, as an Associate Judge. In 1816, and again in 1819, he was re-elected to the Assembly; and, for many years, during this period, he represented his town in the Board of Supervisors of the County and other local offices.

At a somewhat later period, Solomon Ensign, Junior, Abel Chandler, son of Jonathan Chandler, Theron Green, Doctor David Mc Whorter, and Rufus Chandler became conspicuous in the political and material interests of the town; and performed important parts in its history.

Solomon Ensign, Junior, was, for many years, the local Justice of the town, and its representative, in the Board of Supervisors. He was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, in 1792; and, in 1800, removed, with his parents and their other children, to the present town of Pitcher, where he participated in the early hardships and trials of a pioneer's life. In 1812, he repaired to the frontiers, as a Volunteer in the Regiment commanded by Colonel Daniel Root, of German; was at Black-rock and Lewiston, and in the well-fought field of Queenstown; and, at the close of the War, was honorably discharged. In 1817, he was married to Irene Farrell, of the present town of Pitcher, with whom he lived until her decease, in 1865. In 1838, he was appointed an Assistant Judge of the County Court; and, in 1846, he represented the County in the Legislature. He was a man of the purest and most unblemished moral character, possessing the entire confidence and sincere esteem of the community in which he resided; of inflexible integrity, as a man and a magistrate; of a clear and cultivated mind; and, so far as consistent with human frailty, without fault or blemish, in all the relations of public and private life. His death, at the ripe age of seventy-eight, occurred, in 1872, at the residence of his son, in Mc Donough; and his memory will long be cherished, by all who knew him, as "an Is-"raelite without guile"—"an honest man, the "noblest work of God."

Abel Chandler was, for several years prior to 1831–2, an extensive merchant and dealer in Ashes, and Post-master of the town. In 1829, and again in 1833, he represented the County in the State Legislature; and, subsequently, he removed to Norwich. He was an active and enterprising politician and business-man; possessed of superior talents and mental acquirements; and of great moral worth. His brother, Ezbel Chandler, presided, for several years, over the "Sylvan Springs Hotel;" and he was succeeded, in his mercantile establishment, by his nephew, Ira Chandler. Rufus Chandler represented the County, in the Legislature of 1850.

Theron Green was an enterprising, intelligent, and successful farmer. In 1831, he held the position of Town-clerk; but, soon afterwards, he removed to Auburn, Cayuga-county, where he became connected with the State Prison, at that place, as Keeper and General Agent, which position he still continues to occupy.

Doctor David Mc Whorter was the principal physician of the town and neighborhood, for a long series of years; and, in 1847, he represented the County in the Legislature. He was a prominent member of the Baptist-church; an exemplary man, in all the relations of life; and exerted a powerful and beneficial influence upon an extensive circle of acquaintances and friends.

Elijah Fenton maintained a deservedly high reputation in the town, as an upright magistrate and a worthy and estimable citizen. Without other means of present verification than the similitude of their names, I incline to the belief that Ex-Governor and Senator, Reuben E. Fenton, was a son of Elijah and a nephew of Reuben Fenton. His eminent and successful political career, however, in no respect, save that of early training, pertains to the town of Pitcher; as, if my supposition is correct, he must have emigrated, at an early age, to Chautauqua-county, with which he became identified.

Lincklaen.—Lincklaen, the extreme north-western town of the County, named from Colonel John Lincklaen, the former proprietor of the township, and Agent of the Holland Land Company, was formed from German, in 1824. The first settlement, in that part of the original town, appears to have been made about the year 1796, by Gurdon Wells, Abel Fairchild, Elisha Catlin, Joseph Pulford, Nathaniel Gray, Wolcott Bennett, Joseph Darling, Jesse Catlin, Aaron Peet, Elisha Blount, Christopher Shipman, Nathaniel Waldron, and a few others. The first child born was Matilda Wells, in 1800; and the first death, that of a child of Mr. Shipman. William Bly taught the first school; Elisha Catlin kept the first inn; and the Fairchilds the first store. Catlin and Shipman built the first saw-mill; and Mr. Pulford the first grist-mill. The first religious services were held, in 1798, by the Rev. Seth Williston. The population of the town, in 1865, was about one thousand.

Nathaniel Waldron was appointed an Associate Judge of the County Court, in 1810, and again in 1815. He was a highly intelligent, enterprising, wealthy, and influential citizen; and his son, Myrtalu Waldron, followed, successfully, in his footsteps. Myrtalu obtained his somewhat singular name by the whim of his parents, who put the letters of the alphabet in a box and selected the first seven drawn out.

At a subsequent period, Ephraim and Justus Parce, Belah Beardslee, Samuel Plumb, and others settled in the town.

Justus Parce represented the County in the Legislature of 1838. He was a worthy, upright man, and useful citizen; and died at an advanced age, in 1873.

Samuel Plumb was also a representative of the County in the Legislature of 1840; and sustained a high character for probity and ability, among his fellow-citizens.

Belah Beardslee was an eccentric individual following, alternately, the profession of teacher, religious lecturer, quack-mediciner, rural philosopher, and farmer. He was a man of considerable ambition, and well esteemed in the neighborhood.

German.—West of McDonough lies German—originally formed from a part of De Ruyter, in Madison-county, in 1806—the towns of Otselic, Pitcher, and Lincklaen, then included in it, on the North, having been subsequently organized. The town received its name from General Obadiah German, then a prominent and rising statesman, residing in North Norwich—which latter town should have enjoyed the honor of being called after him, instead of its present uncouth designation. Is it too late to do this simple act of justice to the memory of its greatest and most distinguished citizen—changing the present German into "Cleveland," or "Livermore?"

The first settlement of German appears, from Child's *Gazetteer*, to have been made by Benjamin Cleveland, from Oneida-county; but at what period is not stated. Abraham Livermore, with his wife and nine children, settled at the place since known as "Livermore's Corners," in 1796. His children were Abraham, Rebecca, Daniel, Polly, Abel, Cyrus, Hepsey, Sally, and Martin.

The two families of Cleveland and Livermore, remote from any other settlement, appear to have suffered great privations during the first few years of their enterprise, in this primeval wilderness. In June, 1796, as narrated by Mr. Child, Mr. Cleveland's family becoming entirely destitute of provisions, the father started for Fort Stanwix, now Rome, to procure the necessary supplies, expecting to be absent for a few days only; but, having been unavoidably detained, Mrs. Cleveland and the children, who had been compelled to subsist upon roots found in the adjoining woods, for three days, started for their nearest neighbors, in Cincinnatus, Cortland-county, four and a half miles distant. "When "about a mile from home," says Mr. Child, "they were frightened by the appearance of a "bear in their path, and thought it prudent to "return. The next morning, the mother was "too weak to walk; and the two older children "again set out for Mr. Raymond's, on the Otse-"lic. Mrs. Raymond was almost as destitute as "those who sought her aid, but made a pudding "of *bran*, the only article of food in the house, "and bestowed this and a bottle of milk on "her starving neighbors, which sustained them "until relief came. At another time, when the "family were reduced to the greatest extremity, "two unmilked cows came to their house at "night and went away in the morning, furnish-"ing the family with a supply of milk for sev-"eral days. It was *never known where the cows* "*came from or where they went*."

The first birth was that of Polly Cleveland, in 1796; the first marriage, that of Jonathan Head to Hepsey Livermore; and the first death, that of a Mr. Hartshorn. Abraham Livermore kept the first inn, and Jonathan Chandler the first store. The latter also erected the first mill and factory, on the East branch of the Otselic. The entire population of the town does not exceed eight hundred.

Within the limits of the present town of German also resided Daniel Root, who came thither prior to 1812; served under a Colonel's commission, during the War of 1812; and was actively engaged in most of the battles on the frontier; represented the County in the State Legislature of 1824, and the town as Supervisor and in other capacities; and, during a long life, was esteemed and respected by all who knew him. Adam Storing, a leading and influential politician, who represented the County in the Legislature of 1842, and, in 1843, was appointed an Associate Judge of the County Court, also resided in German.

[To be Continued.]

III.—*PRESIDENTIAL VISITS TO MAINE.*

By Hon. Joseph D. Williamson, of Belfast, Maine.

Several of the chief magistrates of the nation have honored our State with their presence, although not always in an official capacity. The recent tour of General Grant, the first President who has been so far East as Penobscot-bay, recalls these visits, and suggests some reminiscences which may be of interest.

WASHINGTON IN MAINE.

In October, 1789, directly after the adjournment of Congress, the Father of his Country made a journey through New England, partly for restoring his health, and partly to observe the condition and character of the people. Leaving the seat of Government, on the fifteenth, he proceeded, in his own carriage, drawn by four Virginia bays and accompanied by a large retinue, through Connecticut to Boston, where he remained several days. On Saturday, October thirty-first, he reached Portsmouth, New Hampshire, having received, everywhere, on the route, the highest tokens of respect and affection. On the following Monday, accompanied by General Sullivan, Senator Langdon, and the United States Marshal, he made an excursion about the harbor, in a barge, rowed by seamen dressed in white frocks. Two other barges followed, one containing the French Consul and the President's Secretaries, rowed by sailors in blue jackets and round hats, decorated with blue ribbons; and the other a band, who executed a variety of pieces of music. The President went on shore, for a few minutes, at Kittery, in the then Province of Maine, and afterwards landed at the beautiful seat of Colonel Wentworth.* This is the only occasion when Washington is known to have been within our limits, although he was repeatedly invited, by General Knox, his old friend and companion in arms, to partake of the hospitalities of the latter's baronial residence, at Thomaston.

JOHN ADAMS.

Previous to the Revolution, the elder Adams was frequently in Maine, on professional business, following the Circuit of the Courts to Pownalborough, where his college classmates, Charles Cushing, Jonathan Bowman, and the Rev. Jacob Bailey resided. No roads then existed in the interior of the District; and he passed from Brunswick to the Kennebec on horseback, guided by spotted tress.† The old Court-house, three stories in height, is still standing, a conspicuous object, on the bank of the river. He attended Court at Falmouth, now Portland, for twelve successive years, boarding with his college friend, Jonathan Webb, on Congress-street.‡ It was at his last visit there, when the political separation with his intimate associate at the Bar, Jonathan Sewall, took place. They walked together, upon Munjoy's-hill, in July, 1774, before breakfast, and earnestly discussed the great questions which were agitating the public mind. "Great Britain is determined on her system," remarked Sewall, "and her power is irresis-"table." "That very determination in her "system determines mine," answered Adams; "swim or sink, live or die, survive or perish "with my country, is my unalterable determina-"tion."* They next saw each other in England, where Sewall had retreated, as a loyalist, and Adams represented the United States, as our first Embassador.

PRESIDENT MONROE.

The two great political parties known as Federalists and Anti-Federalists, and, subsequently, as Republicans and Democrats, maintained a severe contest, until the War of 1812. That War absorbed all political issues, many of the leading partisans deeming every consideration secondary to that of sustaining the Government. Accordingly, in 1816, James Monroe was chosen President, with great unanimity; and proved a most popular chief magistrate. Soon after his inauguration, he made a tour through New England, as far as Portland. He reached Portsmouth, on the fifteenth day of July, having received constant marks of honor and respect, during his whole progress from Washington. Early the next morning, a barge conveyed him across the Piscataqua-river, to the borders of Maine. On reaching the shore, he was met by the Hon. John Holmes and Albion K. Parris, Members of Congress, and W. P. Preble, Esq., United States District-attorney; and was received with three cheers, by a large concourse of people, assembled on the banks of the river. The Hon. Mr. Holmes then presented him an address, to which the President made an extemporaneous reply, and expressed "the highest grat-"ification in being thus met and received by "gentlemen, for whose private virtues and pub-"lic character he entertained so much respect." He then entered his carriage, and proceeded eight miles to York, under an escort of Cavalry, followed by officers of the Militia, in uniform, and citizens on horseback. On arriving at that place, he was met by the Committee of Arrangements, headed by Judge David Sewall,† then in the eighty-second year of his age, who, in an appropriate address, bade him a hearty welcome, to which the President made an affectionate reply. After a breakfast with the venerable Judge, the tour was resumed. At Kennebunk, eighteen miles further on, delegations were received from the towns of Arundel and Wells. Here, also, the President was met by a Committee from the towns of Alfred and Sanford, and was addressed by their Chairman, the Hon. John

* *The Republican Court.*

† *Works of John Adams.*

‡ Willis's *History of Portland*, 371.

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vii., 65.

† The Hon. David Sewall was Judge of the United States District Court, for forty-one years. He died in 1825, aged ninety-years.—Willis's *Lawyers of Maine*, 86.

Holmes. Joseph Dane, Esq., also presented an address in behalf of the citizens of Kennebunk. To these addresses, the President replied, in the presence of a large crowd of people. From Jefferd's Hotel, in Kennebunk, the President proceeded, on foot, with his suit, across the Mousam-river-bridge, which had been ornamented by an arch of evergreen, decorated with roses, to the house of Mrs. Joseph Storer, where an elegant collation was served. He thence returned to his carriage, through the principal street, on the right of which, the ladies of the village, dressed in white and adorned with roses, were arranged, and, on the left, the gentlemen.

Preceded by an escort and cavalcade, the party was met, at Biddeford, by the Hon. George Thacher, Judge of the Supreme Court, and others, to whose address the President replied with his usual readiness and with pleasing effect. At Saco, across the river, and ten miles from Kennebunk, enthusiastic demonstrations were made by the largest assemblage of citizens ever witnessed in the town. At Cleave's Hotel, the Selectmen delivered to him a written address, to which he made a dignified and satisfactory response. Agreeably to previous arrangements, the President dined with Thomas G. Thornton, Esq., Marshal of the District.

Under an escort of Cavalry, the party reached the village of Stroudwater, in Westbrook, adjoining Portland, at about six o'clock in the evening. The bridge had been decorated with twenty arches of evergreen, on the largest of which, as symbolical of the Union, was perched a living American eagle. The President alighted from his carriage, and passed on foot under these decorations. At the limits of Portland, fifty-two miles from Portsmouth, the President was met by the Committee of Arrangements, and escorted into town by a cavalcade of citizens, on horseback and in carriages, extending about a mile and a half in length. The President alighted, and entered the town on a dark-bay horse, passing through the Portland Regiment that had been paraded to receive him. Portions of Main and Back (now Congress) streets, were lined by pupils of the public-schools, about fifteen hundred in number, dressed in uniform, who scattered flowers in the path. The route of the procession was through India, Middle, and Free-streets, to the house of the Hon. Matthew Cobb, at the head of High-street, which had been prepared for the President's reception. Here, he reviewed a Regiment of Militia, and received an address from the Committee of Arrangements, to which he made a verbal reply. He expressed the grateful emotions that had been excited by the civilities and attentions of his fellow-citizens, and warmly reciprocated the good wishes that had been personally manifested towards him. He was repeatedly and cordially cheered by the large concourse of people which followed him, in his whole progress through the town.

In the evening, there was a display of fireworks, from the Observatory; while that and the adjacent buildings were illuminated.

The next morning, at seven, Committees from Bath, Wiscasset, Brunswick, and Topsham were introduced to the President. They respectfully requested him, in the name of their respective towns, if consistent with the other objects of his journey, to extend his tour farther East. He thanked them for their civility, and replied that his original intention was to proceed as far as Castine, but so much time had been consumed, already, in his tour, that he found it impossible to go beyond Portland.

During the forenoon, the President and his suite, accompanied by many distinguished gentlemen, made an excursion in the harbor, landing at Fort Preble, where a collation was prepared. He reviewed the troops and inspected the works, expressing his satisfaction at the correct discipline, good police, and internal arrangements of the garrison. Major Crane was then the commanding officer. A visit to the Observatory, to view the hundreds of islands which are scattered over the waters of Casco-bay, and a call upon Mrs. Preble, the widow of Commodore Preble, consumed the remainder of the day. In the evening, the President attended a large party at the house of the Hon. Asa Clap. On Thursday, the President left for New Hampshire. At Biddeford, he was introduced to the venerable Deacon Samuel Chase, then in the ninety-ninth year of his age. He addressed the President with the simplicity of a Christian and the affection of a father. The scene was an impressive one, when the good old man rose, and with the dignity of an ancient patriarch, pronounced his parting blessing.

The President reached Dover, New Hampshire, in the evening.

PRESIDENT POLK.

James K. Polk, the eleventh President, was the next chief magistrate who visited Maine, in an official capacity, although John Quincy Adams was at Bangor, in 1843, for the purpose of delivering a lecture before the Lyceum of that city. President Polk came on a journey through the New England States, on the second day of July, 1847, and went to Augusta, by invitation of the Legislature, then in session. After a distinguished reception at Boston, he passed on the Boston and Maine Railroad to South Berwick, where, at the boundary-line of the State, he was received by Messrs. William P. Haines, Hannibal Hamlin,

* *Eastern Argus; Gazette of Maine.*

and Thomas Chadwick, in behalf of the Legislature, Richard D. Rice, George W. Stanley, and David Bronson, in behalf of the citizens, and George F. Shepley and Colonel Cutter, the Governor's Aids, the whole constituting a Committee of Invitation. Mr. Haines welcomed the President, who briefly returned his thanks. The train reached Portland, at noon. There was a long-extended civil and military procession, at the depot, which escorted the guests through the city, to the United States Hotel. Here, with the municipal authorities and Committees, a dinner was served, the Hon. Eliphalet Greely, the Mayor, presiding. At half past five, the President and company started for the Kennebec, on the steamer *Huntress*. The official party contained, among others, the Hon. Messrs. James Buchanan, Secretary of State, Nathan Clifford, Attorney-general, Edmund Burke, Commissioner of Patents, Levi Woodbury, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, John Appleton, Commodore Charles Stewart, Governor Mouton, of Louisiana, Captain Stien, then fresh from Buena Vista, where he had been wounded, Governor Dana, and ex-Governors Dunlap, Fairfield, and Anderson, of Maine. At Bath, where the boat arrived at half past nine, there was a salute of heavy ordnance, and a large crowd of people assembled. The President had retired; but, at the earnest request of the multitude, he appeared on the upper deck, and made a short speech. At other landings, on the river, cannon were fired, and the air rang with the shouts of the citizens, as the boat passed along. It was near one o'clock in the morning of Saturday, July third, when the Presidential party reached Augusta, having left the *Huntress* at Hallowell, two miles below. "With a few exceptions," says the correspondent of the *New York Herald*, "the "citizens had illuminated their houses for the "occasion; but the Capitol upon its elevated "site, with its numerous large windows and "lofty cupola, looked the tangible reality of a "fairy palace, surrounded by a halo created "from blaze issuing from the sparkling heights. "Rockets were sent exploding in the clear star-"light sky, cannon were fired, cheers greeted the "President, for a considerable proportion of the "denizens, especially at Hallowell, were still "up and on shore, awaiting the arrival of the "honored guest of the Commonwealth. It was "a clear summer's night, the air was cool, but "the moon-light scene was picturesque, as the "line of carriages passed up, from Hallowell, "along the shore of the river."

The President and Mr. Buchanan went to the house of the Hon. Reuel Williams, on the East side of the river. Mr. Clifford, Mr. Burke, and Judge Woodbury were the guests of the Hon. James W. Bradbury, then United States Senator elect.

During the forenoon, a procession escorted the President and suit, through the town, to the State-house, where multitudes of people were congregated. Being conducted into the House of Representives, where both legislative branches had assembled, in Convention, the courtesies and hospitalities of the State were formally tended to him by Governor Dana. The President responded at length: the theme of his reply being an exhortation to preserve the union of the States, inviolate. The members of the Legislature were then severally introduced, in a prescribed order, to the different officials. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the President moved to the balcony, where he addressed the people. A dinner, at the Augusta House, followed, when the Presidential party were taken in barouches to Gardiner, six miles down the river, and called at the cottage of the Hon. George Evans, which was at the outskirts of the town, embowered in shrubbery. Passing through the village, under escort of mounted citizens, the procession ascended the hill to the mansion of Robert H. Gardiner, Esq., a granite edifice erected in the style of an English country-seat, where a collation was provided. After a drive through the town, in the public square of which the school-children were drawn up, as in a review, for the occasion, the train of carriages proceeded to the steamboat-wharf, near the present railroad-depot. Here a platform had been erected, to which the President was conducted, amidst the cheers of the surrounding multitudes. The Hon. George Evans, in behalf of his fellow-citizens, then addressed the President, in a speech of remarkable eloquence. "There has been nothing in the "whole journey," said the *Herald*,* "at all "comparable to it, in the shape of an address, "either as a welcome or as a local eulogium." The citizens, said Mr. Evans, cordially extended their most respectful considerations to the chief magistrate: they were gratified that he had come to this portion of the great Republic, over which he presided. Theirs was a hard soil and a rigid climate; but their industry had clothed the hills and valleys with verdure. He spoke of their manufactures, their mechanic arts, their ship-building, and their commercial, fishing, and railroad interests. Their hardy sailors went forth, wafting their commerce to all seas and to all lands. He spoke of the charitable asylums of Maine, the temples of religion, the schools, and Academies, and Colleges, at once the fruits and the proofs of their industry, their benevolence, their intelligence, and their Christian character. He dwelt upon their devo-

* *New York Herald*, July 7, 1847.

tion to the Union and the Constitution. He hoped the President had been favorably impressed by his visit; and he knew that the more the institutions and characteristics of his State were observed, the more they would be respected.

The President replied at length. He alluded to his distinguished reception and to the pleasure which he had experienced, in witnessing the beneficial influences of our institutions, so forcibly and practically illustrated in the high state of improvement which marks the face of this portion of our country, and in the constant evidences of the enterprise of the people of New England, as exhibited in her flourishing and prosperous condition. "Yours," he continued, "is, indeed, a hard soil; but, from the perse-"verance of its hardy sons, it has been made to "smile with bountiful harvests. And not only "so, but in the tented field, the sons of Maine "have shown the same indomitable energy of "character. When has Maine been called upon, "that she has failed to be there? Even now, "Sir, her valiant sons are fighting for the insti-"tutions and the cause of the Union; and, I am "proud to have it to say, that one * of your own "blood is among the brave men who have so "nobly maintained the country's glory in the "field. Wherever a sail whitens the waters of "the ocean, there will be found the hardy sail-"ors of Maine—in the far West, where new "houses, and villages, and cities are taking the "place of the forest, there will be found the "sons of Maine, felling away the trees and "opening the wilderness to the onward march "of civilization and Christianity. Go to the "far South, and the descendants of her granite "hills will meet us, there, and we are glad to "see them among us." At the termination of his address, which was received with great enthusiasm and applause, President Polk re-embarked in the *Huntress*, and reached Portland, at midnight. The next day, which was Sunday, he passed quietly at the boarding-house of Mrs. Jones, and attended church at the Second Parish Meeting-house, hearing a sermon by the Pastor, the Rev. Doctor Carruthers. Early on Monday morning, an informal reception of citizens took place, after which the cars were taken, *en route*, for Washington. At Saco, Kennebunk, and North Berwick, large mass-meetings were awaiting his arrival, each of which the President addressed. Near the line of the State, Colonels Shepley and Haines, in behalf of the constituted authorities of Maine, took a formal and affectionate leave of the President; and he, in return, expressed his thanks and best wishes for their continued prosperity and happiness. A Committee from New Hampshire then took the President in charge.

At the expiration of over a quarter of a century, but few of the prominent men who bore a part in these proceedings, remain. Presidents Polk and Buchanan, Judge Woodbury, Senator Evans, Commodore Stewart, Ruel Williams, Governors Dunlap, Fairfield, and Hubbard, John Appleton and Robert H. Gardiner have all passed away. Judge Clifford survives, in full intellectual vigor; and Governors Anderson and Dana and Senator Bradbury continue in strength and health. Of the members of the Legislature who, without distinction of party, paid their respects to the chief magistrate, Luther Severance, John Otis, and Elijah L. Hamlin have long since been removed by death. John Hodgdon, the President of the Senate, Colonels Haines and Shepley, members of the Committee of Reception, and Vice-president Hamlin, then representing a small interior town, retain high positions of public honor and private trust.

PRESIDENT GRANT.

General Grant was the next President who came to Maine, officially. In October, 1871, the Directors of the European and North American Railway determined to mark the completion of this great enterprise, by appropriate ceremonies, and invited the Governor General of Canada and the President of the United States to honor the occasion with their presence, and to shake hands over the completion of a link which would more closely unite two nations. The invitations were duly accepted; and Thursday, the nineteenth of October, was selected for the jubilee.

Accompanied by Secretaries Belknap and Robeson, Generals Ingalls, Babcock, and Porter, with many other distinguished persons, the President left Boston, by rail, on the morning of the seventeenth. Demonstrations took place along the whole route, East. At the boundary of Maine, Speaker Blaine took the President by the arm, and, from that time, he was made to realize that he was the guest of the Pine-tree State. Dinner was served on the train, which reached Portland early in the afternoon. Here, the company was joined by Lord Lisgar, the Governor-general of Canada, and his suite. After a stoppage of a few minutes, the cars proceeded to Bangor. At Brunswick, Gardiner, Augusta, Waterville, and Newport, brief halts were made. At each place, demonstrations took place. Bangor was reached at about seven o'clock. The principal streets were illuminated. Escorted by ten military Companies, flanked by two hundred firemen, bearing torches, the Presidential party

* The President referred to Mr. Evans's son, Captain George F. Evans, who participated in the Battle of Buena Vista, a few months previously. Tears dropped from the eyes of Mr. Evans, at this allusion, and the people cheered from its spontaneous electricity.

was conducted to the Bangor-house. Subsequently, General Grant dined, informally, with Senator Hamlin, at his residence, on Fifth-street.

On the following day, the military, including the entire Militia of the State, paraded; and, at ten o'clock, a procession, with the President in the centre, proceeded through the city. The children of the public-schools, in uniform, were drawn up, on the Mall, in Broadway, and welcomed the distinguished visitor, by an appropriate Ode. The procession was nearly a mile in length, and two hours were occupied in its march. Main-street was decorated its entire length; and nearly every building, public and private, was adorned with bunting. It was estimated that fifty thousand people were on the streets.

At one o'clock, a banquet took place at Norumbega-hall, which was participated in by seven hundred guests. At the head of the central table sat Mayor Dale, of Bangor; on his right, President Grant; and on his left, Lord Lisgar. After refreshment, the health of the President was proposed, and received with cheers. As soon as the applause subsided, the President spoke as follows: "LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I congratulate "you and the people of the State of Maine and "the people of the country at large, upon the "occasion which has brought all of us here. It "is a matter in which you are particularly in- "terested; and the nation at large, I believe, is "almost equally so with you. I hope that it "may be as successful as we desire, in building "up brotherly love between the two people of "the same blood and speaking the same lan- "guage as ourselves. In short, I trust it may "prove, in the end, a most cordial bond of "friendship."

Eloquent addresses were also made by Lord Lisgar, Governor Wilmot, of New Brunswick, and other distinguished gentlemen. Various festivities completed the day.

On Thursday morning, a special train, with President Grant and other guests, left for Vanceboro', one hundred and fourteen miles from Bangor, on the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. On arriving there, at half past one, a much larger crowd from Saint John was found waiting. A banquet had been prepared in a large tent, and was soon discussed. At its close, George K. Jewett, Esq., the President of the Railroad Company, made a brief address of welcome, and called upon President Grant, who made the following remarks: "FELLOW CITI- "ZENS, AND CITIZENS OF THE BRITISH PROVINC- "ES: It is pleasant for me to be here, on this "occasion, an occasion which will be celebrated "in speeches made by persons much more capa- "ble than myself of treating the subject; but I "will say that it is pleasant for me to be here "and to see the citizens belonging to the two "nationalities meeting in such a friendly com- "munion." Toasts and speeches, from various officials and eminent men, from both countries, followed. The exercises terminated at half past four, when the President and suite returned, immediately, to Bangor, and thence to Portland, where they arrived at an early hour, on Friday morning, and were received, at the depot, by a Committee of Reception. A military procession paraded the streets, in honor of the President, during the forenoon, after which he held a public reception at the City-hall. This was followed by a dinner at the Falmouth-house; and, at two o'clock, he left for Boston.

President Grant's next visit to Maine was made in August, 1873, at the invitation of the Hon. James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House of Representatives. He arrived at the residence of that gentleman, in Augusta, on the afternoon of the thirteenth. Coming in a private capacity, as he did, his wishes to avoid public demonstrations were respected; and he enjoyed a season of rest and quiet. The next day, accompanied by General Babcock, Speaker Blaine, and Senators Cameron and Hamlin, he visited the Gardiner mansion, at Gardiner, being received in that city, as well as in Hallowell, through which he passed, with testimonials of respect. In the evening, he dined with Senator Morrill, and, subsequently, attended a reception given by Mr. Blaine.

During his brief excursion, it was the desire of the President to visit Mount Desert; and, accordingly, he proceeded, the next morning, by rail, to Rockland, whence he embarked, in the revenue-steamer *McCulloch*. Shortly after leaving, a thick fog shut in; and with the night coming on, it was deemed hazardous to proceed farther. Shelter and anchorage were therefore sought, at North Haven, where the night was passed, the ladies of the party remaining on board the steamer while the President and other gentlemen found quarters at the house of Mr. Mullins. The Mount Desert trip was necessarily abandoned; and, on Saturday morning, the excursionists started, directly, for Bangor, and arrived at about two o'clock in the afternoon. A collation, given by Senator Hamlin, at the Penobscot Exchange, and a drive around the city, occupied the time until evening. At seven o'clock, the President returned to Augusta, where he passed the Sabbath with Speaker Blaine; and, the next day, he left for the White Mountains.*

* *Bangor Whig.*

IV.—*PATRICK HENRY.*

A VINDICATION OF HIS CHARACTER, AS AN ORATOR AND AS A MAN.

Concluded, from the November Number.

By his grandson, William Wirt Henry, Esq., of Charlotte C. H., Virginia.

For the assertion that Mr. Henry did not speak when the Bill of Rights and the first Constitution of Virginia were under discussion, Mr. Pollard has not even hinted his authority, unless he relied on the letter of General Charles Lee, as evidence. That letter only alludes to the Resolution of Independence, however; and was written before the Committee was appointed to draft the Bill of Rights and Form of Government.

The evidence, however, is abundant to prove that Mr. Henry was active in the preparation and advocacy of both of these papers. It will be remembered that the Committee to prepare these papers was appointed on the fifteenth of May. On the eighteenth of the same month, John Augustine Washington, a member of the Convention, wrote to Richard Henry Lee: "I hope "the great business of forming a well-regulated "Government will go on well, as I think there "will be no great difference of opinion amongst "our best speakers, Henry, Mason, Mercer, "Dandridge, and Smith; and I am apt to think "the President," [*Pendleton*] "will concur with "them in sentiment."—(*See* Southern Literary Messenger, *for November, 1858.*) On the day that this letter was written, which was Saturday, George Mason was added to the Committee, and by his hand the Bill of Rights was drawn, almost exactly as adopted, though the original draft of the Constitution was probably prepared by Meriwether Smith, one of the members of the Committee first appointed.—(*See Rives's* Life of Madison, *i., 158, et seq.*) Mr. Henry was one of the original Committee, and, as appears by the letter of Washington to Lee, was in accord with both Mason and Smith, by whom these papers were drawn.

A pamphlet written by John Adams, though without his signature, entitled *Thoughts on Government*, had been enclosed to Mr. Henry by Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Adams. The letter of Mr. Henry to John Adams, already quoted, in part, dated the twentieth of May, 1776, was in reply to Mr. Adams's letter. He says: "Your "favor, with the pamphlet, came safe to hand. "I am exceedingly obliged to you for it; and I "am not without hopes it may produce good, "here, where there is among most of our opulent "families a strong bias to aristocracy. I tell my "friends you are the author. Upon this supposition, I have two reasons for liking the book. "The sentiments are precisely the same I have "long since taken up; and they come recommended by you. * * * * *

"Our Convention is now employed in the "great work of forming a Constitution. My "most esteemed republican form has many and "powerful enemies. A silly thing, published in "Philadelphia, by a native of Virginia, has just "made its appearance, here, strongly recommended, it is said, by one of our Delegates, "now with you—Braxton. His reasonings upon "and distinction between private and public "virtue are weak, shallow, evasive, and the "whole performance an affront and disgrace "to this country; and by one expression, I suspect his whiggism.

"Our Session will be very long, during which "I cannot count upon one coadjutor of talents "equal to the task. Would to God you and "your Sam Adams were here! It shall be my "incessant study, so to form our portrait of "Government, that a kindred with New England may be discerned in it; and if all your "excellencies cannot be preserved, yet I hope to "retain so much of the likeness, that posterity "shall pronounce us descended from the same "stock. I shall think perfection is obtained, if "we have your approbation."

This letter was written on the Monday following the Saturday on which George Mason was added to the Committee, and before the draft of the Bill of Rights had been made by him, or the draft of the Constitution had been presented to the Committee, in all probability, as the Bill of Rights was first reported, and seven days afterwards. The pamphlet of John Adams is printed in his *Life*, iv., 193, et seq; and a comparison of it with the first Constitution of Virginia reveals the fact, that, in nearly every feature, they are alike, certainly in all essentials. That the Constitution, as adopted, was according to Mr. Henry's conception of his "most esteemed re-"publican plan," is shown by his letter to the Convention, accepting the office of Governor under it, in which he speaks of it as "that sys-"tem of Government which you have formed, "and which is so wisely calculated to secure "equal liberty, and advance human happiness." —(See *Journal, 1 July, 1776.*)

The Bill of Rights and Constitution were not adopted, however, until after prolonged debates. On the first of June, 1776, Thomas Ludwell Lee wrote from the Convention to Richard Henry Lee: "I enclosed you, by last post, a copy of "our Declaration of Rights, nearly as it came "through Committee. It has since been re-"ported to the Convention; and we have, ever "since, been stumbling at the threshold. In "short, we find such difficulty in laying the "foundation-stone, that I very much fear for "that Temple of Liberty which was proposed "to be erected thereon. But, laying aside figure,

"I will tell you, plainly, that a certain set of "Aristocrats—for we have such monsters, here "—finding that their execrable system cannot "be reared on such foundations, have, to this "time, kept us at bay, on the first line, which "declares all men to be born equally free and "independent."—(*See* Southern Literary Messenger, *November, 1858.*)

The Constitution, also, was disputed, inch by inch, and was the subject of much alteration and debate.—(*See account given Mr. Jefferson by Edmund Pendleton, Randall's* Life of Jefferson, *i., 195.*) On its adoption, Mr. Henry was elected the first Governor, obtaining a majority of fifteen over Thomas Nelson, the candidate of the Aristocracy, who was very popular.

When we consider that Mr. Henry's "esteem-"ed plan" was adopted over the aristocratic plan, after a hard struggle; that, in view of the contest, Mr. Henry was named first amongst the best speakers of the body; that he was elected, by the Convention, the chief Executive Officer under the Constitution, upon its adoption, defeating the Aristocratic candidate, I think we may safely conclude that Mr. Henry *did speak*, during the debates, the *unsupported* assertion of Mr. Pollard to the contrary notwithstanding.

After thus treating his subject in what he is pleased to call the "historical" aspect, Mr. Pollard takes up the "subjective" mode, which he claims to be more decisive. He says: "One of "the most pregnant statements which Mr. Wirt "repeats with such industry of mistaken em-"phasis, and which other deluded admirers "confirm in their own way, is, that it was im-"possible for any of Mr. Henry's auditors to "remember anything he had said, even to the "extent of a single sentence." And again: "Mr. Wirt is constantly insisting upon this in-"firmity of the audience, as a surpassing proof of "Henry's eloquence; but we very much suspect "that, when it comes to be analyzed, the infirmi-"ty will be found to be in the speaker himself."

It would have been better for Mr. Pollard, had he noted the passages in Mr. Wirt's book, upon which he relied, in making this assertion. Though I have looked, carefully, I have not been able to find *one single* passage in which Mr. Wirt makes this statement. On the contrary, Mr. Wirt gives numerous passages from Mr. Henry's speeches, detailed to him by his auditors, from memory.

It is true that Mr. Nicholas P. Trist reported Mr. Jefferson as saying, not long before his death, that "I have frequently shut my eyes "while he spoke, and when he was done asked "myself what he had said, without being able "to recollect a word of it." Mr. Pollard has quoted Mr. Trist correctly. I doubt, however, the accuracy of Mr. Trist's recollection; or if he be correct, of Mr. Jefferson's. No one has left on record more splendid tributes to Mr Henry's eloquence than Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Trist reports him as saying, in the same conversation, concerning Mr. Henry: "It was to him that we "were indebted for the unanimity that prevailed "among us. He would address the assembled lages "of people, at which he was present, in such "strains of native eloquence as Homer wrote in. "I never heard anything that deserved to be "called by the same name with what flowed "from him;" * * * "He was truly a "great man, one of enlarged views." Mr. Wirt quotes Mr. Jefferson as saying, that Mr. Henry "was the greatest orator that ever lived." (*See* Life of Henry, *Edition of 1839, 54.*) Besides many other incidents, Mr. Jefferson gave Mr. Wirt an account of Mr. Henry's attack, in the House of Burgesses, in May, 1765, on the scheme of a Loan Office: "I can never forget," said Jefferson, "a particular exclamation of his, in "the debate, which electrified his hearers. It "had been urged that, from certain unhappy "circumstances of the Colony, men of substan-"tial property had contracted debts which, if "exacted, suddenly, must ruin them and their "families, but with a little indulgence of time, "might be paid with ease. 'What, Sir!' ex-"claimed Mr. Henry, in animadverting on this, "'is it proposed, then, to reclaim the spendthrift "'from his dissipation and extravagance, by "'filling his pockets with money?' These ex-"pressions are indelibly impressed on my mem-"ory."—(*See pp. 70, 71.*) Mr. Jefferson gave also testimony to the expressions used in the Speech on the Resolutions against the Stamp act. If, then, Mr. Trist reports Mr. Jefferson correctly, it only proves that, after passing his eightieth year, he contradicted himself. Mr. Pollard has seen fit to say of Mr. Jefferson's testimony, concerning Mr. Henry, that it either proved Mr. Jefferson's "hypocracy," or "was the mandlin "incoherence of an incapable witness." How, then, does he rely on it, in his strictures on Mr. Henry?

Next, and lastly, Mr. Pollard assails Mr. Henry's character. He quotes a maxim of Quintilian that "the orator must be a good man;" that is, says Mr. Pollard, he must have "an "acute and determined sense of virtue;" and he alleges that Mr. Henry was "the most de-"testable turncoat of his day," lacking "alike, "the consistency of intellectual purpose and the "integrity of moral principle, to constitute him "a great orator." This is a grave charge; and, coming from another source, might well awaken serious apprehensions in the minds of Mr. Henry's admirers. Let us examine Mr. Pollard's evidence for his charge.

He says, that Mr. Henry "started by avowing

"himself the most democratic of Democrats;" yet "we find him, twice, involved in a plot to "establish a dictatorship in Virginia"—once in 1776 and again in 1781. "True," says Mr. Pollard, "the biographer of Mr. Henry labors "to prove that he did not instigate, or even ac- "tively engage in, these plots; but they were "known to him, and they must have been enter- "tained by him, since he did not denounce "them."

That Mr. Henry was an avowed Democrat, or Republican, as the terms were understood, in his day, is true; but that he ever entertained any proposition to make him Dictator, or that he did not denounce the scheme, if made known to him, there is no evidence, whatever, so far as I am informed. Mr. Pollard says he did not denounce it; and, therefore, he entertained it. He has failed *to prove* that he did not denounce the scheme, or even *to attempt to prove it;* and had he proved it, his conclusion would have been a *non sequitur*.

While it cannot be expected that I should prove that there never was a plot to make Mr. Henry a Dictator, yet a careful examination of the facts will show that the evidence upon which the charge is based is entirely insufficient.

The only contemporaneous evidence which has been brought to establish the charge, is that of Thomas Jefferson, a witness Mr. Pollard pronounces unreliable; and Mr. Jefferson was not with the Legislature, on either occasion, concerning which he has testified that the proposal was made in that body.

The first occasion was, during the last part of December, 1776, while Mr. Jefferson had left the body on the fifth of the month.—(*See Randall's* Life of Jefferson, *i.*, *206.*) The second occasion was while the Legislature was in Staunton, in June, 1781; and Jefferson was at his seat, in Bedford county, near one hundred miles distant.—(*See Randall's* Life of Jefferson, *i.*, *352.*)

Mr. Jefferson's first account of the plots to establish a Dictator in Virginia, was given in his *Notes on Virginia*, under *Query XIII*, published in 1787. Mr. Wirt has followed Mr. Jefferson, adding only somewhat from tradition, probably derived from Mr. Jefferson himself. The *Journals* show nothing of the propositions detailed by Mr. Jefferson; and, as no other person has left on record any testimony, concerning them, the account rests, solely, on the testimony of a witness, absent, at the time of the occurrences of which he testifies. Let us examine, closely, the testimony of this witness, in connection with other facts established beyond dispute or admitted by the witness, himself.

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Mr. Jefferson says: "In December, 1776, our circumstances being "much distressed, it was proposed, in the House "of Delegates, to create a Dictator, invested "with every power—legislative, executive, and "judiciary, civil and military, of life and of "death, over our persons and over our proper- "ties; and, in June, 1781, again under calami- "ty, the same proposition was repeated, and "wanted a few votes only of being passed.

Any one, by examining the *Journals of the House of Delegates*, will see that these proposals, if made, at all, must have been in the House, sitting as a Committee of the Whole on the State of the Country. All matters relating to the War, were first discussed in Committee of the Whole; and what occurred, while in Committee, was not reported to the House, unless some determination was arrived at, and that alone was reported. Bearing this in mind, we can examine the evidence more understandingly.

In 1816, Girardin, a Frenchman, residing near Mr. Jefferson, wrote a continuation to Burk's *History of Virginia*. He wrote under the eye of Mr. Jefferson, and having access to his historical collections. His book has the approval of Mr. Jefferson, who, in reference to his own administration, says that he "has given as faith- "ful an account as I could myself. For this "portion, therefore, of my own life, I refer al- "together to his history."—(*See* Memoir, *41.*) On page 189 of his volume, Girardin says, in reference to the scheme of a Dictator, in 1776, "when, towards the close of this Session, the "Legislature of Virginia beheld the awful and "critical situation of America—the enemy in "possession of New York; General Washington "precipitately retreating through the Jerseys, "before an overwhelming force; and the salva- "tion of the country, depending, next to provi- "dential aid, on some extraordinary measures "and efforts; several of its members, actuated, "it is thought, by laudable intentions, but "struck with causeless, or, at least, exaggerated "alarm, and misapplying the example of the "Roman Republic, in times of extreme danger, "proposed and advocated a step, in itself, more "formidable, and, eventually, more fatal to the "liberties and happiness of the people, than the "British arms." * * * "It appears, from "concurring reports, that this dictatorial scheme "produced, in the Legislature, unusual heat and "violence. The members who favored, and "those who opposed it, walked the streets, on "different sides."

Mr. Wirt has fixed the time of the scheme, at the same date; and, while he does not mention the "walking the streets on different sides," yet his account, when compared with that of Girardin, shows the same origin; the latter referring to Mr. Jefferson as his authority, except where he bases his statements on "*reports.*"

The retreat of General Washington through the Jerseys was ended by his crossing the Delaware, on the eighth day of December. On the twelfth, Congress adjourned, to meet at Baltimore, on the twentieth, it having become apparent that Philadelphia was in danger. Owing to the difficulty and delays in transmitting the mails, the intelligence of the extent of the disasters, at the North, and the flight of Congress from Philadelphia did not reach Williamsburg until the nineteenth of the month. The *Gazette* of the twentieth reported the crossing of the Delaware, by the British forces, from twelve to fifteen thousand strong; the position of General Washington, at Bristol, on the South side of the river, with only six thousand men; and the adjournment of Congress to Baltimore. The previous number of the *Gazette* had reported that General Washington had driven General Howe back; but later advices corrected the report, and showed the danger to General Washington's army and, of course, to Virginia.

The House of Delegates had not shown any symptoms of alarm before, judging from their *Journal*. On the sixth, they allowed South Carolina to enlist men in Virginia, ignorant that events transpiring in the North would soon endanger Virginia. On the seventh, the House, in Committee of the Whole, considered the petitions of sundry persons who claimed damages sustained from the soldiery; and it was resolved to go into Committee of the Whole, on the following Monday, on the further consideration of the State of the Country. This order was postponed, from day to day, till the eighteenth, and then was executed, the Committee coming to a Resolution to request the Governor and Council to cause to depart from the Commonwealth, certain British merchants and traders, who were adherents to the British Crown. The Committee seem to have had under consideration no other matter. There was no order to sit again, as Committee of the Whole on the State of the Country, and none was made on the nineteenth; but, on the twentieth, on a motion made, it was resolved that the "House will *immediately* re-"solve itself into a Committee, to take into their "consideration the State of America." Not having time to come to any Resolution, that day, the Committee asked leave to sit again. This is the first appearance of haste or panic which the *Journal* shows. Before that day, the House was evidently at ease, concerning the state of the country, not having heard of the rapid succession of disasters, at the North, which would enable the British to approach the northern border of Virginia as soon as they should cross Maryland. On the next day, the House again went into a Committee of the Whole, on the State of America, and came to the following Resolutions, which were forthwith reported to the House and agreed to:

"It being of the utmost importance that the "nine Battalions heretofore raised in this Com-"monwealth and now in Continental service, "should be completed, and the six new Battal-"ions, for the same service, as well as the three "Battalions on the pay of this Commonwealth, "raised with all probable expedition:

"*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended "to the Justices, the members of the County "Committees, the Militia officers, and the other "good people of this Commonwealth to use "their best endeavours to forward and encour-"age the recruiting service, upon which the "safety and happiness of their country so much "depends.

"And, whereas, the present imminent danger "of *America*, and the ruin and misery which "threatens the good people of this Common-"wealth and their posterity calls for the utmost "exertion of our strength, and it is become "necessary for the preservation of the State that "the usual forms of Government should be sus-"pended, during a limited time, for the more "speedy execution of the most vigorous and "effectual measures, to repel the invasion of the "enemy:

"*Resolved, therefore*, That the Governour be, "and he is hereby fully authorised and empow-"ered, by and with the advice and consent of "the Privy Council, from henceforward until "ten days next after the first meeting of the "General Assembly, to carry into execution such "requisitions as may be made to this Common-"wealth by the *American* Congress," etc.—(giving ample power to call out, organize, pay, etc. the military force of the State, to be used in or out of the State).

"But that this departure from the Constitu-"tion of Government, being in this instance "founded only on the most evident and urgent "necessity, ought not hereafter to be drawn into "precedent." It was further ordered, that copies of these Resolves be sent to the American Congress and to the neighboring States of Maryland and North Carolina; and that their Delegates in Congress be instructed to recommend to the consideration of Congress, the necessity, "in the "present dangerous and critical situation of "America, in order to give vigour, expedition, "and secrecy to our military measures, to invest "the Commander-in chief of the American forces "with more ample and extensive powers for con-"ducting the operations of war."

These Resolutions were carried, immediately, to the Senate, and were only altered by striking out the words, "the usual forms of Government "should be suspended," and inserting, instead, the words: "additional powers be given to the

"Governor and Council." This amendment was immediately concurred in, by the House; and then, without further legislation, it adjourned to meet during the following March, in the city of Williamsburg, or at such other place as the Governor and Council might appoint; thus providing for the contingency of the occupation of Williamsburg by the enemy.

Congress did invest General Washington with extensive powers, dictatorial in their nature, which he exercised so as to secure the safety of his country and to add greatly to his honor. Governor Henry also exercised the extraordinary powers vested in him, greatly to his honor and to the benefit of the American cause; and no word of censure was ever ventured against him or General Washington, so far as I know, either for obeying the call of their country, in assuming the powers vested, or for their manner of exercising them. The same may be said of Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, who was vested with dictatorial powers, by his State. Mr. Jefferson, himself, who succeeded Mr. Henry in office, had greater powers vested in him than were given to Mr. Henry—(*See* Statutes at large, *x.*, *309*); but was not so fortunate in giving satisfaction in their exercise.

We may safely conclude that, if several members of the Virginia House of Delegates proposed a Dictator, in December, 1776, "towards "the close of the Session," it was done on the twentieth or twenty-first, while the Resolutions, just referred to, were under discussion, in Committee of the Whole, and when the disastrous tidings from the North had thrown the Legislature into "a causeless, or, at least, exaggerated "alarm," according to Girardin, during which they immediately adjourned.

I think it sounds rather ridiculous to assert, that, in a discussion of less than two days, on a proposition to enlarge the powers of the Governor and Council, during a panic caused by the apprehension of immediate and overwhelming danger, between parties, one of which was only composed of "several members," so much heat was engendered as to cause the parties "to walk "on different sides of the street." A scheme too, to have an absolute Dictator, in Virginia, was incompatible with the scheme to give General Washington dictatorial powers, unless General Washington was to be *sole* Dictator. Mr. Wirt gives *tradition* as his authority for the remark of Colonel Archibald Carey, to Colonel Syme, which is said to have caused the abandonment of the scheme; and Girardin gives "concurring reports" as his authority for the same incident, and also for the remarkable heat engendered. Unrecorded reports, forty years old, are not staple for *history*, and are, surely, not sufficient to destroy the character of men otherwise proven to have been eminently patriotic.

Colonel Archibald Carey, who presided over the Senate, was one of Mr. Henry's political opponents, and one of the leaders of the Aristocratic party, in Virginia. He, probably, was active in the opposition to Mr. Henry, when he was elected Governor. If Colonel Carey ever uttered the remark imputed to him, it was, doubtless, on the occasion of the Resolution of the House of Delegates being sent to the Senate, containing the words, "the usual forms of Gov-"ernment should be suspended;" and I am very much inclined to think that some sneering remark of Colonel Carey, on that occasion, has given rise to the whole story about a proposed Dictator, at that time. The same tradition, however, which has given Colonel Carey's threat, has exonorated Mr. Henry from all implication in the scheme; for it goes on to say that Colonel Syme declared, "that if such a project existed, his "brother had no hand in it." Colonel Syme was Mr. Henry's half-brother, a member of the House of Delegates, and a warm political friend. If any such scheme existed, he could not have been ignorant of it; especially if it had been proposed in the House of Delegates, as stated by Mr. Jefferson; yet his reply indicates his utter ignorance of such a project.

That Mr. Henry was entirely innocent of any connection with, or encouragement of, a scheme for his own aggrandisement, so obnoxious to the Legislature as this is stated to have been, is conclusively shown by the fact, that, in the following May, he was *unanimously* re-elected Governor, and again on the next annual election was *unanimously* re-elected, thus serving as long as was permitted by the Constitution; and this, while the body was composed largely of the same members, and the same Colonel Archibald Carey was the President of the Senate. In fact, on neither occasion was any other name put in nomination. I may also add that, as soon as re-eligible, he was again elected, and served till he resigned.

The second occasion referred to by Mr. Pollard, was in June, 1781, while the Legislature was at Staunton, and during the invasion of Virginia, by Arnold and the raid of Tarleton.

On the fourth of June, the British troops, under Tarleton, entered Charlottesville, where the Legislature was sitting, and dispersed that body, which hastily adjourned to meet at Staunton, on the seventh. Mr. Jefferson, whose term, as Governor, had expired on the second, was at his seat, near by, and escaped to his farm, in Bedford-county. On Sunday, the tenth of June, the House met, on a report that Tarleton was approaching Staunton, and determined to meet at the Warm Springs, on the following Thursday,

in case of danger, at Staunton. The alarm proving false, however, they proceeded, the next day, to make nominations for the vacant office of Governor and to report them to the Senate, as required by law; and, on the twelfth, General Thomas Nelson was elected to that office.

Mr. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, has fixed June as the time; and Girardin, in a note, in the *Appendix* to his *History of Virginia*, has fixed Staunton as the place at which the scheme of a Dictatorship was revived. Wirt, in his *Life of Henry*, page 248, and Randall, in his *Life of Jefferson*, Volume I., Page 348, fix the time after the second panic commenced, which caused the Legislature to determine to meet at the Warm Springs, if necessary. All of these accounts, as I have said, are traceable to Mr. Jefferson. We have seen his unqualified endorsement of Girardin; and, as the Note referred to is, solely, upon the Administration of Mr. Jefferson and the circumstances attending its close, it is highly probable Mr. Jefferson dictated it—at any rate, he has adopted it as his own statement. Having fixed the time, let us now examine the different accounts given of the transaction and the circumstances leading to it.

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Mr. Jefferson declared that the proposition "wanted a few votes "only of being passed in the House of Dele-"gates." Then, it was voted on, in the shape of a Resolution to create *a Dictator*, or of a Resolution to create *some designated person Dictator*.

Girardin gives the following account: "At "this juncture, some of the members turned "their eyes towards a Dictator; and measures "for effecting the project were suddenly taken, "with the zeal inspired by a belief that its exe-"cution was necessary to save the country. An "individual, highly conspicuous for his talents "and usefulness through the anterior scenes of "the great revolutionary drama, was spoken of "as the proper person to fill the contemplated "office, to introduce which, it was necessary to "place Mr. Jefferson *hors de combat*. For this "purpose, the misfortunes of the period were "ascribed to him; he was impeached in some "loose way; and a day for some species of "hearing, at the succeeding Session of Assem-"bly, was appointed. However this was, no "evidence was ever offered to sustain the im-"peachment; no question was ever taken upon "it, disclosing, on the part of the Assembly, "any approbation of the measure; and the "hearing was appointed by general consent for "the purpose, as many members expressed them-"selves, to give Mr. Jefferson an opportunity of "demonstrating the absurdity of the censure. "But the impeachment, sour as was the temper "of the Legislature, failed to produce the two "ends it had in view, namely, to put down Mr. "Jefferson and to put up the project of a Dic-"tator. The pulse of the Assembly was inci-"dentally felt, in debates on the state of the "Commonwealth and, out of doors, by person-"al conversations. Out of these, a ferment "gradually arose, which foretold a violent op-"position to any species of Dictatorship; and, "as in a previous instance of a similar attempt, "the apprehension of personal danger produced "a relinquishment of the scheme. Whilst these "things were going on, at Staunton, Mr. Jeffer-"son was in Bedford," * * * "but, as "soon as the project for a Dictator was dropped, "his resignation of the Government appeared. "This produced a new scene. Many of the "members talked of re-electing him. Several "of his warmest friends strenuously opposed it, "upon the grounds that, as he had divested "himself of the Government to heal the divis-"ions of the Legislature, at that perilous season, "for the public good and to meet the accusa-"tion upon equal terms, for his own honour, his "motives were too strong to be relinquished, "and too fair to be withstood. Still, though "General Nelson, the most popular man in the "State, and without an enemy in the Legisla-"ture, was nominated, a considerable portion of "the Assembly voted for Mr. Jefferson. The "two considerations, just stated, alone prevented "his re-election."

If this account be true, *no vote was ever taken* on the proposition to appoint a Dictator, nor was that proposition *ever made* in the Legislature. A preliminary proposition was made, to wit: to impeach Mr. Jefferson; and the pulse of the Assembly was felt, in debates on the State of the Commonwealth; but no vote was taken, even on the preliminary proposition. Girardin states that the impeachment was merely a device to place Mr. Jefferson *hors de combat*, which the advocates of a dictatorship found was necessary to their scheme. The truth is, Mr. Jefferson had ceased to be Governor, on the second of June—(*See Girardin's* History of Virginia, *502*) —and was completely *hors de combat*, being separated from the Legislature, by a considerable distance, and having tendered his "resignation "of Government," as he called his making known his determination not to offer for re-election, while the Legislature was at Charlottesville, if he himself is to be believed—(*See his letter to General Washington, 28th May, 1781, and his* Memoir, *page 41, also Volume IV. of his* Correspondence, *page 41, Edition by his grandson, 1829.*) In the last reference, Mr. Jefferson says, expressly, that when his term was *near expiring*, he proposed to his friends in the Legislature to elect General Nelson. Indeed, Mr. Jefferson had no opportunity, after he parted

with the Legislature, on the fourth of June, to communicate with them, before the twelfth, as they went in different directions, each avoiding the British troops, which had gotten between them, at Charlottesville.

The motive given by Mr. Jefferson for declining a re-election and urging the election of General Nelson, in the passages just referred to, is very different from that given by Girardin. He pleads the invasion of the State and his own inexperience in military affairs, as his excuse for retiring, at so critical a period. Girardin, however, informs us he was nominated and defeated.

The untruthfulness of Girardin's account of what occurred at Staunton, in reference to this matter, is made manifest by the *Journal of the House of Delegates*, which shows that the Resolution to inquire into the official conduct of Mr. Jefferson was adopted, *after the election of General Nelson to the office of Governor*. It was impossible, then, for that Resolution to have been the first step in a plot, which was attempted and broke down *before* the election took place.

The accounts given in Mr. Jefferson's *Works*, and elsewhere, of the occurrences at Staunton can not be reconciled with Girardin's account. This writer evidently endeavored to explain away the disgrace of the defeat of Mr. Jefferson, on his re-nomination, and of the Resolution to inquire into his conduct, by casting opprobrium upon the Legislature and in charging a scheme for a dictatorship.

It is worthy of remark that Mr. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, did not connect Mr. Henry's name with either scheme; and that it was not until Mr. Henry had been dead for more than seventeen years, that any publication to that effect was ever made; and then the pen of another was used.

The palpable inconsistencies in the accounts, only a few of which I have noticed above, and the contradiction of many items by the *Journals of the House of Delegates* lead us to the conclusion that the whole story is unreliable. If any thing of the sort ever happened, it amounted to nothing more, in all probability, than the loose talk of some panic-stricken men, such as was heard in the last days of the late Southern Confederacy, about General Robert E. Lee. If, indeed, any one was designated, at Staunton, as the proposed Dictator, it was General Nelson, "the most popular man in the State," who possessed the military experience needed for the emergency, and was in the eye of the Assembly, as their next Governor, or had been in fact elected; and who was vested with extraordinary powers, during the Session. Mr. Henry had no military experience, and was ineligible to the office of Governor, by the Constitution, until 1783.

Whatever may have been the facts from which this story of two plots to make Mr. Henry a Dictator has arisen, we have the testimony of Mr. Jefferson himself, the only contemporary of Mr. Henry who has ever written an account of the matters, and from whom all the accounts seem to have originated, that Mr. Henry was not, in the slightest, implicated in either scheme. Of the first occasion, Mr. Wirt has expressly said that he had met with no one who ventured to affirm that Mr. Henry suggested or countenanced the project, and that Mr. Henry and his friends firmly and uniformly presisted in asserting his innocence—(*See page 223*); and, of the second, that inquiries were made of the surviving members of the Legislature of 1781, which resulted in a conviction of the Mr. Henry's entire innocence.—(*See page 248.*) Having made free use of Mr. Jefferson's communications, while preparing his *Life of Henry*, Mr. Wirt submitted to him the work, in manuscript, to be corrected in statements, style, etc. After correcting the statements, in some passages, Mr. Jefferson returned the manuscript, with high commendation, and advice to publish the work; thus admitting the truth of every statement not corrected.—(*See Kennedy's* Life of Wirt, *i., 407–417, for correspondence of Jefferson and Wirt.*) It has been reserved for Mr. Pollard to be the first man, so far as I know, to directly charge Mr. Henry with complicity in these "plots," and thus to attempt to fix a stigma upon him. The charge, unsustained, affixes a stigma on the person who makes it.

As the second evidence of Mr. Henry's inconsistency as a public man, Mr. Pollard, in the last place, charges that he opposed the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, as tending to consolidation, and, from the large powers given to the Executive, calculated to be the ruin of the country; and, in his last speech, before the people of Charlotte, pronounced the Alien and Sedition-laws good and proper, and opposed the doctrine of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799.

It would be more strictly true to say that Mr. Henry pronounced the Federal Constitution a consolidated Government. He claimed that evidence of the fact commenced with the first words: "We the people of the United States;" and he wrung from Mr. Madison, the admission that, in some respects, it *was* of a consolidated nature. Notwithstanding his earnest opposition, it was adopted; and the Confederation of the States was changed to a consolidated Government, as he believed. Mr. Henry, in his last speech in the Virginia Convention which adopted it, said he would live under it a peaceable

citizen. He redeemed his pledge, nobly; and, so far as he was called on to take part in public affairs, afterwards, he gave the new form of Government a fair trial.

The passage, by the General Assembly of Virginia, of the famous Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, gave him serious alarm, and determined him to yield to the earnest solicitation of General Washington and others, and, leaving his retirement, to offer for a seat in the succeeding Legislature. Those Resolutions were understood to announce the doctrine that a State had the right to construe Federal acts and, if deemed unconstitutional, to resist their execution. Mr. Madison drew them, adroitly; but they were acknowledged to be substantially the same with the Kentucky Resolutions, passed just before, which were penned by Mr. Jefferson and contained, distinctly, the doctrine of Nullification.

If the General Government was consolidated, acting directly on the people, certainly a State could not nullify its acts, without revolution; and so Mr. Henry thought, in 1788, when opposing the ratification of the Constitution; and so he thought, in 1799, when construing the instrument. Wherein did he change? The change was in his opponents who, having forced upon him the system of Government, after being warned of its powers, and confessing them, afterwards denied the very powers they had first admitted.

It is unfortunate for Mr. Pollard that, after commencing his attack upon Mr. Henry, by discrediting Mr. Wirt, his biographer, he, in conclusion, bases his most serious charges on those statements of Mr. Wirt which are, in fact, erroneous.

The report given to Mr. Wirt of Mr. Henry's last speech, was furnished by some correspondent who was not accurate, as has been abundantly proven by the testimony of those present. I have seen the statements of six of his hearers, who concur in saying, that Mr. Henry did not say the "Alien and Sedition laws were good and "proper;" and that he expressed no opinion as to them. They were men of the highest standing and intelligence in the County, and some of them intimate with him; and these last unite in saying that they knew that his opinion was that they *were not* good and proper laws. In August, 1867, Mr. Charles Campbell, who has written a history of Virginia, of high authority, published the certificates of several of these witnesses, in the *Petersburg Index*.

Mr. Henry's effort was to calm the excited minds of the people and to persuade them to use constitutional means to obtain redress of their grievances, and not to plunge, headlong, into civil war. Doctor Archibald Alexander, who was present, pronounced his speech, "a "noble effort, such as could have proceeded "from none but a patriotic heart."

The wisdom and patriotism of Patrick Henry never shone more conspicuously than on that occasion; and, if not universally acknowledged, at the time, they have been completely demonstrated to this generation.

I might give abundant testimony, left by his contemporaries, to the high and consistent character of Mr. Henry, showing that he exactly filled Quintilian's requisite. I will only give, however, that of two, taken from different portions of the Union. Says John Adams, in a letter to Mr. Wirt, dated the twenty-third of January, 1818—(*See Adams's* Life and Works, *x.*, 277): "From a personal acquaintance, per- "haps I might say a friendship, with Mr. Henry, "of more than forty years, and from all that I "have heard and read of him, I have always "considered him a gentleman of deep reflection, "keen sagacity, clear foresight, daring enter- "prise, inflexible intrepidity, and untainted in- "tegrity; with an ardent zeal for the liberties, "the honor, and felicity of his country and his "species."

George Mason, in his letter to Cockburn, heretofore quoted, adds: "But his eloquence is the "smallest part of his merit. He is, in my opin- "ion, the first man upon this Continent, as well "in abilities as public virtues; and had he lived "in Rome about the time of the first Punic "War, when the Roman people had arrived at "their meridian glory and their virtue not "tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put "him at the head of that glorious Common- "wealth."

I am yours, very respectfully,
WILLIAM WIRT HENRY.

V.—*THE WAR WITH THE SAC AND FOX INDIANS, UNDER BLACK HAWK, IN ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN, IN 1832.*

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MARCH 1, 1860.[*]

BY THE LATE LIEUTENANT COLONEL ELEUTUS BACKUS, U. S. A.

At the period to which this brief sketch refers, Michigan was a Territory of the United States, and, in addition to its present limits, embraced a portion, if not the whole, of the present State of Wisconsin. Illinois furnished a majority of

[*] This paper was sent to us, immediately after it was delivered, by its author; and we can furnish no more important material for an accurate history of the "Great "West."—EDITOR.

the Volunteers employed; while Indiana and Michigan each supplied its quota of active troops, in the field, and reserves, at home, ready at a moment's notice to meet any emergency that might occur. General Dodge commanded the Michigan Volunteers from the mining district, about Dodgeville and the Blue Mounds; and Colonel Irwin, at Green Bay, was called into service with two hundred men of his Regiment, to serve in the direction of Winnebago. General Williams, of Detroit, held his troops in readiness for the field, and only waited for an opportunity to employ them actively against the common enemy.

The Sac, or Saukie, and Fox Indians had occupied a portion of the State of Illinois; but were removed to the West bank of the Mississippi, in compliance with a Treaty made at Prairie-du-Chien, on the fifteenth of July, 1830. Ke-o-kuk, the principal Chief, was friendly to the whites, and made the Treaty referred to; but a turbulent spirit, called Black Hawk, was Chief of the "British Band," and refused to execute its conditions. In 1831, General Gaines, with six Companies of Regulars, and Governor Reynolds, with seven hundred Volunteers, compelled Black Hawk and his adherents to cross the Mississippi and evacuate the State of Illinois. No hostilities occurred, yet much ill-feeling was engendered; and Black Hawk only waited a favorable opportunity to sate his revenge.

In the month of August, 1831, the Sac and Fox Indians made an assault upon a band of Menominees, near Prairie-du-Chien, and inhumanly butchered twenty of their numbers. The Menominees, thirsting for revenge, entered into an agreement with the Sioux to make war, conjointly, upon the Sacs and Foxes. The Government of the United States humanely interfered, to prevent so great a catastrophe; and demanded, from the Sacs and Foxes, a surrender of the parties implicated in this butchery. The demand was not complied with; and, on the seventeenth of March, 1832, orders were issued, at Washington, directing General Henry Atkinson, commanding a Department of which St. Louis was the Headquarters, to proceed with troops to Rock-island, and demand the murderers; and, in the event of his failure to obtain them, to seize eight or ten of their men and hold them, as hostages, for the conduct of the tribe.

Black Hawk was the evil spirit of the Nation. He and his band had received annuities from the British Government, at Malden, in Canada, and held our Government and its people in supreme contempt. General Atkinson received his orders on the first of April, 1832; and, on the eighth, he embarked at St. Louis, on two steamers, with six Companies of the Sixth Infantry, and arrived at the Lower Rapids, on the tenth. Here, he learned that Black Hawk, with his band and a few Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, had crossed the Mississippi, at the Yellow Banks, five days previously, and was, then, *en route* to Rock-river, with five hundred well-appointed horsemen, besides men and boys to propel the canoes which contained their families and property. "This," says General Atkinson, "was the first intimation "I received of the disaffection of Black Hawk." The force under General Atkinson was but little more than two hundred footmen; and common prudence prevented him from pursuing so large a body, until he had means of coercing them to return to their own lands, on the West of the Mississippi. He sent an express to advise the frontier people of their danger, and also advised the Governor of Illinois of the invasion of his State; and suggested the propriety of his throwing a few Companies of Rangers upon the frontier, for its protection, until advice should be sent from Washington, signifying the wishes of the Government. Governor Reynolds, without further notice, ordered a large body of Militia into the field, and directed their march upon Rock-island. General Atkinson next drew from Fort Crawford, three Companies of the First Infantry, and desired the senior officer of Militia, at Galena, and General Dodge, of Michigan, to organize the Militia under their commands, and hold themselves in readiness for active service. He also ordered supplies from St. Louis.

On the seventh of May, Governor Reynolds arrived at a point four miles above the mouth of Rock-river, with a Brigade of seventeen hundred mounted Volunteers, commanded by General Whitesides. Like all bodies of Militia, they were impatient of delay and anxious to proceed rapidly; and General Atkinson consented, with much reluctance, that Governor Reynolds should precede him, with the State troops, to Dixon's-ferry; while General Atkinson would ascend Rock-river, in small boats, as rapidly as possible, carrying with him all the supplies for the Army in the field. On the thirteenth of May, Governor Reynolds arrived at Dixon's-ferry, where he met Stillman's Battalion of Rangers.

If any indiscretion had been committed, prior to this event, it was that of permitting Governor Reynolds to move in advance of the General and Regular troops. The Militia had been mustered into the service of the United States, and were subject to General Atkinson's orders, from that day. General Whitesides nominally commanded them; but Governor Reynolds was present, and advised and controlled their movements, with good and honest purposes, no doubt, but the result shows that a good politician may be a very indifferent soldier, and that he would have done far more service and less injury by remaining at his capital.

Major Stillman and his men were eager to meet the Indians; and applied to Governor Reynolds for authority to advance. General Atkinson says, "Governor Reynolds *ordered* Major Still- "man to proceed with his Battalion in pursuit "of the Indians." This indiscretion led to the most disastrous results, at a period when General Atkinson had no adequate means to meet the emergency. No act of war had yet been committed. The Indians had passed Dixon's-ferry, quietly, and had committed no overt act, except that of trespassing on the soil of Illinois, with arms in their hands. On the fourteenth of May, Major Stillman marched with his Battalion—two or three hundred men—to a muddy and boggy creek, about five miles below Sycamore-creek, and halted to encamp. He crossed the creek, to the East bank. At about sunset, five Indians, on horseback, showed themselve, near his camp, on a hillock, in the open prairie. A few of his men, without orders, saddled up and commenced a pursuit.

The Indians did not wish to fight.* They made signals of a peaceful nature.† The Volunteers were excited and warm for battle; and the Indians fled towards their main camp, on Sycamore-creek. The whites pursued, and, in a marshy piece of ground, killed two Indians. This was the *first blood-shed*, and the commencement of hostilities. The Volunteers pursued to Sycamore-creek, where they found Black Hawk and his warriors. A parley ensued; but the Indians quickly learned that two of their men were killed, and prepared for action. The sight of a formidable line of Indians checked the ardor of the Volunteers. They were in utter disorder, acting solely from individual impulse; and now commenced a headlong retreat, towards their own camp. As soon as the Indians could mount, they pursued them to Stillman's camp, throwing it into endless confusion. No sensible resistance was made, here, but every man mounted his horse, some without saddles or bridles, and sought safety in a precipitate flight. Many horses bogged down in the muddy stream, and were killed or captured. Eleven men and, perhaps, twenty horses were killed; and the wagons, ammunition, provisions, etc., were all abandoned, and fell into the hands of the enemy. But few Indians followed the whites, yet the road was filled with the flying troops; and they neither drew rein nor checked their speed, until compelled to do so, by exhaustion. Fifty-two men were missing, on the following day; but they all returned, eventually, but eleven, which the Indians reported as killed by them. The Indians lost none, after the first assault, in the marsh, near Sycamore-creek.

This occurred on the fourteenth of May, and General Atkinson did not reach Dixon's ferry, with his boats, baggage, and supplies, until the seventeenth. The impropriety of detaching an undisciplined and irresponsible command was now apparent to everybody. General Atkinson had consented to the movement of Governor Reynolds, with much reluctance and timidity, but he never dreamed that Governor Reynolds would delegate his powers to any command less than his entire force. Major Stillman's force was insufficient to the purpose before him; and the assault on the Indians was made by a fraction only of that force. This precipitate movement drove General Atkinson into measures for which he was unprepared. On the nineteenth, he marched, with Whitesides's Brigade, for Sycamore-creek; and Colonel Zachary Taylor followed up the river, with the boats, subsistence, and regular troops. The river was swollen by heavy rains, and the incessant labor of the troops, in hauling and propelling the boats, was severe; but it was borne without a murmur. News now reached the General of murders committed on the Dupage, Fox-river, and elsewhere; and Colonel Johnston, Stillman's successor, was ordered to Ottawa, to cover the settlements, in that direction. Finding the enemy had left Sycamore-creek, and gone in the direction of the Big Woods, on Fox-river, the Regulars were ordered back to Dixon's-ferry, as a depot; and General Whitesides, accompanied by Colonel Taylor and Captain Harney of the Army, pursued the Indian trail, towards the Big Woods. Finding the trails small and scattering, he changed his course, towards Ottawa, and his men, claiming their discharges, were mustered out of service, by Governor Reynolds, before a single blow had been struck, and while the whole frontier was covered with parties of hostile Indians, carrying the faggot and the scalping-knife into every settlement and to every fireside. Thus ended the first Campaign; and it was now necessary to call for fresh troops and supplies, for a second effort, to meet a formidable and successful enemy, and, if possible, to expel him from the country.

In April, 1832, General Brady commanded the Department on the Upper Lakes, and was ordered to proceed from Detroit, as soon as the navigation of the lakes should open, to Green Bay or Fort Winnebago, and to co-operate with General Atkinson in reducing the Sacs and Foxes to obedience. Without waiting for the melting of the ice, he started, about the twentieth of April, on horseback, to cross the country, *via* Chicago to Fort Winnebago. His only companion was his Aid-de-camp, Lieutenant

* Black Hawk says they showed a white flag.

† They held their guns horizontally above their heads, and knocked out the priming.

Backus; * and the comforts and accommodations upon the route were meagre and uncertain. In twelve days, he reached Chicago, where he obtained a pack-horse and guide, and proceeded on to Winnebago. Our forage and provisions were carried on a single pack-horse. The weather was cold; and, on the night we slept on Fox-river, ice was frozen half an inch in thickness. We made a fire, but had no covering except our saddle-blankets. We passed by Lake Kosh-ko-nong and the Four Lakes; and reached Winnebago on the seventeenth day from Detroit. The Winnebagos were now quite restless; but professed to be friendly.

General Brady soon learned that the Sacs and Foxes had crossed the Mississippi; but hostilities were not yet deemed certain. About the seventeenth of May, the Winnebagos came in and said a fight had taken place near Sycamore-creek, and the whites were whipped and had fled. They added that eleven white men had been killed; and that they had a strong smell of whisky. General Brady immediately ordered troops and provisions from Green Bay to Winnebago; and opened a correspondence with General Atkinson, and, at his suggestion, proceeded to join him with two Companies of the Fifth Infantry. General Brady descended the Wisconsin and Mississippi-rivers, in Mackinac boats, to Galena. Here he obtained a few ox-teams, and arrived at Dixon's-ferry on the ninth of June. Several smart actions had occurred near Galena, with Volunteers, in one of which Captain Stevenson was badly wounded, after severely chastising the enemy. The families about the country had abandoned their homes, and, in several places, had built stockades, where they were safe from sudden outbreaks. At Dixon's-ferry, General Brady was joined by General Dodge, and both proceeded to Ottawa, to meet General Atkinson, who was waiting the approach of a new levy of Volunteers. He had retained only a small Battalion, under an energetic officer, Major Fry, in whom he justly placed much confidence. General Atkinson found Governor Reynolds at Ottawa, who agreed to supply him with a large force of Volunteers, by the twelfth or fifteenth of June.

It was now the twenty-ninth of May, 1832. On the twelfth of June, the new troops began to arrive. On the fifteenth, Posey's Brigade was organized; and, on the sixteenth, Alexander's—each Brigade consisting of about one thousand men. Henry's Brigade, of twelve hundred and fifty men, was completed on the twentieth. On the nineteenth, Posey's Brigade and two Companies of the Sixth Infantry, under Colonel Baker, were ordered to Dixon's-ferry, to report to General Brady, who had been assigned to the command of a Division. Posey's Brigade was assigned to cover Galena and the mineral district, and was, soon after, sent in that direction, by General Brady. Major Dement, who commanded the Spy Battalion, was in advance; and, near Kellogg's Grove, thirty-five from Dixon's, he fell in with one hundred and twenty of the enemy, and was driven back to the fortified buildings, with the loss of a few men. His horses were in the lane, in front of Kellogg's house, and in the enclosures adjoining, where the Indians surrounded them and shot down about sixty. The troops were in the fortified buildings, and kept up a rapid fire on the Indians, for several hours. Neither party suffered any great loss; and the enemy at length fell back. One of Dement's men escaped from the fort, wounded, with dispatches for General Posey, and soon met him on the road. His march was quickened, and, on his arrival, he found the enemy still near the fort; but the fatigue of his men and horses and the approach of night induced him to defer a pursuit, until the next day, when it was ascertained that the Indians had retired in the direction of Lake Kosh-ko-nong.

On the twenty-fifth of June, Henry's and Alexander's Brigades had arrived at Dixon's, with the Headquarters; and Alexander was sent towards Plum-creek, to intercept a large trail going in that direction. On the twenty-eighth of June, Henry's Brigade (nine hundred) and the Regulars, under Colonel Zachary Taylor, took up the line of march for Lake Kosh-ko-nong. We had also two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Wheelwright. This second Division was commanded by General Brady, and was accompanied by General Atkinson and his Staff, of which Lieutenant A. S. Johnston, now General Johnston, was the chief. Strong detachments were left to guard the depots, at Dixon's and at Ottawa. On the following day, we crossed the creek, where Stillman's disaster occurred, on the fourteenth of May—now known as Stillman's Run. Dead horses, burnt wagons, saddle-bags, and remnants of clothing were scattered over the ground,

* "Lieutenant Backus," thus modestly referred to, was General Brady's son-in-law, and the author of this narrative.

It was our privilege to enjoy his intimate friendship, in his latter days; and we remember him as an officer of distinguished merit and a gentleman without reproach.

Lieutenant-colonel Backus, some months before his death, entrusted his papers to us, "to protect his character as a soldier;" and the pages of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for 1866 and 1867 will bear testimony that, to some extent, at least, we have executed our trust. His unpublished diaries, written on the field, in the valley of the Rio Grande and in that of Mexico, are among the choicest treasures of our collections.—EDITOR.

and proved that the descriptions of eye-witnesses were only too true. On the third of July, we arrived at Kosh-ko-nong-lake, and found that the Indians had dispersed and scattered, in small parties, probably to re-unite, at some more favorable position. General Alexander joined us with his Brigade, on the evening of the fourth. General Posey, with a part of his Brigade, and General Dodge, with a Battalion of Michigan and Galena Volunteers, arrived on the opposite bank of Lake Kosh-ko-nong, on the fifth. Alexander was now ordered to cross Rock-river, join Dodge, and ascend the West bank; while General Brady, with the Regulars and Henry's and Posey's Brigades, should ascend the East bank. On the night of the sixth of July, we encamped on the White Water. Dodge and Alexander were recalled, by express, with the view of assaulting the enemy, on the seventh, who was reported close in our front, in force. Their spies were seen on the opposite bank of the White Water; but their main force was not present, and our Winnebago guides had intentionally deceived us. Our roads, to-day, were excessively bad —half the time was spent in hunting for fords or in building bridges. A Council of War was called. Two Brigades of Volunteers had exhausted, or thrown away, their provisions; and we were suddenly brought to a stand still. General Brady now advised General Atkinson that he had ordered large supplies of subsistence-stores to Winnebago, which was only sixty or seventy miles North of us. Henry, Alexander and Dodge were ordered to Winnebago, for a supply of twelve days; and Posey was ordered to Hamilton's, Dodgeville, and Kellogg's, to protect that frontier and to intercept the enemy, in the event of his flight, in that direction. Henry was also directed to watch for any trails going towards the Wisconsin; and, if he found any, to pursue them, and send information, by express, to General Atkinson, at Kosh ko-nong, where he was waiting, with the Regulars, for the return of the Volunteers. General Atkinson says, in his dispatches: "It is but fair to remark, "here, that but for the waste of provisions by "the Volunteers, and unavoidable losses in "swimming rivers, and the miring down of "horses in creeks and swamps, the supply "would have been ample until the train of "wagons arrived." The Regulars, who marched with the same supply (twenty days',) were never in want until the full period had expired. This was entirely due to the care they took of their rations, and to their experience. During the absence of the Volunteers, the troops erected a stockade, for the protection of the sick and of the supplies. General Brady was here seized with the dysentery, which terminated his services for the Campaign.

On the sixteenth of July, a train of thirty six wagons, loaded with subsistence-stores, arrived from the Blue Mounds. On the seventeenth, Alexander's Brigade returned from Winnebago. Henry and Dodge had gone direct to Rock river Rapids, to find the enemy; and, on the nineteenth, General Atkinson marched again, up the White Water, with the Regulars and Alexander's Brigade, to co-operate with them. The Indians were in the triangle between the Rock-river and White Water, in a marshy, timbered country, difficult of access, and little known by the white people. Here, they found some game, roots, and vegetable substances, on which they had subsisted, or existed. But our delays, our marchings, and our countermarchings had misled and deceived them, and had prevented them from separating, to hunt or fish; hence, their supplies were exhausted, and they were actually in a state of starvation. Our masterly inactivity, occassioned by treacherous advice and want of stores, had already conquered them. But we were not yet aware of this fact. The last five beeves in our camp were stolen in the night, by our allies, the Winnebagos, and driven directly to the Sac camp, in the muddy triangle above us. At length, exhausted and confused, they determined to fly towards the Wisconsin; and, seeing Alexander's Brigade return to Kosh ko-nong, they passed out, immediately behind him, not knowing that Dodge and Henry were yet in the rear. Dodge and Henry struck the fresh trail; sent an express to General Atkinson; and then followed the Indians, at their greatest speed.

Evidences of their poverty and suffering were seen, upon every mile of the trail. The bones of horses, which had been killed, to prevent starvation of the women and children, were hourly passed; and, eventually, a few stragglers in the rear were discovered; and, as they approached the Wisconsin river, they were met by a formidable body of Indians, and a sharp action ensued. The women and children were crossing the river; and the Indians only maintained the struggle long enough to effect this purpose. Several were killed, on both sides; but the Indians suffered most, and availed themselves of the darkness of night, to escape and follow their families. This occurred on the twenty-first of July, 1832.

On the night of the nineteenth, the express from General Henry reached Kosh-ko-nong, in the midst of a terrible storm. General Atkinson had marched, early that morning, up the White Water; and it was necessary that this express should reach him, as early as possible. Yet it was so dark and stormy that no man could ride and keep the trail; and General Brady directed that the express-man should wait until daylight, and then press through, as rapidly as his horse

could carry him. At nine in the morning, he reached General Atkinson's camp, which was nearly deluged with the previous night's rain; and, instead of marching up the White Water, he, at once, retraced his steps, and, on the same night, encamped with us, at Kosh-ko-nong. On the twenty-first of July, General Atkinson marched for the Blue Mounds, and arrived there on the twenty-fourth. General Henry was there for supplies; and General Dodge had gone to Dodgeville to recruit his Battalion. The next day, General Atkinson marched, with the Regulars, Henry's Brigade and Alexander's, for the Wisconsin, near Helena, sixteen miles distant.

Rafts were constructed for crossing the river; but they were of small capacity, and difficult to manage. The General determined to take with him only the most efficient troops, and, therefore, sent all the worn-out horses, etc., of the Volunteers, to Fort Hamilton, and the sick were left at Helena. The force was now reduced to four hundred Regulars and nine hundred Volunteers. The Volunteers were commanded by Henry, Alexander, and Dodge. The crossing was slow and difficult, and occupied the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth. Having proceeded four miles, on the twenty-ninth, the troops struck the trail of the Indians, and pursued it, with zeal and industry, through an exceedingly difficult country, until the second of August, when the Indians were overtaken, on the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Bad-Axe, and were entirely subdued. The families were in the act of crossing the river—some in canoes, some on small rafts, and some were clinging to the tails of their ponies, who were swimming towards the western bank, and towing their burdens after them. Many Indians were killed in the willows, near the bank, and very many, including women and children, were killed in the water, endeavoring to escape. The number was estimated at one hundred and fifty. Black Hawk and his family had already fled into the Winnebago country; and were not in the action. They were subsequently captured and delivered to General Atkinson, by the Winnebagos, who deserted their allies as rats flee from a sinking ship. The troops descended the Mississippi, to Prairie-du-Chien. The Volunteers were discharged, and the Regulars descended to Rock Island, where they met General Scott, who had come out with a large force of Regulars, to supersede General Atkinson and conduct the war. His movements will be noticed hereafter.

Many small affairs occurred between the Indians and Volunteers, not mentioned above, yet some of them were brilliant and successful, while others were marked by stupidity, gross carelessness, and neglect. The one which attracted the most attention, and evinced the greatest tact and decision, was conducted by General Dodge and his Volunteers from Michigan. I have no official account of it, but received the details from eye-witnesses, a few days subsequent to the event. It occurred about the first of July, on the Pickatolica (or Pic-a-ton-i-ca), perhaps twenty miles West from the Four Lakes. General Dodge is said to have had twenty-eight men, and to have met seventeen Indians, sixteen of whom were killed. General Dodge lost but one or two men, and had some three or four wounded. The party was literally wiped out, as only one boy escaped, by lying still in the grass and avoiding observation. It was considered the most brilliant affair of the war, and was entirely in keeping with the General's former character. Many other small actions occurred which were creditable to the parties employed; but I have no data by which they can be designated, and shall, therefore, omit them. Captain Snyder was actively employed, near Galena, and had several skirmishes with the enemy.

At the moment that General Atkinson marched for the Wisconsin, General Brady was at Kosh-ko-nong, slowly recovering from a dangerous illness. As soon as he was able to move, on the twenty-fourth of July, he started for Chicago, on horseback, and reached there in three days. At this point, he met General Scott, with several Regiments from the seaboard, all of which had suffered with the cholera, to a frightful extent. The disease was already abating; and the General was preparing for a vigorous Campaign. His latest news from General Atkinson left him at Helena, ready to pursue the enemy's trail towards the Mississippi. Captain Low, of the Fifth Infantry, was left with his Company in charge of the depot, at Kosh-ko-nong, and remained there, until hostilities had ceased. General Brady returned slowly to Detroit, riding a part of the way in a common road-wagon, on a bed of hay, entirely unable to sit upon his horse. It was many weeks before he recovered his usual health.

Various rumors had been in circulation as to the intentions and movements of the Indians; and it was feared that, if closely pursued and hard pressed, they would endeavor to reach Canada, passing through the State of Michigan. The interior settlements were sparse and unprepared for defence; and it was apprehended that they might suffer equally with those West and South of Chicago. These Indians had often received presents in Canada (at Malden,) and would naturally seek their friends, if punished by their enemies. The public mind was much excited; and the people of Michigan were ready and willing to act against the common enemy, as soon as the means of doing so could be pointed out.

For this purpose, Major-general John R. Williams proceeded to Chicago to obtain timely information, which would enable him to determine the number and character of troops required from this State, as well as the point where their services might be needed. He was accompanied by his Aids, Major Charles Whipple and Major John M. Wilson; and was escorted by a Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Charles Jackson. Garry Spencer was the First Lieutenant of the Troop, John Farrar was its Second Lieutenant, and James Hanmer was its Third Lieutenant. This command remained, some weeks, at Chicago, awaiting the development of the war, and made an excursion thence to the Naper settlement, which was threatened by the savages. If finally returned to Detroit, after the defeat of Black Hawk. Another Company of foot troops, under Captain Marsac, was ordered to the seat of war, and marched as far as Saline,* where orders for their return were received from Governor Mason. This was a sad disappointment to them, as their hopes of meeting the enemy were strong; and they felt confidence in their ability to cope with Indians, at any time, under equal circumstances. This Company was composed entirely of our native French population. The men were all good woodsmen and hunters, and perfectly familiar with Indian tricks and Indian warfare. A better class of men, for this purpose, does not exist; and, in the event of their ever meeting a savage foe, they will prove that the present stock has in no degree degenerated. Another body of Volunteers, under General Brown, marched from Lenawee-county, as far as Niles, or Laporte, but were also recalled, without an opportunity of meeting the enemy.

Detroit had suffered much from the ravages of the cholera. Its introduction was charged to the troops on board of several steamers, *en route* to the seat of war. It doubtless would have prevailed here, perhaps a few weeks later, if the troops had not passed within a hundred miles of this city. It prevailed to such an extent, on board of one of the transports, that the commanding officer, Major Twiggs, landed the troops near Fort Gratiot, on the St. Clair, and abandoned the intention of joining General Scott, at Chicago. Many of the soldiers died, and others dispersed in an absolute panic. But a small portion of them ever returned to the service. Each transport lost a portion by the epidemic; and the army, at Chicago, was virtually paralyzed, for many days, after it had assembled at that place. No man exhibited a greater degree of moral courage than General Scott, at this trying period. He was daily with the troops, in the hospital and in the camp; in short, he was at every point where his noble presence could give moral strength and comfort to the sick and to the dying.

The garrison, at Fort Gratiot, under Major Alexander Thompson, was ordered to Chicago, after the epidemic had become general. No transport could be obtained, and he determined to take the route by land. On his arrival at Detroit, so great was the panic, that he experienced some difficulty in landing, the authorities apparently presuming that soldiers and the cholera were inseparable. He, at length, landed and marched, first to Chicago and then to Rock Island. Here, again, the epidemic became virulent; and hundreds of brave and worthy men found an untimely grave on the banks of the Mississippi.

The captives —Sacs and Foxes— were taken to Rock-island, and were catechised, most elaborately, by General Scott and his assistants. It appeared, as we had conjectured, that the Winnebagos, our professed allies, were operating on both sides, and in both camps. Those in our camp stole our beef cattle and drove them to the enemy. They went out in a fog, and shot one of our men who was fishing in the White Water; and, before the wounds of the soldier were dressed, they were again in camp, eating Uncle Sam's beef with an air of innocence which would have deceived the arch-fiend himself. In the Treaty, which followed, their tricks and treachery were not forgotten; and they were forced to part with lands on which they had lived, from time immemorial, and to which they were ardently attached. General Scott did not reach the enemy's country until the last gun had been fired; but he conducted and closed the subsequent negotiations with quite as much ability as the war had been conducted by General Atkinson. No jealousy existed between these great and generous men. They were warm friends, and had served together, on former Campaigns, in a common cause, when great interests were at stake.

While General Atkinson was stopping at the Rapids of the Illinois, below Ottawa, awaiting the arrival of the new levy of Volunteers, a message was delivered to him to this effect, viz.: "That General Jackson, then President of the "United States, had stated that he had furnished adequate means for prosecuting the "War against the Sacs and Foxes, and had "placed General Atkinson in command; and "that if he (General Atkinson) did not terminate the war, in thirty days, he would dismiss him from the Army." The statement was said to have been made to one or more of the Representatives in Congress, from the State

* Other Companies were at Saline, but I am not advised of their designations.

of Illinois. When the news of Stillman's disaster and consequent delays reached Washington, it appears that still greater doubts existed of the competency of General Atkinson to conduct this War; and General Scott was ordered to supersede him. General Scott proceeded, promptly, to discharge the duty assigned him; but an intervention of Providence, the cholera, delayed his movements until General Atkinson had subdued the enemy and placed the frontier settlements of Illinois and Michigan beyond the reach of danger.

I will venture to say that no Indian War, of the same magnitude and importance, was ever brought to a close, in so brief a space of time. The first gun was fired, at Stillman's-run, on the evening of the fourteenth of May; and the last and farewell shot echoed from the banks of the Mississippi, on the morning of the second of August. It embraced a period of precisely seventy-nine days. The Florida War covered a space of twenty-three years, and employed, successively, seven or eight of our most distinguished Generals. The Wars in Texas and New Mexico have existed, with slight interruptions, for ten years; and they bid fair to continue ten years longer.

General Atkinson had probably never before exercised a command of such magnitude and importance. General Scott, with his world-wide fame, could well afford to be generous without endangering his well-earned laurels. He had determined to afford General Atkinson every proper opportunity to execute his plans and end the War, when, to his great gratification, he received the joyful intelligence that *he had met and conquered the enemy.* The prejudices which had existed against him, causing him to be superseded, had fallen still-born to the ground; and his reputation, as an honest, able, and indefatigable public officer, was placed upon a basis where envy, suspicion, and jealousy could never reach it. He has gone to his last, his final place of rest; but his generous and noble qualities are yet fresh in the memories of those who knew him best, and will live forever in the history of our great and ever-growing West.

—Mr. C. B. Darwin, of San Francisco, has been investigating a shell-mound near Steiner-street, North of Greenwich, in that city. The mound is not composed wholly of shells, but is an ordinary sand-heap, with a layer of shells, from two to four feet in thickness, on the surface. Digging into the side of the hill, he unearthed, in the sand, under the shells, a complete skeleton, apparently in a kneeling position. The skeleton is to be presented to the California Academy of Science.

VI.—*LETTER FROM MATTHEW LYON, LATE REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VERMONT, TO CITIZEN JOHN ADAMS.*

RE-PRINTED FROM A CONTEMPORARY COPY.*

CITY OF WASHINGTON,
59 minutes before one, A.M.
March 4th, 1801.

FELLOW CITIZEN:

FOUR years ago, this day, you became President of the United States, and I a Representative of the people in Congress; this day has brought us once more on a level; the acquaintance we have had together entitles me to the liberty I take, when you are going to depart for Quincy, by and with the consent and advice of the good people of the United States, to bid you a hearty farewell. This appears to me more proper, as I am going to retire, of my own accord, to the extreme western parts of the United States, where I had fixed myself an asylum from the persecutions of a party, the most base, cruel, assuming, and faithless, that ever disgraced the councils of any nation: That party are now happily humbled in "dust and ashes, before the indignant frowns "of an injured country," but their deeds never can be forgotten.

In this valedictory, I propose, without further ceremony, to bring to your view, a retrospect of some part, at least, of your public conduct during the last four years. In doing this, I shall not trouble you or myself with the fair promises in your inauguration speech, nor those three volumes, in which is displayed your love of royalty and Great Britain. Your early endeavours to involve this country in an endless war, and draw forth her resources on the side of monarchy, against republicanism, forms a trait in your history which much more deserves my notice. Your first speech to the 5th Congress, containing groundless insinuations, that Charles C. Pinckney was authorized to discuss and investigate the demands of the French nation for redress, of what they called grievances, presaged with your retirement—and when looking over that speech I beg you to reflect on the base manner in which you abused Mr. Monroe, and the French government, because he had, according to his instructions, cultivated a good understanding with that government; and on your childish nonsense about dividing the people from the government. I hope Sir, you are not past blushing at what a school boy would be ashamed of. The people of this country can never be divided from the government; you have brought yourself into

* We are indebted to William H. Winder, of the City of New York, for the copy of this tract which we have used in re-producing this notable letter.—EDITOR.

hatred and contempt with them, but they never could be induced to view you and your executive officers, as the government—No! The government they love and respect, and have accordingly put it into better hands. You will now have leisure, Sir, to look over your second speech to the same congress, when I hope you will recollect how you swelled and strutted when you were abusing the nation you were hypocritically pretending to make up differences with.

Look at the list of laws which you sanctioned that session, giving new and unconstitutional powers to yourself. You will have time to review all the fulsome addresses to you from a misguided multitude; I will not pretend to describe the sensations they will produce, when you reflect how they buoyed up your pride, flattered your vanity, and persuaded you the day was approaching and nigh at hand, when an hereditary crown would be offered you. Read over your answers, Sir, which invoked more and more addresses, until the whole store of the folly and sycophancy of our country became exhausted: Pitiful indeed must be your feeling in passing home through the now democratic state, New Jersey, which formerly so copiously furnished you with piping hot addresses every morning for breakfast; the servility of a few of their abandoned citizens studied your palate and changed the cookery of the dish oftener than your kitchen servants. Should you stop at Philadelphia how melancholy must it seem to you, M'Pherson's band of cockade boys are dispersed or grown up into democrats, no federal mobs there now to sing Hail Columbia and huzzar for John Adams, and terrify your opposers, Hopkinson's lyre is out of tune, Cobbet and Liston are gone, the Quakers are for the living president, and your old friend Joe Thomas I am told can scarcely find duds to cover his nakedness; I am surprised you did not make him a judge.

I beg pardon for the disgression, but let me advise you to take water at the Federal City and land at the nearest port of Quincy the condolence of your old confederates, all along from this to Quincy, and the silent contempt of the multitude, will be too hard for you to bear, so soon after your fall, and may deprive you of the little reason you have left.

But to return to the review of your administration as respects your endeavours to plunge the nation into all the horrors of war, after you found that the X. Y. and Z, fabrications did not blind the people sufficiently to their own interest, and after you found France would not be provoked by you to a declaration of war; that they had prudently overlooked all your bullying rhapsodies, and offered to meet you in the work of reconciliation, on the terms yourself had proposed you insulted the patience and good sense of the American people, by withholding the public communication, nearly throughout a whole session of Congress, and then after some of your tergiversations, put the business of negociation in such a train, as has kept this country more than two years longer in a state of half war which has destroyed some of the most valuable branches of her commerce, and left the stable and essential article of tobacco in the hands of the planter, or obliged him to sell it at one third of its real value to British speculators who have five folded the price to the French.

You came to the administration Sir, under the most favorable auspicies at the time when if there were parties in this country, they were by no means hostile to each other, when the encreasing revenue was sinking the public debt, when the federal judiciary held a share of popularity in this country, and were regarded with respect; when the contributions toward the public expence sat tolerably easy on the people, when this country was considered as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and there was a great influx of foreign riches, industry and ingenuity; when this country was happy in the freedom of speech and of the press; when the constitution was considered a barrier against legislative, executive, and judicial encroachments, and before the people were divided into casts of gentlemen and simple men; before offices, places, and contracts, were considered as the exclusive right of the favorite cast. Reflect a little Sir, and see this awful change made in four short years—I will give you a slight view of it. You commenced your career Sir, by profession, which promised to unite all honest men to you, but they were mere professions; your mad zeal for monarchy and Britain, your love of pomp, your unhappy selection of favorites, your regardlessness of the public treasure, the hard earnings of your fellow citizens, has divided the people into parties and fostered among them, envy, malice, and the rancorous hatred towards each other; father has been set against son, and son against father—brother against brother—neighbors and friends have lost ther former relish for the social enjoyments.

Under your administration, Sir, a system of appointments has been established, by which implicit faith in your infallibility, and a nack of discoloring the truth, became the only qualification to office, or to entitle a person to a contract.

Under your administration Sir, useless and expensive 'embassies have prevailed to an alarming degree—Offices and officers almost without number, have been created and appointed, all out of the favored cast: while merit and abilities has been disregarded: Capable, discerning and popular men have, by you and minions,

been discharged from the service of their country, without being vouchsafed a reason for their degradation. Your administration Sir, has been famous for contracts; there is not a doubt, but in future, the secret records of your navy office will be studied by your friend Wm. Pitt, and those he wishes to give favorite contracts to; there the oldest and the wickedest British speculators may learn new modes of managing advantageously, about contracts.

The judiciary, Sir, under your untoward administration, have made alarming encroachments on the rights of man; they have adopted the British maxim of non expatriation, in the face of every principle heretofore held dear in this country, and in contradiction to many of the state constitutions. They have been endeavoring to introduce the crude, cruel, undigested, inapt, and obsolete system of the common law into our national jurisprudence; and they have, in defiance of the express prohibition in the constitution, made pass for treason, a crime, defined in laws by another name, and there decreed to be punished by fine and imprisonment. Your conscience recoiled at this; it seems you were not prepared for every thing. Your old friend Hamilton, abuses you for the only good thing you ever did in your life: he ought to have excused you, and recollected how your imagination had been tortured by the ghost of Jonathan Robbins. Your confederate in that case judge Bee, it seems you have provided well for in this world, but there is another world, to which you have sent poor Jonathan, where you must both meet him; may you by sincere repentence, be prepared for that awful meeting.

Under your administration, Sir, and with your consent, your fellow citizens have had a heavy addition to the tax on salt: their houses and lands have been subjected to an unprecedented tax; a tax on licenses for selling the liquor but just before taxed; as well as an odious tax on paper, parchment and vellum has been instituted, and the taxes on some other articles of consumption have been raised. These heavy and additional contributions have not sufficed you to have the command and disposition of: No—many millions have been borrowed at an enormous interest, to satiate the appetites of the greedy courtiers, for which the future earnings of your fellow citizens stand pledged.

An alien law, Sir, bears your signature, which unconstitutionally subjected to your sovereign will, the liberty and banishment of every alien, whatever might be his connexions in, and attachment to this country, and the terms of citizenship have been rendered almost inaccessible, by which the best disposed, and the most able and useful emigrants, have been deterred from coming to this country; and many have been obliged to fly from your vindictive wrath.

Perhaps in no one instant has our constitution —our sacred bill of rights, been more shamefully, more bare-facedly trampled on, than in the case of the passage of the bill called the sedition law. This, sir, was your darling hobby horse: By this law, you expected to have all your follies, your absurdities, and your atrocities buried in oblivion. You thought by its terrors, to shut the mouths of all but sycophants and flatterers, and to secure yourself in the presidency at least; but, how happily have you been disappointed—the truth has issued from many a patriot pen and press—and you have fallen, never—never to rise again.

It has availed you little Sir to have me fined 1000 dollars and imprisoned four months for declaring truth long before the sedition law was past, to have Holt and Haswell fined 200 dollars and imprisoned two months each, the one for calling the late disbanded army a standing army and the other for publishing the sentiments of your secretary of war, in his letter to general Darke, to have Cooper fined 400 dollars and imprisoned six months because he resented your publishing his confidential application to you for an office he was truly worthy of. You complained of the breach of confidence in the case of Tench Coxe, but you had forgot your perfidy to Cooper.—Those attempts to stifle an investigation of your conduct only accelerated your fall. When you have read thus far you cannot but recollect the benevolent Mr. Ogden, and your rudeness to him, that man who had formerly been your panegyrist and who possessed as great a share of the milk of human kindness as ever filled the breast of man, took a journey of 400 miles through the northern regions, to carry the petitions of the Vermonters for their Representative, and to try his powers of persuasion on Mr. Adams. Mercy for his favourite friend was to be his theme, I told Mr. Ogden that you were vindictive and revengeful and that he would be disappointed, his good nature would not suffer him to believe me, he tried the experiment, he failed, but how cruel was it of you Sir, to add insult to unkindness, after your refusing to comply with his request, he said you could not let him go without morosely telling him that you supposed it was in his behalf you had been solicited for an office in the Customs in Connecticut, and that his interference in behalf of Col. Lyon had put it out of your power to do him any favour, cruel indeed, it was enough to disappoint his expectations of flying to his imprisoned friend with the joyful news of his enlargement, it was too much to tell him his own hopes were all blasted, it broke his heart Sir, he had not hoped so much on his own ac-

count as on account of the aged unprovided widow of General Wooster who would have shared with him the emoluments. That office I understand was among the sacrifices your old friend the General made at the commencement of the revolutionary war, but Sir, the good Mr. Ogden wants no place now from you or any other earthly potentate, he has got a place in Abraham's bosom, and he no doubt looks down from heaven on you with ineffable pity and tender compassion.

It is a long time, Sir, since I have intended myself the honor of at this time writing you a valedictory, I have however put it off from time to time as we are apt to do about things that concern others more than they do ourselves, inevitable business has caused me to neglect this duty until the last moment when I have been obliged to hurry the thing over much against my inclination, you will be kind enough to pardon the many essential omissions I have necessarily been guilty of, there is no doubt but by the time you read thus far your conscience, seated as it is, will be ready to supply many of the defects of my memory.

I must finish my letter, Sir, where you finish your administration, that is with your late nominations, I have been told Sir, that you have given one Secretaryship and four Judgeships for laying the ghost of Jonathan Robbins, besides Judge Bee's appointment, or in other words you gave as a premium to the man who made the most learned and preplexing speech in your favour the Secretaryship, it is a maxim with the lawyers and popish priests I believe, that the greater the villainy to be exculpated from, the greater the fee, the Secretaryship became precarious, the service rendered was great indeed, and not to be forgotten, the Judiciary was the only permanent fund to be applied to, and so long as there was a brother or a sister to make claim, they it seems have been ordered to draw upon it until all were satisfied, the same fund has served you an excellent purpose for legacies to your poor and distant relatives, as well as for rewarding the tories who have been the firmest friends to your administration, through the whole of your late nominations you have proceded Sir, as if you took counsel from the infernal regions, (some men who are not thought very highly of neither) have spurned your nominations avowedly to avoid the disgrace they confer.

I am told Sir, that when you was Vice President you boasted that for the casting vote upon Mr. Madison's propositions you would not take ten thousand pounds, by you administration you have rendered that vote fatal to your country and made it cost them millions. You seem now more than ever bent on Mischief, your vindictive spirit prompts you to do every thing in your power to give the succeeding administration trouble, but you are as unfortunate in this, as in most of your calculations, your creatures are generally pliant reeds, they will bend to and fawn upon any body that is in power; it was power they worshipped in you, not John Adams.

Come pray Sir, cool yourself a little, do not coil round like the rattlesnake, and bite yourself, no, betake yourself to fasting and prayer awhile, it may be good for both body and soul, that is a safer remedy for an old man in your situation, than the letting of blood.

Suffer me to recommend to you that patience and resignation which is characteristic of the holy religion you profess. I hope and pray that your fate may be a warning to all usurpers and tyrants, and that you may before you leave this world become a true and sincere penitent, and be forgiven all your manifold sins in the next. I repeat it, this is the sincere wish and prayer of your fellow citizen.

M. Lyon.

EXTRACTS

From the Speech of John Adams, *on his taking the Oath of Office as President of the United States.*

A conscientious determination to support the Constitution of the United States, and those of the individual States—An impartial regard to the happiness of all. A love of virtuous men of all parties. To preserve our Constitution from its natural Enemies—the spirit of sophistry—the spirit of party—the spirit of intrigue—the profligacy of corruption and pestilence of Foreign influence which is the Angel of destruction to elective governments.

A personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve their friendship which has been so much for the honor and interest of both nations.

The alien law, sedition law, refusing the Citizens of individual States the rights of suffrage, the behavior to M. Ogden—The patronage of British agents and spy's, the federal vengeance to individuals who were active in the republican cause, will best explain how far perhaps a man of integrity may be led away by men, profligate, and unprincipled, and by according with their views become their slave, and a tyrant to his Country.

—The State Library of Vermont has been fortunate enough to secure files of newspapers, printed in that State, complete enough to make a continuous record from 1783 to 1862.

VII.—*SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D., OF SALEM, MASS.*—Concluded from the November Number.

From the Originals, in the Collection of Miss Mary R. Crowninshield, of Charlestown, Mass.

[*From the Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Vice-President of the United States.*]

I.

Cambridge, 1st Feb. 1813.

My Dear Sir,

I am favored by Mr. Robinson with your very friendly and polite letter of the 29th of Jany., and if aught in my future conduct should merit the approbation of the public, You will be justly entitled to a share of their plaudits: since the enconiums of the wise and the good are the greatest incentives to, and the highest rewards of, virtue and patriotism.

The circumstances which you state, in regard to Capt. Morgan, have produced in my mind an earnest desire to promote his views; and I shall accompany his application for office with a recommendation of my own to the Secretary of the Navy.

I thank you for your elegant box, containing an excellent likeness of the Emperor Napoleon. Whilst it enriches the cabinet of my curiosities, it will be carefully preserved, as a memorial of my friendship for the donor.

Accept, my dear sir, my ardent wishes for your health, welfare, and happiness, and be assured that I remain with the highest esteem and respect

Yours very sincerely
E. Gerry–

Revd. Mr. Bentley–

II.

Washington 25th June 1813

I have received, my dear sir, your friendly letter of the 4th and immediately communicated it to the Secretary of War, who, returning it this morning, informed me, that the military arrangements would not admit a compliance with your request, which would otherwise have been carried into effect.

I am happy to learn that there is to your knowledge no defection on the part of patriotism. The prevalent evil of our State, will I think cure itself.

Your proposition in regard to cordage, shall be imparted to the Secretary of the Navy; and if it is not provided for by contract, I have no doubt of his favoring the measure.

Present my regards to Miss Crowningshield, accept them yourself, and always assured of the high esteem and respect and of the best wishes of your unfeigned friend

E. Gerry–

Revd. Dr. Bentley–

III.

Washington 31st July 1813–

I have received, my dear sir, your letter of the 6th and the clause which related to New London was immediately communicated to one of the Senators of Connecticut.

Mr. Sprague's elegant oration on the natal day of our Independence, and your information of the manner in which it was celebrated in Salem, have given me great pleasure. Such principles and patriotism will transmit to the latest posterity our national rights and liberties: notwithstanding the powerful effects of the corrupt efforts of Great Britain are manifest, and felt by every friend to this country. Her administration is too criminal to succeed in its sanguinary career, and I hope will share the fate of their prototype, and leave the nation in a state for recovering its ancient reputation.

It was necessary to call our best troops to the post of honor, and I flatter myself that they will soon reap the laurels, which we expect from their patriotism and prowess–

Congress are to rise on the 2nd of August, and I am pressed at present by public concerns, being seven hours every day in the Chair, without leaving it an instant–

Accept with Miss Crowningshield my affectionate regards–

Yours respectfully & sincerely
E. Gerry–

Revd. Dr. Bentley–

IV.

Cambridge 21st Sept. 1814

Dear Sir,

I have enclosed to the President of the United States, your letter this day received, on the subject of the treatment of our citizens in captivity; with comments thereon. Please to accept with Miss Crowningshield the sincere regards of your respectful and unfeigned friend

E. Gerry–

Revd. Dr. Bentley.

V.

Washington Feb. 15, 1814

Dear Sir,

I have but a moment to answer your favour of the 20th of January. The letter for the President was sent to him without delay; and I have confirmed your recommendation of young Mr. Wilson by very favorable statements on my part, to the Secretary of War, the proper channel for

conducting this business. Pray accept my best wishes for the health and happiness of yourself and family, and with Miss Crowningshield, my affectionate regards.

Yours faithfully and sincerely
E. GERRY.

If you should write to Mr. Wilson, please to request him to inform Capt. Nicolas Bartlett, that I have preferred to the Sect. of the Navy, the application of himself, of his son Jos. J. Bartlett for the office of Midshipman for the latter–

Revd. MR. BENTLEY–

VI.

WASHINGTON, 23d Oct. 1814–

MY DEAR SIR,

Since the date of my letter of this morning, I have communicated to the President your letter of the 8th and he regrets exceedingly the death of your brother: desiring me at the same time to inform you, that in compliance with your request he had nominated him for promotion to the Senate. The nominations being numerous, are in the hands of a Committee who have not yet made their report.

I remain, Dear Sir, as before,
Yours Sincerely–
E. GERRY–

Revd. DR. BENTLEY–

VII.

WASHINGTON 3d November, 1814–

MY DEAR SIR,

Your affectionate exertions for the merited promotion of your brother, rendered unnecessary every other proof of your ardent friendship for him; but if such testimony had been requisite, it was too manifest to elude discovery, in the irresistable grief which required prompt consolation, and which found it in relating the circumstances of his honorable exit, of his glorious fall in the sacred cause of his country. This is recorded by myself, in his nomination for promotion, by the President of the United States.

The measures of the eastern States must produce a crisis of some kind; on which, at present, I will venture no opinion; such means indeed have prominent features of desperation, if not madness. Our Legislature seem to have adopted this principle, "*Superos si flectere nequeo,*" * * * * "*movebo;*" the response to which will be "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius demental.*" I thank you for the pamphlet. "Your daugh-"ter" has always a claim on my regards, accept them with her from

Yours sincerely and respectfully
E. GERRY–

Revd. DR. BENTLEY.

[*From Isaiah Thomas, the veteran Printer and Antiquary.*]

I.

WORCESTER, Nov. 5, 1810–

MY GOOD FRIEND–

About two months since I sent you from Boston, via of stage waggon, a copy of the *History of Printing*, as a token of my regard, and as a remembrance of your friendly and ready attention to the enquiries I made of you, during the time the work was preparing for the press. I hope the volumes arrived safe.

You have no doubt taken notice that the *History of Printing* came from the press before I received your last favor, which bears date 6th of September last. Of course the letter from Judge Tucker to you, which you had the goodness to enclose, came too late for the work; but fortunately, I had previously received a letter from Mr. Henning, dated July 21st, as you will see by the appendix to the *History of Printing*, containing the same information as given to you in the letter from Judge Tucker.

In looking over my papers, I find I was so careless as not to return to you the Judge's letter. I have to apologise for my neglect and now enclose it.

With esteem and respect, I am Sir,
Your obliged friend
ISAIAH THOMAS–

Revd. MR. BENTLEY.

II.

WORCESTER, Sept. 8, 1810–

MY GOOD FRIEND–

I have forwarded to you by the waggon, a lot of the *History of Printing*, which I request you to accept.

I wish to write more, as I have much to say to you, but this opportunity will only allow me to subscribe myself

Your friend and humble servt.
I. THOMAS.

Revd. MR. BENTLEY.

III.

WORCESTER, Nov. 23d 1810–

MY GOOD FRIEND:

I am favored with yours of the 7th inst. The assurance you give me that *The History of Printing* meets your approbation affords me great satisfaction. Should other literary characters, less partial to me than yourself, receive this production of my labor, favorably, it will afford me some compensation for the time and expense which have been bestowed on it. I have but little to expect from what you are pleased to style "a grateful public," as it respects the sale of the work. I was aware of this when it went

to press, and therefore published but a small edition, which, should all the copies of it sell, will not more than repay the actual expense I have been at, without making any account of my time and trouble; but small as the edition is, I am inclined to believe it will be found sufficiently large for the demand.

You mention some "Notices of the progress "of Printing in the West Indies," being published in the *Salem Register* the 13th of Oct. last. I should be glad to see them. Pray send me a paper of that date, marked on the cover "one printed sheet," by mail. You mention also that these Notices were agreeably to some documents sent to me some time since. I do not recollect ever to have received any thing of the kind. Pray give me further information.

I am Sir, very respectfully your friend &c.

I. Thomas–

Revd. Mr. Bentley.

IV.

Worcester, Jany 4, 1811–

My good Friend,

Yours of the 11th ult. would have had attention sooner, but I have been from home for a fortnight past. I thank you for the communication taken from the *Salem Register;* and I will thank you for one of those papers, (which contain the account of printing in the West Indies) entire, as I wish to bind it up with one of each of the newspapers printed in the United States the past year. I had not previously received from you any particulars of printing in the West Indies. Was there not a person by the name of Low, *from Salem*, a printer formerly at Saint Christopher?

I had heard, many years since, that our forefathers in some of the churches, sang in the way I have mentioned in the *History of Printing*, and I was confirmed in the belief by the *Psalterium Americanum*, published here in 1718. I do not know that the "Admonition" in that work, claims the invention of using words in black letter, inclosed in brackets, as an invention of the author. It is not, however, of any material consequence, whether the practise was general or not.

I am happy my *labor* meets with your approbation. The manner in which you speak of it is flattering, and demands my acknowledgment. I wish others may judge of it as favorably as you do. If you will give yourself the trouble, and do me the honor to forward a copy to your friend in Europe, and you think it will be acceptable, I will supply you with one for that purpose. This copy you may receive from my son in Boston, if you will have the goodness to call on him for that purpose, when you happen to be in Boston.

I am, Sir,

Your friend & humble servt.

Isaiah Thomas.

Revd. Mr. Bentley–

You see I have written hastily. Pray excuse it.

V.

Worcester, Nov. 5th 1814–

My good Friend,

I regretted that I had not the pleasure of seeing you after the meeting of our Society. I wished to express to you the pleasure which, not only myself, but all the members who were present felt, by the generous declarations you made of the intended disposal of the literary and curious treasures you possess.

I wish some way could be thought of to inform your friend and correspondent, Prof. Ebling of his election. Should you meet with an opportunity for this purpose, permit me to request you to embrace it.

I am, Dear Sir,

Very respectfully your friend & humble servt.

Isaiah Thomas–

Revd. Mr. Bentley–

Revd. Mr. Bentley–

Dear Sir,

Mr. Thomas permits me to write a few lines on the back of his letter.

After a vote had passed, upon your motion to print a Catalogue of our books, a committee should have been chosen to see it executed; but unaccountably it was neglected. Some of us here seem disposed to take the duties of such a committee upon us; and submit our doings to the society. But in reflecting on the subject, we think all the purposes which you intended in your motion might be answered by a bare Catalogue of the titles. Yet now, or very soon, a more ample and descriptive Catalogue must be formed to be kept in the library. And would it not have a beneficial tendency to have such an one printed. A Catalogue such as last mentioned, would require time to prepare, and expense to print. We wish to have your ideas on the subject. What sort of Catalogue shall we print?

With much respect your humble Servt.

Edw. Bangs–

Worcester, Nov. 6th 1814

P. S. Will not a brief written copy of a Catalogue of all the books, sent to you, answer the purpose, as respects yourself; and for the present?

VI.

Worcester, Feb. 8, 1815

My good Friend,

I received your favor of the 6th inst. by Mr.

Moriarty, with the Chart and Vols. of Newspapers.

In the Vol. of *Boston News Letter*, I observe your remarks.

There are several incorrect statements in the Account of our old public Journals as published in the *Historical Collections*. I have I believe given more correct information of the *News Letter* in the 2d Vol. of the *History of Printing*, than that published by our late friend Eliot.

The Librarian of the Am. Atiqn Society (as he can find time—he is the Cashier of the Bank) has been engaged a number of weeks in making out a Catalogue of the Library. When it is finished, I suppose an inspection of it will answer your purpose. It is thought that when a Catalogue is published for the public eye, that it should, from an institution like ours, be very minute; of course its magnitude increased, and carrying it through the press will be attended with considerable expense. It is however intended that as soon as the Librarian has completed the Catalogue, which he is now about, that it shall be sent to you; and that afterward it shall be made as concise as possible and a few copies of it be printed to send to the members, deferring the publication of a more particular and minute work 'till the Library and our funds are increased, when a catalogue can be presented to the Public which will appear respectable.

I shall be happy in affording you every assistance in my power in the execution of your generous intention toward the Society; those who nurture the institution in its infancy must ever be respected as its founders: of this number it will afford me high gratification to see the name of Bentley among the foremost.

The Committee of Ways and Means are busy. They are projecting a plan, which if it can be executed, will raise a sum sufficient to erect an elegant edifice, and create some funds for the Institution. They will confer with you on the subject as soon as their project is more matured.

I am very respectfully,

Your obt. servt.

Revd. Mr. Bentley. Isaiah Thomas–

P. S. You will remember your friend Prof. Ebling. I send you with this for him, the Secretary's letter, and a copy of each of the Publications. The *History of Printing* I know will not be forgotten. Have you heard any thing further respecting the copy Colony Laws of 1649? I greatly desire to see this book.

[*From Rev. Timothy Alden, D.D., President of Alleghany-college.*]

Boston, 7th Nov. 1815–

Revd. Wm Bentley–

Dear Sir;

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have had some valuable additions to my collection of books for Alleghany College. The Hon. James Winthrop gave me Calmet, Buffon, Neddins, and various other works, to the amount of one hundred dollars. Permit me to hope for such a donation as you can spare from the rich treasures of your study. Judging from your friendship for literary institutions in general, I doubt not you will honor us, beyond the cloud capped hills, with such a donation as will encourage our hearts, and strengthen our hands, in the noble cause of literature, science, and religion.

If you have any duplicate plates, medals, coins, or curiosities of any kind from the Herculaneum or elsewhere, suitable for our cabinet and museum, they will be very acceptable. Be so kind as to make out a list of whatever you shall be pleased to honor us with, and convey to me by mail directed to New York, if not before the 1st of December, or to Harrisburg Penn. if sent during December, mentioning what vessel takes the same to Philadelphia. I hope your donation will be such as to fill up a small box, which should be strongly nailed, all things being snugly packed, so as to prevent injury by motion in the wagon over the mountains. If your benevolence should furnish such a box of treasures (box of any size which may seem proper) please to mark it with a brush, thus: "Revd. T. Alden, Meadville Penn. Care of W. "Woodward, Phila., also care of R. Bowen & "Co. Pittsburg." In this case Mr. Woodward will pay the freight to Philadelphia, and will send it on by some wagon to Pittsburg, and it will go in safety. When putting up books if you add some of your pamphlets, they will make good storage, and will be very acceptable.

Your friend and respectful servt.

Timothy Alden–

P. S. Should it be perfectly convenient to mention to any of your literary parishioners and friends, that any books they may have to spare for Alleghany College would be acceptable, perhaps the aggregate may be essentially greater than we have a right to expect even from your liberality. However, *Verbum sat est, tuus dum ruus,*

T. A.

I expect to leave Boston early next Saturday morning. A letter from you previously will be grateful.

VIII.—*THE NAVAL BATTLES OF FORT FISHER.*

DESCRIBED BY KIT KELVIN, AN EYE-WITNESS.

From the *New York Evangalist.*

On the map of North Carolina, is a point of land stretching, in a curve, South and East, from Onslow-bay, finding its limit by the Cape Fear-river, on the South, and a narrow strait, on the East, beyond which is Zeek's-island. This strait was the inlet and outlet for blockade-runners, in which supplies were landed throughout the war. By this, were brought not only the necessaries, but even the luxuries, of life. So bold and frequent was the running of the blockade, that refugees who came off to our fleet reported that the skippers of contraband vessels boasted that they would leave foreign papers upon the lighted buoy, as they came in, for the reading of our Naval-officers, on duty, in weary monotony. The only excuse given for this light —an *impromptu* light-house—was the position of the blockade, for friendly vessels arriving in the night, the bearings of the Fort, and the movement of the ships, in an emergency, in the darkness. Each vessel's position was registered, as bearing from the light. There is no doubt that this was of far more benefit to the enemy than to us, as it pointed out, in the darkest night, the exact position of our ships, and showed the blockade-runner how to pass between them and come safely into port. Indeed, the enemy could not have asked a favor more to their advantage. It is scarcely supposable that this brilliant idea was conceived at Washington, but emanated from the senior officer commanding the squadron.

Upon the point of land described above, Fort Fisher was commenced, in the Spring of 1862. A few men and boys, with wheelbarrows and shovels, and some sorry-looking stags composed the force which commenced one of the most formidable forts ever besieged. Cabbage-wood, or its species, and earth thrown up—no stone, marble, or brick; yet, with such materials, was constructed a masterly model of skilful engineering.

One gunboat could easily have prevented this immense earthwork from having caused so much anxiety, expense, and blood—could easily have prevented the name of Fort Fisher from being the notable history that it now is.

"Why not train the guns upon the workmen "and stop this work?" asked an officer of his commander.

"We have orders not to *annoy* the enemy, but "to watch," was the reply.

From whatever source this idea came, it proved a fearful mistake. If it were the utterance of one officer only, or his actual orders, in either case, it was merely playing with a terrible danger. This mistaken leniency was the cause of many of the misfortunes of the War. It was the consequence of unbelief that actual WAR could possibly exist. The determination of the South to try its strength and military prowess with the North, was neither understood nor believed by the latter. The Government, likewise, while aghast at the danger, could not be convinced that a rebellion, under any circumstances, could long continue. General Scott, his foot swathed, lying upon a sofa, with a long stick pointing out, upon a map of the United States, the places best adapted to concentrate forces for the early crushing of the Southern movement, assured President Lincoln that, with seventy-five thousand men, in six months, at the longest, he would restore a peaceable union. It was this unbelief of danger that so long paralyzed both the Army and Navy and prevented the taking those prompt measures, which might have averted half the perils and calamities of the war. This blind confidence was never more manifest than off Federal Point, in the Spring of 1862.

The First Engagement.

The reduction of Fort Fisher had been, for months, a matter of grave consideration with the Government; for its continuance was known to be vital to the Confederacy.

As early as October, 1862, the writer was the bearer of the information from Major-general Foster, commanding at Newbern, to the fleet off Wilmington, that he would, in November, send ten thousand men to attack the fort. The only question was whether to land the force in Onslow-bay, Masonboro'-inlet, and so move upon the enemy in the rear, or select some other point for the attack. But this glad expectancy of the navy fell dead. It is probable that disasters to our army, just at that time, prevented the completion of such a design.

It was not until December, 1864, that the serious determination to destroy Fort Fisher, long entertained by the Government, was carried out. The prelude to the attack was a novel experiment of making a breach in the Fort by a powder-boat! Who was the originator of this brilliant idea has not been made public; but, certain it is that the brain was more fertile in imagination than possessed of military skill. The plan of the attack was carried out in the main, but was somewhat changed by the premature explosion of the powder-boat. This was an old dismantled craft, called the *Louisiana*, carrying two hundred and sixty tons of poor powder, chiefly composed of nitrate of soda. This has, unfortunately, as strong an affinity to

water as has salt; and, consequently, its explosive force is materially weakened.

The fleet remained some ten miles out, in order that the Fort might not be warned of the approaching conflict, and, at the time of the explosion, to stand in for the batteries, marshalled in order of battle. There were about sixty vessels, including the reserves and the Monitors. These latter took their position ahead of the larger vessels; and prominent among them was the *Monadnock*. No one present can ever forget the precision with which her monster shells were delivered nor the continuous firing she preserved in those *terrible bellowings*.

The mission of the *Louisiana* was, by its own destruction, to paralyze the garrison; the bombardment by the fleet to follow and make short work in a capitulation. An opinion also prevailed that the explosion would create a vacuum, which would lift the rebel guns from their carriages and, more or less, destroy the Fort itself. There is very little to say in regard to the latter theory, unless it be in a vein of ridicule. A vacuum, if formed, must have been about the vessel itself. It was currently reported that *Lowell*, in Massachusetts, was the home of this scientific idea!

There were about eight thousand officers and men of the navy, besides seven thousand of the army, in transports. A wild gale delayed the attack, for four days, during which time, the *Louisiana* broke adrift, and all trembled at a fate seemingly before her; but, drifting past the *Monadnock*, she was cleverly saved.

On the twenty-fourth of December, at 2:15, A. M., (the powder-boat having been sent in under the batteries, the evening before,) a lurid light was visible to the fleet, followed by a noise, as of a smothered growl, and a strong smell of sulphur in the air. The *Louisiana* had exploded some three hours in advance of the time. It was a moment of intense anxiety, and many conjectures increased the excitement; for the line of battle could not be formed in the darkness; and the explosion was to be the signal for such a manœuvre. The result proved a complete failure. The effect was a trembling motion given to the vessels; while the inhabitants of Beaufort, some eighty miles away—the rendezvous for coal—were startled from their slumbers by the rattling of windows; and, in the Fort itself, a supposition prevailed that one of our vessels had been destroyed. But even this *faux-pas* was the initiation of the downfall of the formidable Fort Fisher.

There are hours in every life, serious and terrible. Let us drift aside a moment for a description of that before a naval battle. Here, on a vessel, are hundreds of able, muscular, brave men in the flush of youth or vigor of manhood. To all appearances, life, for them, has an ample future. But the conflict, on the morrow—the stern reality, no excuse, no leave of absence, but a death-struggle with an enemy as eager for blood as for the cause they espouse. There is a hush, a smothered silence, fore and aft, below, in cabin, wardroom, cock-pit, gun deck—everywhere. The bronzed faces of gallant officers are sternly determined; but the tone of the voice partakes a trifle more of sympathy, a feeling that we must help one another. The mirthful joke is not heard at the mess-table, but deep thought is there. On the faces of the men, is detected uncertain hope; and an earnest willingness, in their "Ay, ay, Sir!" Then comes the exchange of sealed parcels, letters and requests for *Home* and friends, away among the hills, in the valleys, cities, villages, where safety is, and this hour to them not known. "*Delivered, in case of death*"—five simple words, but full of fearful portent. On deck, thrown thick is the sand—it is for the *absorption of blood*—his, mine, all, perhaps.

Brothers of the Anchor and the Stripes! you have been there. Do you want a repetition?

At half past five, in the morning, the fleet formed the line of battle, and steamed on to the Fort. There was but one grander sight that day—the fight. These many vessels were armored, outside, with chains, inside, with heavy guns, ready to belch their deadly hurtles upon the foe. The *New Ironsides* threw the first shot, at three minutes to one, in the afternoon, followed by the entire fleet—Monitors, Ships-of-the-line, second-raters, third-raters, Gun-boats—all opening their iron mouths at once. The deafening noise was like thunder—deep and heavy: the bang, bang of shell—all mingling with the screaming, flying bolts, like the melancholy roar of the breaking surf: the curling smoke and knots of clouds, from bursting shell of the fleet and the heavy batteries of the Fort, completed a scene never before equalled in naval warfare. On deck, the spectacle was wild, with the haggard looks of officers and men, covered with the dust of burnt sabots, their faces grimed with powder and perspiration; eager, cool, and expectant; death from the enemy's shots, accidents from bursting guns and scalding steam.

While the bombardment was thus in full blast, the transports were landing the army up the beach, from the Fort. But a paltry question of rank—a mean spirit of jealousy between the land and water superiors—sacrificed the honor of the nation. Before all were debarked, the Major-general ordered not only further landing to cease, but that those already on shore should again return to the transports; and, the third day, they were under way towards the

North. Never was a victory more sure or more disgracefully lost. The of the Fort had grown feeble; and the rebels afterward confessed that they were about to surrender.

The opinions of private individuals are often commented upon without reserve; but there is a great reluctance to criticise the judgment or the conduct of government officers. But when a General in command of an expedition has made a great failure and caused a great disaster, and that is owing entirely to his want of skill or of courage, there is no reason why we should not speak the plain, though unwelcome, truth.

There can be no doubt, in the minds of all who took part in the December attack upon Fort Fisher, that, had the army officer in command shown ordinary pluck—pluck involving thorough bravery and discretion—the formidable batteries on Federal-point would have succumbed, on Christmas, 1864. Of this there is ample proof given by the action of the Government in assigning that distinguished General to his home, in Massachusetts, as his Headquarters, the proper place for the exercise of his great military genius and the growth of further expensive ideas—including powder-boats, debarking and embarking several thousand men, previously equipped, at a great cost, and the general execration, by the Navy, in being covered with disgrace.

This is the least that can be said of the mortifying failures of one of the greatest Expeditions ever undertaken, by land or sea.

The Second Engagement.

There is further conclusive evidence that whatever may or can be said in condemnation of the *fiasco*, in December, the Government itself considered the matter in that light, by at once renewing the attack; which was done by again concentrating a fleet as large and as powerful as that composing the experiment, seconded, however, by land forces under a very different command. This was accomplished by the arrival, before the doomed Fort, of the fleet, on the thirteenth of January, 1865, together with transports carrying eight thousand officers and men. At half-past four, in the morning, the debarking of the troops, under Major-general Terry, commenced; and, at half-past seven, in the morning, the *Brooklyn* opened upon the shore and, for their cover, at the same time, the iron-clads headed for the Fort. The latter began firing at twenty minutes to nine, in the morning. Upon the landing of the troops, at four, in the afternoon, the fleet steamed in to join the Monitors, preserving a hot and continuous bombardment, until six in the afternoon. The curling smoke, the crimson sky, and the forked flames from the many iron dogs of war, as the shades of evening fell, made up a scene rarely witnessed, and fearfully beautiful. The morrow was a repetition, without much interest, aside from stern results.

On the fifteenth, the Sabbath, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the army prepared for the final assault. The Fort had visibly weakened in its fire, and now ceased, altogether, while the Navy was silent, to avoid casualties to our forces ashore. From the fleet were also landed about twenty-five hundred marines and seamen; and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the storming commenced. The Naval Brigade attempted an attack upon the eastern bastion, but were repulsed with heavy loss, the enemy opening a murderous fire of musketry, grape, and canister, literally mowing down the brave fellows, without mercy. The Army, at the same time, charged upon the rear; and, at sun-down, eight traverses were taken. While the Navy were preparing for the morrow, at half-past ten o'clock in the evening, thundering cheers were heard from the Fort, and carried all along the shore; and, then, from the decks of each vessel, arose a deafening shout. Fort Fisher had surrendered! Yards were manned, sky-rockets and blue-lights filled the air, steam-whistles shrieked, and officers and men were mad with joy.

The morning of the sixteenth, at half-past seven o'clock, opened with a terrible explosion from the Fort—it was the magazine. Columns of black smoke, sand, and debris of earth, and bodies, shot, heavenward; and then followed an ominous silence. A creeping fear took possession of the fleet; for how many of *our own* were *there* included?

Within the fallen Fort, were sights sickening and dreadful. Guns dismounted, guns split, guns broken; caps, clothes, bayonets, swords, muskets, rifles—scattered, battered, blood-stained; belts, knapsacks, powder, in bags, cartridges, dead horses, broken bottles, shells, exploded, bullets, scabbards, bedding. And then the dead! Men in all postures, mangled in head and body, with brains out, but with perfect features, covered with sand and grimed with powder. Arms, legs, hands, faces distorted, swollen, all in the traverses, in the trenches, in green water-pools, in the bomb-proofs, upon the parapets, down the embankments, here, there, everywhere. Piles of dead men upon which the victorious soldiers were partaking of their lunch, while, in another place, the same ghastly table was made for the convenience of the euchre players! The carrying past of the wounded, the groans of the dying, and the smell of blood and powder!

The repulse of the Naval Brigade was mostly attributable to a piece of brass ordnance, a present from the English Government to the Confed-

eracy, made conspicuously so by an engraved endorsement to that effect. It was a breech-loader—the projectiles attached to a card were about one hundred and fifty in number, the size of a rifle-ball; and the rapidity with which it could be fired was simply appalling.

It has been a frequent custom among Christian nations, before a battle, to offer supplication to Almighty God, and to return thanks, after a victory. Thus, after the Battle of the Nile, Lord Nelson ordered a solemn religious service, throughout the fleet; and the French officers were greatly impressed by the spectacle of men, so brave in battle, bending low in humble acknowledgement of that Higher Power which rules alike over land and sea. But on this occasion, there was no public recognition of an Almighty Hand. Whatever prayers and thanksgivings may have been uttered, in secret, there was no mustering of a single ship's crew for such a public service. We can but regret, for the religious character of our country, that such an acknowledgement was forgotten. What a noble sight it would have been, if, on the decks, but lately strewn with sand and wet with blood, had now been gathered the crews of all the ships in that magnificent fleet, with uncovered heads and grateful hearts, uniting in thanksgiving to Almighty God for preservation and glorious victory.

IX.—*MAJOR CHILDS, U. S. A.*

EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FAMILY.

From the original Manuscripts.

[*Continued from the November number.*]

[On the twenty-second of January, 1837, General Jesup, leaving the Withlacooche, at the "Cove," or great bend, put in motion the main body of the army, under his immediate command, to attack the Indians and negroes in the strongholds which they were supposed to occupy, on the head-waters of the Ocklawaha, a tributary of the St. John's. The movement was continued, as will be seen, with some success, to the head-waters of the Caloosahatchee, near Lake Okeechobee, and to the Great Cypress-swamp.

To this expedition the following Journal refers. The route seems to have been nearly along the dividing line between the waters of the Gulf and those of the Atlantic. The friendly Indians alluded to, were Creeks, of whom a Regiment, about seven hundred and fifty warriors, under United States Officers, rendered, for a time, very good service.]

Fort Armstrong, *Jan'y 21st, 1837.*

To day, has been all bustle and preparation to take the field, to-morrow, at day-light, in pursuit of the Indians. Our route is over a tract of country little known, and towards the head-waters of the St. John's and Ocklawaha. We go with the expectation of finding Phillip's and Jumper's bands. I have only this moment gotten through my official duties; prepared my provisions for sixteen days; and packed my saddle bags. The troops have returned and been organized into two Brigades—the First, under General Armistead, the Second, under General Henderson. The Artillery is divided into two Regiments, one to each Brigade.

To day, the order was issued to march, to morrow, at daylight. The allowances are, to each Company of sixty men, three tents; one common tent to every three officers; to each officer a horse, a bushel of corn, eighty pounds of baggage, in which is included sixteen days' provisions: four days' rations to be cooked. So you may bring your father to view, dressed in a soldier's jacket and pantaloons; with a haversack stuck out with four days' bread and meat; mounted on a horse already saddled with a bag of corn and a pair of saddle-bags.

Now for the news. I mentioned, I believe, to your mother, that an Indian taken prisoner had promised to lead our troops to a place where there were twenty or thirty men, women, and children ready to surrender; and that Colonel Foster, with the Indian for a guide, had been sent on the expedition, with four or five hundred men. An express arrived from him, this evening, saying that, on the way, they fell in with two hostile Indians, twelve women and children, and six negro men; the two Indians were killed, unfortunately, by the Georgia Volunteers, after (it is said) they had thrown down their arms. The Indian women say that the party to which they belong will surrender; and we take this as a good omen that the other Indians will do so likewise, if we can ever come upon them. Our next express from Colonel Foster is looked for with great interest.

January 23d. In my last letter, I mentioned that the next morning the army would march in pursuit of the Indians—Jumper and Micanopy. We did so, with from eleven to twelve hundred men. This is the evening of the second day—we have been marching over new ground; and are now encamped where, probably, a white man never was before. Our first day's march was productive of no event worth relating: this morning, about ten o'clock, we came to a deserted Indian village, where we found two white scalps. It appears that, not long since, they had been engaged in a scalp-dance; as about twenty sticks, ten feet long, were stuck in the ground, in a circle, twelve feet in diameter, in the centre of which there had been a fire; outside of these stakes, on which they hung the scalps, was a deep path, made by continually walking or dancing, in the same circle. One of

the scalps appeared to be that of a child, having beautiful flaxen hair, in ringlets. Other deserted villages were discovered by the mounted men—one of forty houses, another of six—in the former, they found a great many tools, such as saws, augers, etc., etc.; in the latter, a copy of Spaulding's *Roman History*. Towards evening, the advanced guard of mounted men and friendly Indians took prisoner a negro, who promised to lead them to the place of concealment of an Indian, very important to us, named Cooper; the result we do not know, as we are now three miles from the above-mentioned party, not having been able to come up with them. To-morrow may be an interesting day; so I will bid you "Good-night," and retire to my blanket, after commending myself and the dear ones at home, to Him who is able to keep us from danger, seen and unseen.

January 24th. We have been marching over a high, rolling country, that strikes the eye, at every point, as beautiful—sheets of water, at short intervals, adding to the interest and variety of the landscape; still, the country is only fit for the savage, and for him nothing could be better. The more we know of Florida, the less we are surprised that the Indian is loth to leave it. This day has been interesting and important—the friendly Indians and mounted-men I mentioned, last evening, as being in pursuit of Cooper, rejoined us about eleven o'clock. They started early this morning, before daylight, with the negro guide, and came to a lake of water, in whose center was what appeared to be an island, where Cooper was supposed to be—the guide said the Indians went to it in canoes; but, on questioning him, as to where they went to hunt, he said they would go without their boats and be gone half a day; that when they left their huts they would scatter so as to leave no trail. About fifty of our Indians were sent into a hammock to see if they could find a trail leading towards this supposed island; and if they found one, they were ordered to come back and report. They went in and, in a short time, discovered a trail and followed it. Instead of coming back, and reporting, they continued on; and, in a short time, discovered two or three huts; immediately gave the war-whoop; and rushed on. The first person that came out was Cooper, whom they shot down; the second was his son, a young warrior of seventeen or eighteen, who ran to the water, to escape, in a canoe; the third was an Indian, Euchee Billy; the fourth is supposed to be an Indian Doctor. Two officers were with them, when they discovered the trail, but were unable to keep up; and only arrived after the fourth Indian was wounded, in time to knock up the rifle of one of our Indians who was aiming at the wounded man. In the meantime, this wounded Indian, who had his rifle in his hand, shot the one whom the officer had prevented from firing, through the breast; we fear mortally. The hostile was soon a corpse; and all the scalps were taken. They then made prisoners, Cooper's wife and three children, one, a boy of fifteen; another woman and two children; two negro men; two negro women, with their children—in all seventeen. Cooper was the leader of Micanopy's warriors. He was at Dade's Massacre; at the scalp-dance, mentioned, last evening; and has been in almost every action they have had—was a daring and cruel savage. He, as well as one other of those killed, was wounded at Wahoo Swamp; and had retired to this spot, with his Doctor, for the recovery of his wound. Our Indians were much opposed to the burying of the hostile Indians; but this was done. Cooper's wife requested that her husband and son might be put in the same grave; but discovered no emotion, as she gazed on their dead bodies—the boy of fifteen was observed to shed tears, for a moment, when his brother's body was brought out of the water. This stoicism, you know, is an Indian characteristic. In searching this hammock, three warriors were lost, (a Company of them are mounted). After calling, firing guns, and looking for them, a long time, a small party was left; and the remainder joined the army. After we were encamped, this evening, the party came in without them, and quite an excitement was produced by the supposed loss of these men; no one doubting that they had fallen, or would fall, into the hands of the hostile Indians. To our great relief, they came in, soon after dark, having discovered other Indian huts, and heard a great many Indian whoops. Just before we encamped, the officer in charge of the Pioneers, who was cutting a road through a hammock for us to march in, to-morrow, saw two Indians, ahead. They are, no doubt, scouts; and we expect an alarm, to-night—possibly a fight, to-morrow. I being officer of the day, have command of the advanced-guard, a post very much sought after, by those who have not yet had an opportunity to draw their swords against the foe. Having brought up the events of the day, I must now bid you "Good-night"—not to sleep, as I trust you are doing now, but "to guard the camp "from foes erect"—one more "Good-night."*

January 26th. I omitted my journal last

* In explanation of the movements of the Army, at this time, General Jesup said: "It was ascertained from the "prisoners that the principal Indian and negro force had "retired from the Ocklawaha, in a South-easterly direc-"tion, towards the head of the Caloosahatchee. Pursuit "was immediately commenced, with no other guide than "the track of their ponies and cattle."

evening, because I had little to say of the events of the day. We commenced our march, as usual, and after proceeding four or five miles, found ourselves on the wrong trail. We retraced our steps, a mile, and struck off to the right, expecting to come into the one we had lost. In a short time, Generals, Indians, and guides were at fault; the result was, at two o'clock, we encamped, sending the Indians out to discover the trail. They found one, but not the one we wanted; it was supposed, however, to lead to it. This morning, we started early and have marched fifteen or sixteen miles without coming to it. To-night, we know not where we are. Our wish is to go to the Cypress Swamp—no one knows whether we are now on the right trail; so, guessing and speculating on our position, are all that can be heard, this evening. A mariner, at sea, without a compass, is no worse off than we are; except that we have a back track, and this I fear we shall have to take.

Friday evening, or, rather, Saturday morning, at one o'clock, Jan'y 27th. I have just returned from a fatiguing and exciting day's march. We started, this morning, and soon came to the right trail; found it fresh, with the appearance of being much traveled. We had evidently come to the Big Cypress Swamp; and this was the place where we expected to find the Indians. The scouts had been out, several hours; and no reports coming from them, we were induced to believe that we should not be able to find their trail into this swamp, and we were about encamping, when an express arrived for reinforcements, saying that the advance was engaged with the Indians. We immediately started, in double quick time, and marched five miles, in an hour and ten minutes, and arrived at the place where a party of negroes had been surprised and taken prisoners; the balance, supposed to be about fifty men, made their escape into the swamp, where they were pursued by a Company of Marines, Volunteers, and Indians, who came, in a quarter of a mile, to a deep run, over which a tree, on each side, had been felled, the tops meeting in the middle. Here, the Indians had left their packs and ponies; and, here, they had commenced a fire upon our men, killing one and wounding three. Our troops, however, crossed, and pursued them, until night, having another Marine killed, and another wounded. When our Brigade arrived, General Jesup took a part of it, and went into the swamp, in another direction, and came upon fifty Indian huts, where the meat was on the fire, cooking, and all their utensils were scattered about. But no Indians could be found; and, night coming on, we returned; some of the men having marched twenty-five miles.

The swamp is very wet, and in passing through it, we sink to our knees—sometimes to our waist. After a toilsome march, in the swamp, we came to a pine-barren—on these the Indians live. Plunging again into the swamp, you emerge upon another "barren;" and so on, to what extent we do not know. The result of to-day's work is twenty-five negro prisoners—men, women, and children. General Jesup's Orderly was sent back with orders; mistook the trail, was way laid by five or six negroes; shot, and stripped of every article of his clothing.

Jan'y 28th. We started, this morning, for a place called Topcaliga, where Micanopy is supposed to be; and soon came upon the borders of a beautiful lake, which, the prisoners say, is called by the above name. We continued marching near the margin, all day; and have collected between four and five hundred cattle—showing, evidently, that we are in the neighborhood of Indians. General Jesup sent a negro, whom he took, yesterday, in advance, with offers of terms to Jumper and his band. The negro says both Jumper and Micanopy are anxious to come in, if they can be assured of their lives. We have, as hostages for his return, his wife and four children—he is to be back, to-morrow night; and we are anxiously awaiting his return. It is now raining; the drops sift through my tent, in delicate particles, just enough to remind me that my habitation "is in "the tented field." Yesterday, an Order was issued reducing the ration of bread to six ounces, and the forage for horses to one half—short allowance for man and beast. If unsuccessful, we shall probably be reduced to the cattle alone, which we are driving with us, as we know not when we shall come to supplies, in consequence of our utter ignorance of the country through which we are marching.

Jan'y 29th. I mentioned, last evening, that it was raining—it increased in violence until three o'clock, to-day, drenching the poor men; some of whom are without tents; and those who have them are but a little better off. This has been a day of great confusion, as you can readily imagine, in a camp of thirteen hundred men, six hundred horses, seven hundred cattle; men cutting wood to keep themselves warm; cows lowing; asses braying; horses stamping. If a man wanted a pound of meat, he went to the pen and shot a beef to get it, such is the abundance of cattle we have found on the immense prairies that border this lake. Here, the Indians had driven their cattle, for safety, where the foot of a white man never trod before. By *mistaking* the trail, as I mentioned, some days ago—we did not, at last, find the one we were in search of—we have got in the *rear* of the Indians. Had we gone the way we wanted to go, we should have probably come to this spot:

but the Indians would have been *before* us; as it is, we have headed them; got their cattle; and they are, no doubt, in great numbers, in this impenetrable Cypress Swamp, on our right, extending for miles and miles. This we consider a great piece of *good luck*. The scouts, that were out to discover the country, came to a stream on whose margin was a tree, hewn on one side: on it was drawn a canoe and four men represented as paddling, to indicate that the water could not be crossed, by wading. On another tree, several letters were cut—"c–h–a–"ꟻ.ꟻ." What they mean we know not. On another, steps were cut in, for twenty feet up, to a place of look-out, etc. The negro, sent off, yesterday, has returned, bearing from the Indians a white flag! All immediately ran to Headquarters, to learn the news. General Jesup told him not to speak to any one, until *he* was ready to question him. Of course, we took ourselves off; disappointed and grumbling. General Jesup took him into his tent, and, after hearing his story, sent for the General officers and Staff, and confided the matter to them; and enjoined secrecy. Then we grumbled still more; but, at last, we found one officer who did not understand the communication as confidential; and it leaked out; and this is it: The negro did not see Jumper; but he saw the celebrated negro, Abraham, who has great influence with the Indians; and delivered to him Jesup's message. Its import was, he wanted a talk with them, about Peace; and, if they would come in, he pledged his word that they should depart again, in safety, even if they determined to continue the war. Abraham sent back a white flag, as a token of peace, with a promise to come in, with the Chiefs, to-morrow, and hold a talk.

Feb. 2d. Monday was a day of great anxiety with us, for fear Abraham would not come in, as he had promised; but, about three o'clock, our apprehensions were dispelled by his black majesty walking into camp, with a white flag, which, with great grace and dignity, he stuck into the ground, by the flag-staff, before the General's tent; and walked in. The purport of his conversation was, that Jumper and Micanopy were anxious for peace; and that he would bring them in, to-day, to have a talk. We have consequently fallen back to our last encampment, twelve miles on our way to Fort Armstrong.

The hour has passed, at which they were to be here; and all is anxiety and fear. Abraham is an intelligent negro, cross-eyed, with a bad countenance; and his influence is unlimited. This moment, I hear them say the flag is in sight. I resume my pen, to say that no one appeared with the flag but Abraham. He said Jumper and some other Indians had gone to some other place, expecting to meet General Jesup, there. The General sent Abraham and two of his Staff after them.

[To be Continued.]

X.—*FLOTSAM.*

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. His. Mag.]

John Adams's Jealousy of Washington.

One of the most singular infirmities of the race of the Adams's, of Quincy, has been their jealousy of men who had, or were in the danger of acquiring, a higher public reputation than themselves. "Old John Adams," as he was called—the second President of the United States—was jealous of nearly every great man of his time; even of those whose general political objects and aims were coincident with his own. Of Hamilton, whose great abilities and patriotic efforts were most instrumental in carrying out the very ends that Adams himself sought to bring about, he could not bear to hear any one speak in praise. And, incredible to say, his jealousy of Washington was not at all less. With Jefferson, of whom he had been more than jealous, he finally coalesced, to the ruin of his own party, from equal jealousy of Washington and Hamilton both. All this was perfectly understood in the close of the last century; and we have accounts of it from Hamilton, McHenry, Sedgwick, and other witnesses of indubitable credit in those times.

The same sort of insanity beset John Quincy Adams. Upon Webster, so infinitely his superior, and who gave such imperishable glory to the very State which the family of the Adams's, for some time, seemed to own as an inheritance, he made, through mere jealousy, assaults of the most ridiculous character; and even of Lord Brougham no one could speak words of praise, and not see the old man's face cloud with discontent.

These things, in the general, have long been known; but we are able to put before our readers, to-day, an evidence on the subject of which we speak, in regard to old John Adams, of which the world has hitherto not been possessed, and which is superior to any in authenticity. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, among its late most valuable acquisitions, has become the owner of a series of original letters of both the Adams's, John and John Quincy. They will, we presume, in due time be published. Of one of them we have taken a copy. It is a letter to

a particular friend, who had written to old Mr. Adams, in July, 1806, paying him very high compliments; and, as we infer from an endorsement on one of the letters, referring to a letter of General Washington to Adams, dated in the critical season of 1798, in which Washington writes thus:

"MOUNT VERNON, July 13, 1798.

"Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially "approve of the wise and prudent measures of "your administration. They ought to inspire "universal confidence,"

Old John Adams breaks forth as follows, in reply to his friend who had thus alluded to Washington:

"QUINCY, Aug. 23, 1806.

"DEAR SIR:

"In your letter of the 7th of July, you flatter me with very high eulogies, and complete "the climax of them with the opinion of Washington. For the future, I pray you to spare "yourself the trouble of quoting that great authority in my favor. Although no man has a "more settled opinion of his integrity and virtues than myself, I, nevertheless, desire that my "life, actions, and administration may be condemned to everlasting oblivion, *and, I will "add, infamy*, if they cannot be defended by "their own intrinsic merit and without the aid "of MR. Washington's judgment. The Federalists, as they are called by themselves and by "their enemies, have done themselves and their "country incalculable injury, by making Washington their military, political, religious, and "even moral, pope, and ascribing everything to "him. Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Jay, "and SEVERAL others have been MUCH MORE essential characters to America than Washington. "Another character, almost forgotten, of more "importance than any of them all, was James "Otis. It is to offend against eternal justice to "give to one, as this people do, the merits of so "many. It is an effectual extinguisher of all "patriotism and all public virtue, and throwing "the nation wholly into the hands of intrigue. "You lament the growth of corruption, very "justly, but there is none more poisonous, than "the eternal puffing and trumpeting of Washing and Franklin, and the incessant abuse of "the REAL Fathers of their country."

Was there ever such an exhibition of human weakness—indeed, of something worse than weakness, merely?

That any honest man, as old John Adams certainly was, should have been jealous of Washington, at any time, appears incredible. But the absurdity of the thing seems less, when they were both alive, both in office, and both standing before the world, gazed upon and commented on, by those about and below them. But here, Washington had been in his grave, for years. Mr. Adams's own political career was ended; for he had himself, by his jealousy of every great man in it, destroyed the party to which he belonged. Hopes and fears had had their course with him, and ought to have "left "his heart composed, his intellect at rest." But that still—from the shades of Quincy—from the retirement of his own study, surrounded by the writings and images of sages and philosophers—he should thus break forth *and record, in writing*, his envy of Washington—break forth and record it, on a mere allusion to Washington—to Washington too, so kind, so considerate, so magnanimous, bearing so valuable testimony to his own administration, in the epoch of the Alien and Sedition Acts, when the fury of faction was pouring forth its invectives upon him—is almost incredible.

How signally does the letter, which we here print, vindicate the memorable remarks of Hamilton, made on him, in 1801—(*Hamilton's Works, vii, 687*); who, paying just tribute to his integrity, political learning, and services during the Revolution, yet declared that he was a man of an imagination sublimated and eccentric; of the grossest indiscretion; to which were added, "the unfortunate foibles of a vanity without "bounds and a jealousy capable of discoloring every object!"—*Philadelphia Legal Gazette, December 15, 1871.*

JUSTICE TO MC CLELLAN

The following is from Gideon Welles, a member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. While it needs no comment, it confirms many things said by us, during the war, and recalls many memories, when Washington came within an ace of being overcome by the Confederates, and would but for the facts related below. The period alluded to is immediately after the defeat of Pope, in front of Washington, and when the advance of the victorious enemy upon the National Capital carried dismay throughout the country:

"At the stated Cabinet meeting, on Tuesday, "the second of September, while the whole "community was stirred up and in confusion "and affairs were gloomy, beyond anything "that had previously occurred, Stanton entered "the Council-room, a few minutes in advance "of Mr. Lincoln, and said, with great excitement, he had just learned from General Halleck that the President had placed McClellan "in command of the forces in Washington. "The information was surprising and, in view "of the prevailing excitement against that officer, alarming. The President soon came in, "and, in answer to an inquiry from Mr. Chase,

"confirmed what Stanton had stated. General "regret was expressed; and Stanton, with "some feeling, remarked that no Order to that "effect had issued from the War Department. "The President, calmly, but with some empha- "sis, said the Order was *his;* and he would be "responsible for it, to the country. 'With a "'retreating and demoralized army tumbling in "'upon us, and, alarm and panic in the com- "'munity, it was necessary,' the President said, "'that something should be done; but there "'seemed to be no one to do it.' He, there- "fore, had directed McClellan, who knew this "whole ground, who was the best organizer in "the army, whose faculty was to organize and "defend, and who would here act upon the de- "fensive, to take this defeated and broken "army and reorganize it."

The St. Louis *Republican* contributes an anec- dote relating to this crisis:

"McClellan, stripped of his command and "left a spectator of disasters he was powerless "to avert, had retired to Washington, and was "sitting, one evening, in his office, in company "with Delos B. Sackett, now Inspector-general "of the Army. This officer had been on "McClellan's Staff, during the Peninsula Cam- "paign, and was, consequently, perfectly famil- "iar with the embarrassments under which he "had labored. They were conversing upon the "gloomy situation of affairs, and indulging in "those reflections which that situation would "naturally give rise to, when, suddenly, there "was a sharp ring at the door-bell. The servant "came in, and announced the President and "General Halleck. McClellan rose, at once, "and seeing his distinguished visitors in the "hall, ushered them into a private reception- "room, in the rear. After a brief consultation, "he accompanied them to a carriage in waiting; "returned to the office; and remarked, quietly: "'Well, Sackett, I am in command of the "'Potomac again.' His friend started up, in "surprise, and exclaimed instinctively, 'I hope, "'General, you did not accept it without suita- "'ble guarantees'—meaning guarantees against "further interference, on the part of the Execu- "tive. McClellan looked at him with a pecu- "liarly solemn expression he could never after- "wards forget, and said, very slowly and "deliberately: 'Sir, when the President of the "'United States tells me, with tears in his eyes, "'that I am the only man who can take com- "'mand of this Army and save the country, it "'is no time to ask for guarantees. We will "'leave for the front, to-morrow morning, at "'daylight.'"

"They did leave at daylight, and the Cam- "paign of Antietam did save the country."—*Doylestown Democrat.*

History of the Isle of Shoals.

The group of rocky islands known as the Isle of Shoals, figures somewhat largely upon the page of history. They were discovered, in 1614, by Captain John Smith; visited, in 1623, by Christopher Leavitt; and, in 1645, three brothers from Wales—Robert, John, and Richard Cutts —made a permanent settlement. England and Wales furnished additional colonists until, in 1650, the settlement had increased sufficiently to support a Minister, Rev. John Brock, who lived there twelve years. In May, 1661, the General Court incorporated the Islands into a town called Appledore, and invested it with the powers and privileges of other towns. In 1670, forty fami- lies removed from Hog-island, now Appledore, to Star-island. William Pepperell, of Cornwall, England, settled, in 1676, and remained twenty years, carrying on an extensive fishery. He afterwards removed to Kittery-point; and was the father of Sir William Pepperill, the hero of Louisburg.

For a century previous to the Revolution, there were from two to six hundred inhabitants on the Islands. They had a church, a school-house, and a Court-house. The fishing business had become quite extensive—some four hundred quintals of fish were yearly caught, and cured, and found ready sale.

The religious history of the Shoals is memor- able. Says a historian: "Those islands bore "some of the foot-prints of New England "christianity and civilization. They were, for "a long time, the abode of intelligence, refine- "ment, and virtue." From 1640 to 1775, "the "church was in a flourishing condition and had "a succession of Ministers—Hall, Brock, Belcher, "Moody, Tucke, and Shaw, all of whom were "good and faithful men."

It may not be uninteresting to notice some of the particulars incident to the settlement of Mr. Tucke. On the town-records of Gosport is the following:

"At a general meeting of the freeholders "and others of the inhabitants of Star Island, "*alias* Gosport, duly qualified to vote, on the "13th day of December, 1731, and according "to notification given under the hands of the "Selectmen, Dec. the 11th, 1731, the question "being asked at the said meeting, by the Mod- "erator, whether it was their mind to make "choice of the Rev. John Tucke to be their "Minister, and whether they did chose him to "settle among them in the work of the ministry "in case he should accept; and it passed in the "affirmative."

They were not unmindful of his temporal ne- cessities, and offered him what was then deemed a liberal support. "It was also voted to give

"and allow to the said Mr. John Tucke, annu-
"ally, for his support, one hundred and ten
"pounds in money, or bills of credit, so long
"as it shall please God to continue him among
"us in the work of the ministry.

"It was also voted to give the Rev. Mr. John
"Tucke fifty pounds, in money, by the last of
"May next, towards building him a house him-
"self; but in case he should thereafter remove
"from us, he shall be obliged to give us the
"refusal of buying the house and abate us fifty
"pounds in the price."

Provision was made for any possible depreciation in the value of money, a fact which some Religious Societies of these latter days would do well to vote, also, for additional support, when required. "As the value of money shall
"fail, we will make the aforesaid one hundred
"and ten pounds as it is now, and will be ready
"to enlarge his salary as his circumstances shall
"require and our own abilities allow."

Another act passed at a town-meeting shows the religious character of the people: "It was
"also voted that the 13th day of July next, be
"observed as a day of fasting and prayer, to
"beg God's blessing on the affair of settling a
"Minister among us."

The letter of acceptance of Mr. Tucke is recorded in full. He served as Pastor forty-four years; and died on the twelfth of August, 1776. At the time of his death, the prosperity of the Shoals was at its height. His grave was accidentally discovered, in 1800; and Hon. Dudley A. Tyng, long interested in the islanders, placed over it a stone slab with appropriate inscriptions, a part of which is still legible.

The settlement of the Shoals flourished until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, when the inhabitants were ordered to quit the Islands. Most of them complied and found houses in the neighboring sea-port towns.

The Shoals are now becoming an attractive summer resort. On Star-island are several inviting boarding-houses. On Appledore-island is one of the largest and best hotels on the coast. The present population of the islands is about one hundred and fifty souls.—*Maine Farmer*.

An Eastern Land of Promise.

An opinion, as universal as it is unfounded, is that the island of Anticosti is unfit for the residence of man. On the contrary, it is stated by Sir William Logan, Government Geologist, to contain "upwards of one million acres of land,
"of the very best quality, similar to the fine,
"arable soil of Ontario and the Eastern town-
"ships;" and Mr. Couper, a Canadian naturalist, who paid it a visit, last Spring, saw wild timothy and clover rivaling in growth any grasses found around Montreal and Quebec. He also states that most of the cereals and all garden vegetables can be raised in perfection.

The island slopes gradually from its elevated northern coast to the grassy savannas which face the South shore, and thus, in some measure, the fertile portion of the country is protected from the wintry blast. Now the natives of Norway, and Sweden, and other countries of high latitudes, invariably delight in an insular residence, where fish can be had in abundance, and where they can also benefit by cultivating a farm. It is well known that the large Colonies of these nationalities, which have settled in the prairie States of the West, are not satisfied. They look in vain for the rolling sea, woody glen, and all to which they were accustomed in the father-land. It is with pleasure we learn that a Company has recently been formed with the Hon. D. Price and W. L. Forsyth, Esq., of Quebec, as two of the Directors, to survey, improve, and colonize the island of Anticosti. The Secretary, Mr. Coster, is a native of the North of Europe, and he intends setting several thousands of emigrants—chiefly his own countrymen—on the arable lands, which will be surveyed as soon as possible.

There is something very interesting about the title under which this island is held by the present wealthy Company. The island was given by the French King, as a fief, to one Juliet. It first belonged to the Province of Newfoundland, and afterwards to that of Lower Canada. When the feudal system was abolished, there being no tenants on the island, the Seigneur became the possessor of the whole soil, in fee-simple, since which time it has been held jointly by a variety of persons, chief among whom are the Forsyth family of Quebec. The title to this immense possession seems to have been fully acknowledged by the Quebec Parliament, by an Act passed last Session.—*Montreal Witness*.

The Old Oaken Bucket.

The *Old Oaken Bucket* was written by Samuel B. Woodworth, while he was a journeyman printer, working in an office at the corner of Chambers and Chatham-streets, New York. Near by, on Frankfort-street, was a drinking-house kept by a man named Mallory, where Woodworth and several particular friends used to resort. One afternoon, the liquor was super-excellent. Woodworth seemed inspired by it; for, after taking a draught, he set his glass upon the table, and smacking his lips, declared Mallory's *eau de vie* was superior to anything that he had ever tasted.

"No," said Mallory, "you are mistaken;

"there was one which, in both of our estima-
"tions, far surpassed this, as a drink."

"What was that?" asked Woodworth, dubiously.

"The draughts of pure, fresh spring-water that "we used to drink from the old oaken bucket "that hung in the well, after our return from "the labors of the field, on a sultry day."

The tear-drops glistened, for a moment, in Woodworth's eye. "True, true," he replied, and, shortly afterward, quitted the place. He immediately returned to the office; grasped a pen; and, in half an hour, the *Old Oaken Bucket*, one of the most delightful compositions in our language, was ready, in manuscript, to be embalmed in the memories of succeeding generations.

The Burnham Claim.

Edward Payson, Esq., informs the *Press* that the result of his mission to Europe, in behalf of the Burnham heirs, was perfectly satisfactory. He considers the matter of the claim as fully settled. It is the wish of the Burnham Association that nothing shall be communicated to the public in regard to the claim, until the appearance of the pamphlet giving a detailed account of Mr. Payson's proceedings. This pamphlet is now in the hands of the printer. Mr. Payson intimates that the result of his mission was a negative; and that the much talked of Will of Benjamin Burnham has no existence, and that the Burnham family have no claims upon any property in England.—*Maine Farmer*.

Scraps—Mr. Micajah Mott, of Alburgh, Maine, in 1864, cut on his farm a hemlock-tree, which has been the subject of considerable interest to antiquaries and lovers of the marvellous.

The tree stood in a hemlock grove, about three-fourths of a mile from the lake, and from which he cut a stick of timber, forty feet in length, squaring eight by ten inches. After felling the tree, he discovered, near the butt, a bulge; and, thinking it might prove unsound, cut off five or six feet, but found it perfectly sound. The butt cut off, he drew it home for wood, and, upon splitting it, found that, when the tree was about eight inches in diameter, it had been hewed, on four sides, with an axe or some other sharp tool, about eighteen inches in length and perfectly smooth, leaving the tree nearly square, except upon one corner, where the bark had been left in a strip about three inches wide. The tree had grown and completely covered this scarf or hewing, having no external indication except the slight bulge spoken of. Mr. Mott counted two hundred and forty grains which had grown over the scarf, which had been cut.

By whom, and for what purpose, was this tree thus marked? It must have been done somewhere about the year 1624. Champlain, who discovered and gave his name to our lake, in the year 1609, was frequently about the lake, from that time down to the year he died, in 1635. The Pilgrims landed in the year 1620; and this tree was thus marked but four years later. In the year 1623, the English had begun settlements at Portsmouth and Dover; and, in the year 1633, had penetrated the wilderness to Windsor, Connecticut. It was these advancing settlements that aroused the jealousy of the Indians and led to the conspiracy, formed by the Narragansetts and other tribes, for the total extermination of the English. This tree may have been marked by some of those Indian war-parties, which made this section the theatre of wars and a scene of havoc and cruelty of the most appalling character, or by Champlain himself, on some of his expeditions while camping in this thicket of hemlocks.

Mr. Mott preserved this for several years, intending it for the Antiquarian Society; but, some time, in his absence from home, it was burned by his hired man, which is much to be regretted.

—In Newport, the old and the new are closely intermingled. The quaint old town, by the water, and the more pretentious city, on the hill, are equally objects of interest to the pleasure-seeker. Relics of past generations and places distinguished by old associations are to be found, on every side. Historical scenes abound with us, but like all things else, they are subject to decay, and the hand of improvement is fast sweeping them away. Even now, while I write, the old Penrose House, on Church-street, is demolishing, to give place to a more modern structure. This house, of late years so dilapidated, was once the Assembly-room of Newport; and Mrs. Cowley, the keeper, one hundred and fifty years ago, was known to all the region round. It was here that Prince de Broglie, Count de Rochambeau, and other officers of the French Army, then quartered in Newport, gave a grand Ball to the ladies and gentlemen of the town. Here, also, the citizens honored Washington and Rochambeau, at the time of Washington's first visit to Rhode Island. Washington opened the ball with Newport's reigning belle, a Miss Champlain, as partner, the lady selecting *A Successful Campaign*, then in high favor, for the first dance. And here, when Peace was declared, and Washington was our President, a second grand entertainment was held, in his honor, in this old hall; and again the Father of his Country participated

in the ceremonies. The hall, we are told, was dressed in great taste, and the dance was commenced with *Washington's March*.

The old Vernon House, on Clarke-street, the Headquarters of Rochambeau, and also the Headquarters of Washington and Lafayette, has lately changed hands and, we understand, will soon be torn down. Thus, one after another of our Revolutionary land-marks are disappearing, and in their places, are springing up dwellings, all in modern elegance and luxury.—*Correspondent of the New York Tribune*, July, 1872.

—The execution of Evans is the twelfth that has taken place in New Hampshire.

In 1739, two women were hanged at Portsmouth, for the murder of a child. In 1755, one Eliphaz Dow was hanged at the same place, for the murder of a man, at Hampton Falls. Thirteen years later, occurred the memorable hanging, at Portsmouth, when an innocent woman died an ignominious death, because the Sheriff was hungry and wanted his dinner. Ruth Blay was hanged; and the messenger, with a reprieve, arrived only five minutes too late. In 1806, one Burnham was hanged, at Haverhill, for murdering two of his fellow-prisoners, while in jail; and, a few years after, Isaiah Thomas was executed, at Dover, for taking the life of a man who lived in New Durham. In 1822, Daniel D. Farmer, of Amherst, was hanged for the murder of a widow named Anna Ayer. About ten years later, Abraham Prescott, a young man, was hanged for the murder of Mrs. Cochrane, of Pembroke. He claimed to have committed the deed while in a somnambulistic state, and came near escaping the gallows. In 1840, Rev. Enos G. Dudley was executed, at Haverhill, for the murder of his wife. In 1866, Samuel Mills, who lived at Lisbon, murdered an old man named Maxwell, chopping him up with an axe, and then quietly eating the supper the old man had just prepared in his lonely abode. The murderer escaped, but was afterward apprehended, in Illinois, and hanged, at Haverhill, where thousands gathered to witness the execution. The next victim of the gallows, and the last one preceding Evans, was Joshua L. Pike, who murdered the aged couple, at Hampton Falls, on the night of the seventh of May, 1868, and was hanged on the ninth of November, 1869.

—Mr. Kimball, Chief the Revenue Marine service, recently received a large, solid, twenty-four pound shot, forwarded to him by W. W. Ware, Superintendent of Life-saving stations, at Cape May, New Jersey. The ball was fired by John Maxsen, long since deceased, over the ship *Ayrshire*, wrecked on the twelfth of January, 1850, on Squan-beach, and was thereby the means of saving two hundred and one lives. The ball was left on the deck of the ship, which soon went to pieces, the ball falling in the hold. The wreck soon sanded, and so remained, until a recent date, when, by the action of the sea, a portion of the wreck was washed out, and the ball found. This was the first ball ever fired in the United States, for the purpose of saving lives endangered by shipwreck.

—The veritable pins used by the Salem witches, and now on file in the office of the Clerk of Courts of Essex-county, Massachusetts, have been so often appropriated by relic-hunters, that the balance are sealed in a vial and can only be seen through a glass. The death-warrant of one of the malefactors, with the return of the officer, that he had caused the prisoner to be hanged until she was dead, and burned (though the two last words are erased) still hangs on the wall of the Clerk's office, in an excellent state of preservation.

—Twenty autograph letters of General Washington are reported to have been discovered at Princeton, New Jersey. About half the number relate to the affairs of Princeton-college, to General Mercer—who was killed at the Battle of Princeton—and to the battle itself. They were written to the Burrs, father and son—the one, at one time, President of the College, and the latter Vice-president of the United States—and to President Witherspoon. One of them, relating to General Mercer, urges the erection of a monument to that gallant General

XI.—*BOOKS.*

Recent Publications.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of The Historical Magazine, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "Henry B. Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y.," or to Messrs. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., *Booksellers*, 654 *Broadway*, *New York City*, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—*PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.*

1.—*The Palatine Emigration to England*, in 1709. By Henry A. Homes, A. M. From *The Transactions of the Albany Institute*, Vol. VII., Page 106. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1871. Octavo, pp. 25.

A very excellent paper, from the pen of the very careful State Librarian, on the history of the emigration of the Palatines, in 1709; and embracing, not merely the history of their migration to England, but, incidentally, that from England to America and Ireland.

It is a remarkable record, evidently made up from authentic sources; and the stern facts which it presents will disarm more than one historian and silence more than one zealot. If

religious persecution formed any portion of the animus, it was evidently a very small portion; and emigrant-agents, pouring into the ignorant ears of these rustics, the stories of untold wealth which awaited them, in America, there can be little doubt, were vastly more instrumental in that work than any other cause.

Mr. Homes has rendered a good service to students of American history, in thus bringing forward the facts of this great migration; and we thank him, heartily, for the neat tract, containing his paper, of which he has favorved us with a copy.

2.—*Early Days at Racine, Wisconsin*, intended as a Response or as Emendations to a part of Hon. Chas. E. Dyer's Address, before the Old Settlers Society. By an Outsider. Sine loco. [*Racine?*] 1872. Octavo, pp. 23.

In our number for January, 1872, we noticed an excellent address delivered by Hon. Charles E. Dyer, before the Old Settlers Society of Racine, giving it that just meed of praise to which it was evidently entitled. But "another "cometh and searcheth him."

There are very few who are wholly without fault; and it seems that, here and there, Mr. Dyer has fallen into an error of statement; and, here and there, he has omited, wholly or in part, the notice of some fact. "An Outsider," therefore, in a series of ten short papers—sometimes in one temper and sometimes in another—follows him, correcting what has been inaccurately told and filling some, at least, of the gaps in his narrative.

It is very evident that there has been some ill-feeling, on the part of the "Outsider," in thus becoming an annalist of Racine; but we can thank him, nevertheless, for the services he has probably rendered, even in his bad humor, while exposing his victim's mistakes and exhibiting his own better information. He has certainly rendered good service in the establishment of some facts—hitherto, imperfectly understood—in the early history of that city, which, sometime, will become very useful.

The pamphlet is printed with great taste, "for the author;" and was evidently intended for private circulation.

3.—*Di Agonas Kata Nikas. Kenyon College, Tenth Anniversary of the Class of* 1862. Gambier, Ohio: June, 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 30.

The Class of 1862 had no re-union, in 1872, but the Committee has preserved a record of the Class and printed it, in this tract, only for private circulation. The Rev. William D' Orville Doty, of Waterloo, New York, having favored us with a copy, we notice it.

Commencing with No. 1, of the Class—Rev. Alexander V. G. Allen, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopalian Theological School, at Cambridge, Mass., with few exceptions, each of the fifty-eight members presents his ten years' narrative and his present record—or has them presented for him—and as there seems to have been no thought that their letters would be published to the outside world, some of those records are exceedingly pleasent—such, in fact, as ten-year-old-men would be apt to write to their cronies of by-gone boyhood.

It is a pleasant record, as a whole; and Mr. Doty, who sent our copy of it, will please accept our thanks for it.

4.—*Washington: his person as represented by the Artists. The Houdon Statue, its History and Value.* Published by order of the Senate of Virginia. [*Richmond:*] R. F. Walker, Superintendent of Public Printing. 1873. Octavo, pp. 23.

Some years since, the Corporation of the City of New York printed a Report of its Committee on the Fine Arts, on the history and character of Houdon's statue of Washington, a copy of which, in bronze, had been offered, for sale, to the city; and the Senate of Virginia, in the tract before us, has repeated the interesting narrative, possibly with a little more of the details, but, if so, with very little.

It is a very interesting narrative, both as mere history and as indicative of the peculiar value of the Houdon statue as a most accurate representation of General Washington, as he really was; and the Senate of Virginia has done well in printing it, as a public document of the State—an instance, by the way, of the growing respect which that good old State is manifesting for the history of Virginia and Virginians, so often and so unjustly sneered at by those who know not what they do, while doing it.

The copy of this work now before us is printed on tinted paper—one of fifty copies which were printed, for private circulation, at the expense of our friend, Thomas H. Wynne, Esqr., of Richmond, through whose kindness we are indebted for it. As a specimen of book-making, however, it reflects no credit on the professional abilities or taste of those who printed it.

5.—*Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to rivers, streams, and localities, within the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, with their significations.* Prepared for the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, from a manuscript by John Heckewelder, by William C. Reichel. Bethlehem: 1872. Octavo, pp. 58.

The contents of this very handsome tract are so fully described in its title-page that little more is necessary, unless to say that the elaborate

foot-notes, occupying more than one half the space, notwithstanding the modesty of the learned Editor, cannot be safely disregarded by those who shall resort to the text, for information concerning the "Indian names," in the country of the Delawares.

The high authority of Heckewelder, on all matters connected with the philology of the aborigines, is generally conceded; and Mr. Reichel has done well in presenting this hitherto unpublished manuscript, from his pen, with such important additions, to the reading public.

This tract formed, originally, a part of a recent volume of the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society;* but "a few" copies, as an independent volume, were printed at the expense of John Jordan, Esqr., of Philadelphia, "for distribution among friends who take an "interest in such matters;" and to that gentleman we are indebted for the copy of the work which is before us.

It is very neatly printed, on tinted paper.

6.—*The Stabat Mater and Other Hymns*, translated by John D. Van Buren. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1872. Octavo, pp. 37.

The originals of the grand old hymns, *Stabat Mater, Dies Iræ*, and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, have taxed the skill of very many scholars, each impressed with the belief that they could improve the English versions of them and each anxious to display his superior knowledge of the intricacies of the Latin and the English languages. The last of these attempts, which has met our eye, is that which is before us.

Without discussing the merits of Mr. Van Buren's translations to a greater length, we may be permitted to say that they display more stiffness of style than is agreeable to us or necessary for the proper presentation of the originals, in an English dress.

Typographically considered, the little volume is a specimen of elegant book-making, which reflects credit on even the Munsell Press.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

7.—*First Congregational Church in Brunswick, Maine. Historical Sketch, Confession of Faith, Covenant, Rules of the Church, and Catalogue of Members, to January* 15, 1872. Brunswick: Joseph Griffin. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 72.

This ancient church was constituted and had a srated Pastor—Rev. Robert Rutherford—as early as 1735; but the *Church*-records of that period have disappeared. From that time to the present, however, it has maintained its position, bravely and effectively confronting the wrong-doers and wrong-doings in its vicinity, and, to-day, it occupies an enviable position among the Christian communities of the country.

The historical sketch contained in this *Manual* is from the pen of Professor Alpheus S. Packard, of Bowdoin-college, which affords all the guarantee of its accuracy which any one will need. A list of members, chronologically arranged, from the earliest day, follows; and that is followed by a list of those who are now members, alphabetically arranged.

This Manual is one of the most complete of this class of works; and, as a local history and as a help to those who follow genealogical pursuits, it will be found very useful.

8.—*Manual of the Second Presbyterian Church, Indianapolis.* Published by the Session. Indianapolis. 1872. 16mo. pp. 27.

This church, organized in November, 1838, had Henry Ward Beecher for its first Pastor, dedicated its first meeting-house, in October, 1840; called its second Pastor, Clement E. Babb, in 1849; colonized the Fourth Presbyterian church, in 1851; received its third Pastor, Thornton A. Mills, in January, 1854; its fourth, George P. Tindall, in 1857; and its fifth, Hanford A. Edson, in January, 1864; dedicated its second missionary meeting-house—now the Fifth Presbyterian-church—in May, 1861; the third—now the Olivet Presbyterian-church—in November, 1867, and the fourth, in May, 1870; dedicated its own new meeting-house, in January, 1870; and, at the date of the publication of this *Manual*, was a hale and hearty body.

This little tract contains a brief history of the Church, its *Confession of Faith and Covenant*, a statement of its System of Benevolence, its *Standing Rules, Official Record*, and *Calendar* of meetings, etc.; and forms an interesting record of the constitution and work of this important Western Church and Congregation.

9.—*Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, October* 8, 1872. Montpelier: Printed for the Society. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxi., 127.

This very handsome volume contains, first, the record of the proceedings of the Society, at its October meeting, 1872; and, second, the very elaborate address which had been delivered, on the preceding June, and which was repeated, on that occasion, by Hon. L. E. Chittenden, on the capture of Ticonderoga, by the insurgents, in 1775.

The Vermont Historical Society is doing a very good work, in some respects; and if it would cut loose from the restraints imposed on it by one or two of its older members, who are

running in their old-time ruts and cannot turn out from the old track, no matter what fact is encountered, it would do much more good, in the intelligent community, than it now does. The consequence is, any evidence which tends to make Ethan Allen and the Vermontese of that day, any thing else than patriots who were boiling over with unselfish anxiety to benefit mankind, generally, is entirely discredited; and those who dispassionately write or speak, as the evidence directs, are regarded only as libellers and vagabonds.

We do not find, in this exceedingly elaborate paper, first, any reason assigned for those patriotic Vermonters' deathlike quiet, in 1775, until *they were paid*, with the money carried from Hartford, *to move against Ticonderoga;* second, any reason for having allowed the fort and its treasures to remain so long, unmolested, in the hands of the King's officers, while an abundant force was close by, to take it, and a sparkling patriotism crowding it onward, to glory and to fortune; third, just why, if Arnold was a mere interloper, of no account, he was allowed to share the honor of the command with Allen, marching into the fort at the head of the insurgents, side by side with Allen; and, fourth, if Allen and his followers were such remarkable patriots and accomplished soldiers, why their exploits ended with the seizure of an undefended fort, whose gates were wide open to receive them, while Arnold's exploits only just began there.

It strikes us that, had these Green-mountain-boys been the real honest patriots we read about, such a prize as Ticonderoga—which really invited some one to take it, without risk—would have been promptly taken, without an invitation from Hartford and without Connecticut gold as a compensation; and it strikes us, also, that if Allen and his party of Vermontese had been such mighty men of valor and such unselfish patriots as is pretended, they would have continued the exploits, thus commenced, notwithstanding the supply of money from Hartford was exhausted, and have secured some other subject for the Vermont Historical Society to talk about, than the seizure of an undefended fort. That particular part of the play, we notice, was left for Arnold to do; and he did it, notwithstanding the insignificance with which the Vermont Historical Society is so fond of attributing to him—without the help, too, of any Committee from Hartford or any illegal appropriation of public money, in either of the Colonies.

The Address of Mr. Chittenden is very complete and, with the qualification referred to, a very good compend of the history of the events referred to.

10.—*Report of the Committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the relief of the sufferers by the great fire in Chicago, October*, 1871, *with the Roll of Contributors to the Fund, and the adjusted accounts of the Treasurer. June*, 1872. New York: 1872. Octavo, pp. 71.

This tract presents a record of which the Chamber may reasonably be proud—a record of which every New Yorker, as such, may, reasonably, be equally proud.

It is the record of what the merchants of New York did for Chicago, in the day of Chicago's deep distress; and the one million and forty-four thousand dollars which they received and disbursed are therein set forth, in all their details—the receipts ranging from fifty cents to ten thousand dollars; and the disbursements from fifteen to two hundred thousand dollars.

11.—*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Corporation of the Chamber of Commerce, of the State of New York, for the year* 1871-72. In two parts, compiled by George Wilson, Secretary. New York: Press of the Chamber of Commerce. 1872. Octavo, pp. xv., 168, 222.

The *First Part* of this volume includes the official record of the Chamber's proceedings, from May, 1871, until May, 1872; and as that record includes the several Reports of the Standing Committees, on the various commercial and industrial questions of the day, it is, consequently, a record of the minds of the most intelligent business-men, on those important matters, the great importance and relative value of which will be apparent to every one. The *Second Part* is composed of seventy-six distinct papers—Reports on separate branches of Commerce and Trade, elaborate statistical tables illustrative of nearly every element of the wealth and industry of the Republic, etc.

The deservedly high character of the Reports of the New York Chamber of Commerce is known and recognized, the world over; and the opinions of no Association whatever are received with more respect or carry with them greater weight and influence. They are the results of an active intelligence, presented with that care and precision of statement which successful business-men insensibly acquire; and they combine the theoretical and the practical, enforcing and illustrating their theories by—if they do not base those theories on—the well-established facts which they present, at the same time. The series of which this volume is the fourteenth, therefore, is of the very highest importance to every thinking man who cares anything for the material prosperity of the Republic; and those who care nothing for our country's welfare need not resort to it with any hope of finding in its pages the least particle of sympathy or consolation.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

12.—*Eleventh Annual Report of the Librarian of the Maine State Library to the Legislature of Maine*, with a list of new books, for the year 1872. Published agreeably to a Resolve approved February 25, 1871. Augusta: 1872. Octavo, pp. 57.

We have been gratified, by the perusal of this Report, with the evidence which it contains of the diligent attention to the increase of the library by the excellent State Librarian. With only a thousand dollars at his command, he has purchased four hundred and fifty-eight volumes and obtained by exchange two hundred and seventy-seven, besides providing for the extraordinary expenses of binding, etc.; and, with such satisfactory results before them, in this instance, it is to be hoped that librarians in this neighborhood, who possess much greater means, will change their habits and produce more from their annual outlays than they have done, hitherto.

13.—*Rules and Decisions of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, Legislative Directory, together with Useful Political Statistics, List of Post Offices, County Offices, &c.* By John A. Smull, Resident Clerk of the House of Representatives. Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer. 1872. 16mo., pp. iv., 563.

This very useful handbook of Pennsylvanian statistics comes to us from our respected friend, Isaac Moorhead, one of the Clerks of the House of Representatives; and we thank him for it. It seems to be an improvement on the issues of former years; and we hope that its author will continue to improve it, year by year, until Pennsylvania shall possess, in this yearly, a Manual which is worthy of her.

14.—*Annals of Public Education in the State of New York, from 1626 to 1746.* By Daniel J. Pratt, A. M. Albany: Argus Company. 1872. Octavo, pp. vii., 152.

We have hitherto noticed the original issues of the parts which, together, form this volume; and we welcome it, in this revised and extended form, as one of the most important, as it is one of the best authenticated, of the recent publications devoted to the local history of New York. Indeed, we know no work of so little pretension and such singular merit, as material for history, among the public documents of recent publication, in any part of the Union; and we earnestly hope that Mr. Pratt may be enabled to complete the work which he has thus so admirably commenced.

We suppose an Index to the entire work, of a character in keeping with that of the text, will be added to the Second Part, which we understand to be now in preparation for early publication.

15.—*Senate Document. The Report of the Commissioners on Boundary Lines, between the State of Virginia and the States of Maryland, North Carolina, and Tennessee.* Read in the Senate, Jan. 17, 1872. [Annexed 1872.] Octavo, pp. 92

Report and accompanying Documents of the Virginia Commissioners appointed to ascertain the Boundary Line between Maryland and Virginia. Richmond: R. F. Walker, Supt Public Printing. 1873. Octavo, pp. 148, [Appendix,] 314.

Maps to accompany the Report of the Commissioners on the Boundary Line between Virginia and Maryland. Richmond: R. F. Walker, Superintendent Public Printing. 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., and nine maps.

Virginia, too, has her boundary disputes with her neighbors, notwithstanding her share of other troubles might reasonably exempt her from these. She has Commissioners, also, who are protecting her interests, in those disputes; and these Commissioners seem to have tried, at least, to do their duty, honestly and earnestly. The volumes before us—kindly sent to us by Thomas H. Wynne, Esqr., of Richmond—constitute the Reports of those Commissioners, to the General Assembly of the State.

The first of these volumes contains a history of the Commission and of its labors, in 1870 and 1871, including the Report of Mr. D. C. De Jarnette, who was sent to England for copies of maps, pamphlets, documents, etc., for the establishment of Virginia's title to the disputed territory—the greater portion of which maps, etc., by-the-bye, might have been found very much nearer home than London is.

The second volume contains the final Report of the Commission, with an elaborate Appendix, in which are included the respective statements of the two Commissions—Virginia's and Maryland's—together with the voluminous Documents on which Virginia relies for the confirmation of her claim.

The third volume is, in fact, an atlas containing copies of the John Smith map of 1629; the Baltimore map of 16—; the Herman map of 1673; the Vaugondy map of 1755; the Lownall map of 1755; the Bowen map of ——, the Fry and Jefferson map of 1775; the Fadon map of 1793; and the map engraved to illustrate Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*.

As we have said, the Virginia Commissioners evidently discharged the duties assigned to them with great diligence and fidelity; and their two Reports are not only honorable to them, but they will continue to be serviceable to students of the local history of the distinguished parties in the dispute, through all time to come.

The letter-press of the Reports is very neat; but the photo-lithographic copies of the ancient maps, notwithstanding their English origin, are

not remarkable as specimens of high artistic abilities in those who executed them.

Our Exchanges.—We continue our notices of the few exchanges with which we indulge ourself; and, at the first convenient opportunity, we shall continue them.

—*The New York Daily Witness*, published by John Dougall, in New York City, at Three dollars per annum, is an evening paper, issued daily; and is gradually pushing itself into the ranks of the established newspapers of the day. It is not a member of the Associated Press, and so is not always first in the dissemination of the latest news; and it is avowedly religious in its teachings and tendencies, and so is not apt to be sensational in its articles. But it is a wholesome paper and, generally, impartial; and it may be received in any family, no matter of what creed or nationality, without exposing either old or young to the foul teachings which too often pervade the newspapers of the day, in New York and elsewhere.

—*The Christian Union*, published, weekly, by J. B. Ford & Co., 27 Park Place, New York City, at Three dollars per year, in advance, is a family newspaper, edited by Henry Ward Beecher, and circulating widely throughout the entire Union. It is one of the very best of the, so-called, "religious press," combining, as it does, a running glance at leading current events, a serial story, admirably written papers on various topics, editorials of unusual merit, reviews, etc.; but, above all, it is without that cant and bigoted sectarianism which render most papers of this class intolerable to all candid readers. As we said, it is one of the very best of weeklies—we should be afraid to say how *small* the number is, which, in our opinion, is entitled to take rank with it, lest we should hurt somebodies' feelings. We believe it gives premium chromos to its subscribers; but we have not seen them. Such a paper needs no such accompaniment, however, to ensure its welcome, wherever it is known; and we are sorry to see it pander to that questionable fashion, although it is said that, unlike some others, its pictures are not mere daubs.

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I.—In order that the unusual number of books which we have received for notice may all receive the careful attention which we always devote to that particular department of the Magazine, without curtailing the space which we usually devote to other matters, we have added an extra sheet to our regular number—making eighty pages instead of sixty-four—and those of our readers who are interested in bibliographical information will be pleased to find notices of more than eighty publications, in this number.

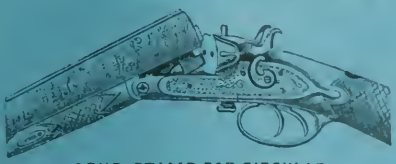
II.—We regret to say that causes over which we have no control have thrown us back in the publication of this number—*many of those who owe us have not responded to our calls for payment; and we cannot* AND WILL NOT *employ workmen or purchase materials without the means to pay, when pay-day comes.* If the monies which are honestly due to us shall be honestly paid during the present month, we can close the gaps in our publication, in a very few weeks: if not, we shall be compelled to work slowly, causing further delay.

WE EARNESTLY HOPE WE SHALL NOT BE SUBJECTED TO THIS AFFLICTION.

III.—In our notice of Mrs. Stowe's *Women in Sacred History*, on pages 179 and 180 of this number, a provoking blunder has been made by somebody, writer or workmen, in the spelling of that lady's name—it is uniformly spelled "*Stow*," instead of "*Stowe*," which, everybody knows, is the only correct mode. We regret the blunder, and notice it here as the only atonement we can, make, since the form was printed before our attention was called to it.

IV.—The Maps illustrative of Major Douglass's Lectures will be sent with the October number. They are handsome specimens of wood-engraving; and our readers will be paid for the delay in the preparation of them.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The numbers for November and December are in the hands of the printers—the former in those of the Protectory; the latter in our son's—and we expect to receive them, complete, before the first of May. As soon as these numbers shall have been completed, the former will proceed with the numbers for 1874, and the latter with the four delinquent numbers for 1871; *and we hope that those who honestly owe us for Magazines ordered and received, will not cripple us in our anxious labors, by longer withholding from us the means which are necessary to keep the workmen in motion.*

☞ There are delinquents enough among our subscribers to make us happy, if they ☞ will do no more than pay what they now owe to us: by not doing so, they will, prob- ☞ ably, continue to make us miserable, as they have heretofore done, and, not improba- ☞ bly, defeat us, in our struggle to bring the Magazine into line with its contempo- ☞ raries.

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TO OUR READERS.

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II.—The four numbers—September, October, November, and December, 1871—which are due to our subscribers of that year, of sad memory, are again in motion; and we are promised a number per month, commencing with the first of August next, until that gap shall have been filled.

III.—We very much need copies of the Magazine, dated September and October, 1867, and, January, 1872. If any of our friends shall have duplicates, or know where copies may be had, we shall be grateful for the information; and, if in good order, we will give any other two numbers which we may have in stock for each copy thus returned to us.

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